

## TATIAN'S DIATESSARON

SUPPLEMENTS TO  
VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE

*Formerly Philosophia Patrum*

TEXTS AND STUDIES OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LIFE  
AND LANGUAGE

EDITORS

J. DEN BOEFT — R. VAN DEN BROEK — A.F.J. KLIJN  
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VOLUME XXV





# TATIAN'S DIATESSARON

ITS CREATION, DISSEMINATION, SIGNIFICANCE,  
AND HISTORY IN SCHOLARSHIP

BY

WILLIAM L. PETERSEN



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*aan  
mijn vrienden  
in Nederland  
die ik dank voor hun vriendschap:  
als teken van mijn waardering  
voor de beschaving van hun land*



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This book is an act of piety, for it pays homage to an extraordinary tradition of scholarship. For over sixty years, the Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht has been the world centre for Diatessaronic studies. Beginning with Daniël Plooij in 1931, and continuing through Professors Anton Baumstark, Gilles Quispel, Tjitze Baarda, and Roel van den Broek, scholars in Utrecht have busied themselves with what Robert Murray called “one of the most fascinating specialized areas of N.T. textual studies.”<sup>2</sup> It was the Diatessaron which drew me to Utrecht as a student; in setting down what has grown from the seeds planted there, I pay tribute to this tradition.

Thanks are due to many colleagues—too numerous to name here—for their comments, advice, and criticism. My old doctoral committee resurrected itself—some from retirement, others from administrative burdens—to review the manuscript. I am profoundly indebted to my *Doktorvater*, Prof. dr. Gilles Quispel, to Prof. dr. Tjitze Baarda, Prof. dr. Roel van den Broek, and Dr. Gerard Mussies, for on every page these teachers and friends have rescued me from my own ignorance, slovenliness, and stupidity. They honour me by having invested so much care and thought in a project not their own. They deserve to share the credit for what virtues this volume may possess; its shortcomings are entirely mine.

I would be remiss if I did not once again pay tribute to the staff of the Bibliotheek of the Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, which has served me so proficiently in three decades. I especially

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<sup>2</sup> R. Murray, “The Gospels in the Medieval Netherlands,” *HeyJ* 14 (1973), 309.

wish to acknowledge the excellent help given by Mevrw. Corry Anne Knoppers, who aided my research from 1977 until her far-too-early death in 1993. Thanks are also due Drs. P.N.G. Pesch, Head of Bijzondere Collecties, for locating and then granting permission to study and cite the Library's records and correspondence relating to the disappearance of the Utrecht Harmony in 1945 while on loan to Anton Baumstark. I must also acknowledge the courtesies and assistance extended by the university libraries in Leiden and Amsterdam (both the Universiteit van Amsterdam and the Vrije Universiteit), as well as in Münster, Oxford, Cambridge, and the British Library in London; the libraries of the Divinity School at Harvard University and of the University of St. Michael's College (Toronto) also aided my research. I am obliged to "the venerable and famous firm of E.J. Brill"<sup>3</sup> for their careful preparation of a lengthy and difficult manuscript. My editors, first Mr. Julian Deahl and then Drs. Hans van der Meij, have been patient, helpful, and supportive. Production editing was handled by Gera van Bedaf. While her competence in such matters is evident from the layout and presentation, her cooperativeness and cheerfulness might be overlooked. Thank you.

During my studies in Utrecht it was my good fortune to enjoy the friendship of many wonderful people. In the years since, my annual—sometimes semi-annual—pilgrimages back to the sources have been greeted by immodest outpourings of hospitality. For eight summers, dHr. Guus Kemme has received me into his home in Amsterdam; Mr A.J.A. Labouchere, who honoured me by serving as my *paranymph* so long ago, invariably demanded that I repair to his home in Aerdenhout, where I enjoyed languid afternoons gazing at the North Sea; my other *paranymph*, Dr. Keimpe Algra, has provided shelter, advice on the matters at hand, and—most importantly—the pleasure of his constant friendship and irreverent wit; Drs. Mark Zwijnenburg has been generous with both his friendship and his hospitality. Other friends from the Netherlands who have contributed so much to my enjoyment of life there are, first of all, Dr. Michael E. Kammüller, as well as dHr. Marcel Nijhoff, Drs. Walther van der Zwaag, and Drs. Arjan Overwater. Although not a Dutchman, I must include among these friends my Swedish skiing and climbing partner in Chamonix, Mr. Stefan Hellberg

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<sup>3</sup> L. Koehler, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden 1958), p. xv.



of Stockholm. It is to these friends from my student days in Utrecht (1977–84) that this book is dedicated, with my thanks, and as a token of my respect for the noble traditions of their land: liberal learning, humanism, tolerance, decency, and refinement—qualities so lacking at present in so many countries. In 1764, another foreign student in Utrecht, John Boswell, wrote: “I have found Utrecht to be a most excellent place. I have here excellent opportunity to study, and at the same time to see foreign company. . . . I shall ever reverence Utrecht.”<sup>4</sup> So shall I.

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<sup>4</sup> *Boswell in Holland, 1763–1764*, ed. F.A. Pottle (London 1952), 118.



## PREFACE

*Si jeunesse savait; si vieillesse pouvait.*  
*If youth knew; if age could.*

It was as a young expatriate Masters' student in Canada that Prof. Walter H.P. Freitag introduced me to the Diatessaron. It intrigued me with its text-critical challenges and unique insights into second-century Christianity. The research itself was also appealing because of its inherent diversity. At the same time that it drew one into arcane byways and the study of minutiae, it also forced one to study the entire antique world, for Diatessaronic witnesses crop up in places as diverse as Britain and China.

The deeper I delved into the subject, the more apparent it became that the study of the Diatessaron was more complex than I imagined. Many sources were difficult to come by. Scholarship was Balkanized by discipline, geographic area, and period. These difficulties made me long for a handbook; they also explained why none had been written since 1939.

Estienne's epigram explains why this book was written: before I am too old, I have tried to write the book I wish I had had when beginning my studies a quarter century ago. I have written that youth may know, and knowing, advance to the frontiers more quickly than I. That aim accounts for certain characteristics of the volume in hand; others are attributable to the breadth of Diatessaronic studies. As the *Bibliography* demonstrates, the quantity of literature on the Diatessaron is enormous. No single library—not even the British Library—contains all of the principal sources, let alone the more specialized ones. In order to make these rare sources available to a wider public, key passages have been quoted verbatim. As an antidote to compartmentalization, the notes are more detailed than usual: *supra* and *infra* references link arguments or evidence which—because of chronological, geographic, or methodological diversity—might otherwise become separated. A constant irritation while researching this volume has been opaque references. Scholars name persons and even manuscripts ("the Erbach codex") without offering any context, ref-

erence, description, or identification. This is not just poor pedagogy; it discourages even the experienced scholar. I have therefore tried not only to provide full identification for persons, manuscripts, and locations, but also to indicate my sources in notes.

Many readers will use this volume as a reference work. It will be used to ascertain a particular scholar's position or to learn about a specific witness. It was designed to serve that purpose. But it was also designed to enthrall the reader with one of the most important and fascinating chapters in the study of Early Christianity and the New Testament: the story of the Diatessaron.

Researching this volume has, at times, seemed hopeless (perhaps my editors would say endless). Comprehensive guides to the many sub-specialties upon which Diatessaronic studies impinge are lacking; one must do much of the work one's self. But nature has decreed that no life will be long enough to become expert in all of these, let alone master the necessary languages. Like a refugee pursued by time, the researcher must hasten from place to place; like any refugee, he is acutely aware of his imperfect understanding of the local culture. Although I have used the best sources and advisors known to me, it is inevitable that I have offended scholars who permanently reside in these exotic regions. As I beg their indulgence for my errors, I would also urge them to write the up-to-date guides refugees like myself need. No one is more acutely aware of this volume's defects than I; my hope is that the benefits it bestows will outweigh its inevitable shortcomings: *Ars longa, vita brevis*.

—Aerdenhout and Amsterdam,  
The Netherlands  
10.VII.1993

## ABBREVIATIONS

AB	<i>The Art Bulletin</i> (New York).
ABAW.PP	<i>Abhandlungen der (k.) bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische Klasse</i> (München).
ABD	<i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> , ed. D.N. Freedman, 6 vols. (New York 1992).
AcOr	<i>Acta orientalia</i> (Leiden).
ADTB	<i>Altdeutsche Textbibliothek</i> (Tübingen).
AKG	<i>Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte</i> (Hamburg, etc.)
AKTV	<i>Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit</i> (Nürnberg).
ANTT	<i>Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung</i> (Berlin).
APAW.PH	<i>Abhandlungen der königlich preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische und Historische Abhandlungen</i> (Berlin).
ASEST	<i>Analekten für das Studium der exegetischen und systematischen Theologie</i> (Leipzig).
AThR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i> (Evanston [Illinois]).
BADLD	<i>Bibliothek der ältesten deutschen Litteratur-Denkmäler</i> (Paderborn).
BBC	<i>Bulletin of the Bezan Club</i> (Leiden).
BBod	<i>Bibliotheca Bodmeriana</i> (Zürich).
BDLM	<i>Bibliographien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters</i> (Berlin).
BETHL	<i>Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium</i> (Louvain).
BGDSL	<i>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur</i> (Halle).
BGDS(T)	<i>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur</i> (Tübingen).
Bib.	<i>Biblica</i> (Rome).
BibOr	<i>Biblica et Orientalia</i> (Rome).
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i> (Manchester).
BLVS	<i>Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart</i> (Stuttgart).
BML	<i>De Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde</i> (Leiden).
BO	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana</i> , 3 vols., ed. J.S. Assemani (Romae 1719–1728; photomechanical reprint, Hildesheim/New York 1975).
BSt(F)	<i>Biblische Studien</i> (Freiburg im Breisgau).
Byz.	<i>Byzantion</i> (Bruxelles).
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i> (Paderborn, etc.).
BZNW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> (Berlin).

CACSS	<i>Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi</i> (Ienae).
CBM	<i>Chester Beatty Monographs</i> (Dublin).
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> (Washington, D.C.).
CChr.SL	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i> (Turnholt).
Cfr	<i>Collectanea Franciscana</i> (Roma).
CHB	<i>Cambridge History of the Bible</i> , Vol. 1 ( <i>From the Beginnings to Jerome</i> ), edd. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans (Cambridge 1970).
CJA	<i>Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity</i> (Notre Dame [Indiana]).
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> (Louvain).
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (Pragae/Vindobonae/Lipsiae).
CSSN	<i>Corpus sacrae scripturae neerlandicae medii aevi</i> (Leiden).
CWS	<i>Classics of Western Spirituality</i> (New York/Mahwah).
DTM	<i>Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters</i> (Berlin).
DW	<i>De Dietsche Warande</i> (Amsterdam).
EcOr	<i>Ecclesia Orans</i> (Freiburg im Breisgau).
EETS	<i>Early English Text Society</i> (London).
EHS.DSL	<i>Europäische Hochschulschriften</i> , Reihe 1, Deutsche Sprache und Literatur (Bern/New York).
EHS.T	<i>Europäische Hochschulschriften</i> , Reihe 23, Theologie (Bern/Frankfurt).
EL	<i>Ephemerides Liturgicae</i> (Città del Vaticano).
EPH	<i>Études de philologie et d'histoire</i> (Genève).
EPRO	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain</i> (Leiden).
ERE	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i> (Edinburgh 1914).
ESGP	<i>Early Studies in German Philology</i> (Amsterdam/Atlanta [Georgia]).
ET	<i>Expository Times</i> (Edinburgh).
EtB	<i>Études Bibliques</i> (Paris).
ETHL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses</i> (Louvain).
FGNK	<i>Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur</i> (Erlangen/Leipzig).
FKDG	<i>Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte</i> (Göttingen).
GA	<i>Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik</i> (Göppingen).
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i> (Berlin).
GGA	<i>Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen</i> (Göttingen).
GHB	<i>Germanistische Handbibliothek</i> (Halle).
HA	<i>Handes Amsorya. Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie</i> (Wien).
HeyJ	<i>Heythrop Journal</i> (London).
HLSNT.LE	<i>Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature related to the New Testament. Second series: Linguistic and Exegetical Studies</i> (Chicago).

HM	<i>Hallische Monographien</i> (Halle).
HNT	<i>Handbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> (Tübingen).
HSem	<i>Horae Semiticae</i> (London).
HThR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> (Cambridge [Massachusetts]).
HUT	<i>Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie</i> (Tübingen).
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> (Philadelphia, etc.).
JECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i> (Baltimore).
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i> (London).
JMUES	<i>Journal of the Manchester University Egyptian and Oriental Society</i> (Manchester).
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> (Chicago).
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i> (Chicago).
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i> (London).
JSS.S	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies, Supplements</i> (Oxford).
JThS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> (Oxford).
JVNDSF	<i>Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung</i> (Neumünster).
KIT	<i>Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen</i> (Berlin).
LSAAR	<i>Lund Studies in African and Asian Religion</i> (Lund).
MAST.M	<i>Memorie della r.academia delle scienze di Torino, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche</i> (Turin).
MKAW.L	<i>Mededelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letterkunde</i> (Amsterdam).
MS	<i>Manichaeae Studies</i> (Lovanii).
Muséon	<i>Le Muséon</i> (Louvain-la-Neuve).
NAKG	<i>Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis</i> (Leiden).
NdS	<i>Niederdeutsche Studien</i> (Köln).
NedThT	<i>Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift</i> (Wageningen).
NHS	<i>Nag Hammadi Studies</i> (Leiden).
NKGWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augustus-Universität zu Göttingen</i> (Göttingen).
NKZ	<i>Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift</i> (Erlangen).
NT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i> (Leiden).
NTA	<i>Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen</i> (Münster).
NThT	<i>Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift</i> (Haarlem).
NT.S	<i>Novum Testamentum, Subsidia</i> (Leiden).
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i> (Cambridge).
NTTS	<i>New Testament Tools and Studies</i> (Leiden).
OECT	<i>Oxford Early Christian Texts</i> (Oxford).
OrChr	<i>Oriens Christianus</i> (Rome).
OrChrA	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i> (Rome).
OrChrP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i> (Rome).
OrLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i> (Louvain).
OrSyr	<i>L'Orient syrien</i> (Paris).
ParOr	<i>Parole de l'Orient</i> (Kaslik [Lebanon]).
PETSE	<i>Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile</i> (Stockholm).
PFLUL	<i>Publications de la Faculté des lettres, Université de Lausanne</i> (Genève).

PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca</i> (Paris), ed. Migne.
PINLN	<i>Publicaties der Afdeeling Nederlandsch van het Instituut Nieuwe Letteren aan de Nijmeegsche Universiteit</i> (Utrecht/Nijmegen).
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i> (Paris), ed. Migne.
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> , ed. R. Graffin (Paris 1894–1926).
PS	<i>Patrologia Syriaca</i> (Paris).
PTFT.S	<i>Publikaties van de Theologische Faculteit Tilburg, Studies</i> (Tilburg).
PTS	<i>Patristische Texte und Studien</i> (Berlin).
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> (Stuttgart).
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i> (Paris).
RBen	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i> (Abbaye de Maredsous).
RE	<i>Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i> , ed. A. Hauck (Leipzig 1896–1913 <sup>3</sup> ).
REA	<i>Revue des Études Arméniennes</i> (Paris).
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i> (Paris).
RGG	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (Tübingen 1957–65 <sup>3</sup> ).
RHE	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i> (Louvain).
RQCAKG	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumkunde und für Kirchengeschichte</i> (Rom).
RQH	<i>Revue des questions historiques</i> (Paris).
RSO	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i> (Roma).
RSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i> (Paris).
RThPC	<i>Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie Chrétienne</i> (Paris/Genève/Strasbourg).
SAWW.PH	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i> (Wien).
SBAW.PPH	<i>Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in München. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse</i> (München).
SC	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i> (Paris).
SCen	<i>The Second Century</i> (Abilene [Texas]).
Schaff-Herzog	<i>The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge</i> , ed. S.M. Jackson (New York/London 1908–12).
SG	<i>Studia Germanica</i> (Assen).
SHAW.PH	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i> (Heidelberg).
SNTS.MS	<i>Society for New Testament Studies, Monograph Series</i> (Cambridge/London).
SOR	<i>Studies in Oriental Religion</i> (Wiesbaden).
SPAW.PH	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i> (Berlin).
StD	<i>Studies and Documents</i> (London).
StEAug	<i>Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum"</i> (Roma).



StPatr	<i>Studia Patristica</i> (Berlin, Louvain).
StT	<i>Studi e Testi</i> (Città del Vaticano).
TaS	<i>Texts and Studies</i> (Cambridge).
ThL	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i> (Berlin, etc.).
ThLBl	<i>Theologisches Literaturblatt</i> (Leipzig).
ThQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i> (Tübingen).
ThR	<i>Theologische Revue</i> (Münster).
TNTL	<i>Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde</i> (Leiden).
TR	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i> (Tübingen).
TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> (Berlin).
TT	<i>Theologisch Tijdschrift</i> (Leiden).
TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i> (Berlin).
UNHAI	<i>Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul</i> (Istanbul).
VigChr	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i> (Leiden).
VNAW	<i>Verhandelingen der (koninklijke) Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letterkunde</i> (Amsterdam).
WF	<i>Wege der Forschung</i> (Darmstadt).
WUNT	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i> (Tübingen).
ZDA	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum und deutsche Literatur</i> (Berlin).
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> (Leipzig).
ZDP	<i>Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie</i> (Berlin).
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i> (Stuttgart).
ZKTh	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i> (Wien, etc.).
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i> (Berlin).



## INTRODUCTION

Arthur Vööbus' *Early Versions of the New Testament* begins with these words:

In the history of the versions, as well as in the early phase of textual developments of the New Testament as a whole, there is no greater and more important name than Tatian. This is not an overstatement.<sup>1</sup>

Tatian's most famous and enduring legacy is a gospel harmony known as the Diatessaron. Taking the four canonical<sup>2</sup> gospels—in whatever state of redaction they stood in the mid-second century—and extra-canonical material from one or more Judaic-Christian gospels, Tatian wove his sources into a single continuous account. He excised duplications, removed or reconciled contradictions, and harmonized parallel passages. Recent research has raised the possibility that Tatian incorporated the harmony of the synoptic gospels used by his teacher, Justin Martyr, into his Diatessaron.<sup>3</sup> It is known that Justin's harmony already contained extra-canonical, Judaic-Christian readings.<sup>4</sup>

In some areas of Christendom the Diatessaron quickly became the standard gospel text, a position it would hold for centuries.<sup>5</sup> Manuscript evidence demonstrates that between the

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<sup>1</sup> A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, PETSE 6 (Stockholm 1954), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Here "canonical" should not be understood as referencing the canonical gospels in their present form. Rather, Tatian used *antecedent* forms of the gospels which *later* became known as "canonical." This distinction will become apparent in subsequent pages; cf. esp. 10–25.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, 346–348; cp. W.L. Petersen, "Textual Evidence of Tatian's Dependence Upon Justin's ΑΠΙΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ," *NTS* 36 (1990), 512–534; also M.-É. Boismard, *Le Diatessaron: De Tatien à Justin*, EtB N.S. 17 (Paris 1992), 67–82.

<sup>4</sup> If Justin's harmony were among Tatian's sources, then it would mean that the origin of the Diatessaron's extra-canonical, Judaic-Christian readings—Tatian's "fifth source" ("fifth," because it was used alongside the four canonical gospels)—might lie in Justin's harmony and not in a separate Judaic-Christian gospel. On the "fifth source," see *infra*, 257–259, 278f.

<sup>5</sup> The Diatessaron was the standard gospel in Syria as late as the fifth century. As late as the ninth century it was being cited—whether directly or indirectly, we do not know—as an authority by Syriac commentators such as Isho'dad of Merv and bar Salibi (see *infra*, 52f., 59–61). In the fourteenth century it was described with awe by bar Berika, who may have

sixth and fifteenth centuries the Diatessaron spread as far east as the fabled city of Turfan, in China,<sup>6</sup> as far west as England,<sup>7</sup> and possibly even to Iceland.<sup>8</sup> This propagation throughout the entire known world witnesses the popularity of Tatian's creation. Textual evidence suggests that the gospels first appeared in Syriac, Latin,<sup>9</sup> and Armenian in the form of a gospel harmony, presumably the Diatessaron.<sup>10</sup> As a consequence, the Diatessaron is often regarded as the oldest of the Versions. Save for the canonical gospels, no monument of early Christian literature saw such broad dissemination as the Diatessaron.

The Diatessaron is of historical and scholarly significance for at least six reasons. First, since it is one of the oldest extant witnesses to the gospels, it is a premier source for recovering the most ancient text of the gospels. Louis Leloir noted that "Pour retrouver les plus anciennes leçons évangéliques, la connaissance de l'oeuvre de Tatien est d'une importance primordiale";<sup>11</sup> Sir Frederic Kenyon remarked that the Diatessaron "provides us with a text which must go back to Greek MSS. of at least the middle of the second century, and possibly much

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cited it (*infra*, 64f.); again, it is unclear whether he had a Diatessaron at his disposal, or was only repeating traditions handed down to him.

<sup>6</sup> Diatessaronic readings have been found in the Manichaean Turfan Fragments (see *infra*, 344f.; 398–403).

<sup>7</sup> The Diatessaron's presence in England antedates 1400 CE, the date of the only known MS of a Middle English Harmony, known as the Pepysian Harmony (on the Pepysian Harmony, see *infra*, 167–170), which contains numerous Diatessaronic readings. Because of the possible dependence of Tatian's Diatessaron upon Justin's harmony (see *infra*, 346–348), however, one can no longer be certain whether the tradition found in the Western vernacular harmonies (which includes the Pepysian Harmony) is that of Tatian's Diatessaron, Justin's harmony, or some amalgamation of the two.

<sup>8</sup> See A. van Arkel-de Leeuw van Weenen and G. Quispel, "The Diatessaron in Iceland and Norway," *VigChr* 32 (1978), 214–5, who adduced readings from an Icelandic Homily Book (Stockholm, Perg. 15 4°) and an Old Norwegian Homily Book (Oslo, Cod. A.M. 619 4°) which have parallels in Diatessaronic witnesses. These two MSS date from about 1200 and are among the earliest Bible citations in these languages. Cf. I.J. Kirby, *Bible Translation in Old Norse*, PFLUL 27 (Genève 1986), 95, 117. Indirectly, the Diatessaron also seems to have influenced the Estonian translation of the gospels: see H. Must, "A Diatessaronic Rendering in Luke 2.7," *NTS* 32 (1986), 136–43. Here the influence was exercised through the (Old High) German from which the Estonian was translated; the same mechanism may have been operative in the case of Icelandic and Old Norwegian.

<sup>9</sup> Again, one may now wonder whether the distinctive variant readings and harmonizations—which unquestionably exist in the oldest stratum of Latin gospel citations—stem from Tatian's harmony or Justin's.

<sup>10</sup> See *infra*, 130–133 (Syriac); 158–164 (Latin); 203–210 (Armenian).

<sup>11</sup> L. Leloir, "Le Diatessaron de Tatien," *OrSy* 1 (1956), 209.

earlier”;<sup>12</sup> and J. Rendel Harris warned that “any person who expects to solve the problem of the . . . New Testament text in the second century, without employing in the solution . . . [the] Diatessaron of Tatian, is, no doubt, victim of a delusion.”<sup>13</sup> Second, as the putative earliest gospel in Latin, Syriac, and Armenian, knowledge of the Diatessaron is a prerequisite for investigating the genesis of these Versions. That is why both Vööbus and Metzger begin their studies of the Versions with an investigation of the Diatessaron.<sup>14</sup> Third, because the Diatessaron contains certain extra-canonical traditions also cited by other early Christian writers (*e.g.*: Justin, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Jerome, and Epiphanius) and attributed by them to Judaic-Christian gospels, the Diatessaron is one of the primary sources for recovering material from these elusive gospels. This was well understood by H.J. Vogels, who noted that recovering the exact wording of the Diatessaron was “von allerhöchster Bedeutung” for the history of the New Testament canon.<sup>15</sup> Fourth, like any literary work, the Diatessaron bears the imprint of the period and community which created it. But that is not all. Because of its long transmission-history, wide popularity, and broad dissemination, it “offers extraordinary insights into the patterns of cultural transmission from the earliest Christian to the medieval world.”<sup>16</sup> The Diatessaron is an important historical source for reconstructing the beliefs and practices of both the primitive Christian communities which created it, and the later communities which preserved, used, and transmitted it. Fifth, the Diatessaron is the earliest gospel harmony recovered *in extenso*. It is also the most famous of the many gospel harmonies whose composition began in the first century and continued well into the Reformation.<sup>17</sup> Therefore the Diatessaron affords a unique opportunity to examine

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<sup>12</sup> F.G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (London 1912<sup>2</sup>; photomechanical reprint, Grand Rapids [Michigan] s.d.), 150.

<sup>13</sup> J.R. Harris, “An Important Reading in the Diatessaron,” *ET* 25 (1913/14), 347.

<sup>14</sup> Vööbus, *Early Versions*; B. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford 1977).

<sup>15</sup> H.J. Vogels, *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Bonn 1955<sup>2</sup>), 144.

<sup>16</sup> R. Murray, “The Gospel in the Medieval Netherlands,” *HeyJ* 14 (1973), 309.

<sup>17</sup> See, *e.g.*, H.J. de Jonge, “Sixteenth-century Gospel Harmonies: Chemnitz and Mercator,” in *Théorie et pratique de l'exégèse*, EPH 43 (Genève 1990), 155–66; see also M. de Lange, “Jean Gerson’s Harmony of the Gospels (1420),” *NAKG* 71 (1991), 35–47.

the techniques and motives of harmonists. These have interested not only students of the New Testament, but also scholars of the Hebrew Bible, who have used the Diatessaron as a paradigm for discerning the techniques and motives of the Chronicler<sup>18</sup> and the "harmonization" of Pentateuchal traditions.<sup>19</sup> Sixth, quite apart from theology and history, the Diatessaron is of great interest to linguists, for its witnesses are important benchmarks in the development of many western languages. They constitute the basis upon which histories of grammar and vocabulary are written.<sup>20</sup> This is especially so in cases where the Diatessaronic witnesses are either the oldest or among the oldest works in a language. Examples include the "Old High German Tatian" of Codex Sangallensis, which has been studied extensively by Germanists as the earliest, most extensive piece of Old High German literature, and the poem *Heliand*, the oldest literary monument in Old Saxon. This decisive role is illustrated by a remark of Wilhelm Wissmann, a Germanist. When it became apparent that the "Old High German Tatian" of Codex Sangallensis<sup>21</sup> was not the archetype from which all other Old High German harmonies were copied, Wissmann concluded that "Dieses Ergebnis ist für die Erforschung der ältesten deutschen Sprachgeschichte, besonders für die der Syntax, alarmierend" and "katastrophal."<sup>22</sup>

These six points illustrate the truth of Kenyon's assertion that the discovery of the Diatessaron constitutes "one of the most important episodes in the history of modern Biblical criticism."<sup>23</sup> There are, however, significant obstacles to using the Diatessaron. The first is the wide range of languages in which Diatessaronic witnesses exist. These range from Parthian to Middle English, from Syriac to Old Saxon. Secondary literature ranges just about as widely—both by language and by discipline: from Italian to Armenian, and from Germanic studies to Oriental studies. Few Patristic scholars have either the in-

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<sup>18</sup> G.F. Moore, "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Analysis of the Pentateuch," *JBL* 9 (1890), 201–215.

<sup>19</sup> P.R. Ackroyd, "The Old Testament in the Making," in *CHB* (Cambridge 1970), Vol. I, 76, 91.

<sup>20</sup> I owe this point to Dr. G. Mussies of Utrecht, the finest linguist I know.

<sup>21</sup> On the "Old High German Tatian" and Codex Sangallensis, see *infra*, 110–114.

<sup>22</sup> W. Wissmann, "Zum althochdeutschen Tatian," in *Indogermanica* (Festschrift W. Krause), edd. H. Hartmann and H. Neumann (Heidelberg 1960), 265.

<sup>23</sup> Kenyon, *Handbook*, 148.

terest or time to keep an eye on publications in Germanic studies, but the example of Wissmann shows how pertinent they are to Diatessaronic studies. The sword cuts both ways, however, for few Germanists keep abreast of developments in New Testament textual criticism—where the correct textual ancestry of the “Old High German Tatian” was first identified. It is simply a fact: the breadth of languages and disciplines relevant to Diatessaronic studies exceeds the grasp of any individual. That is one of the reasons why no bibliography of literature on the Diatessaron has ever been assembled, and no comprehensive catalogue of Diatessaronic witnesses and their editions has ever been published. Lacking these tools, many—perhaps wisely!—have chosen to avoid what Vööbus termed “one of the most difficult topics in all the field of New Testament textual criticism.”<sup>24</sup>

The second obstacle is the very nature of the work. The text of the Diatessaron must be reconstructed from snippets of text tucked here and there in “witnesses” to the Diatessaron. Identifying these genuinely Diatessaronic passages is no easy task: they can only be found by “un patient travail comparatif.”<sup>25</sup> First, allowances must be made for the idioms, grammatical requirements, and syntactic limitations of each witness’ language. Is the reading genuinely Diatessaronic, or is it only a quirk of syntax particular to the witness’ language? Next, one must reckon with the possible influence of “local” texts and the latent inclination of all Bible readers to harmonize and conflate, especially when quoting. Can a direct line of dependence be drawn *from* a particular witness *to* the Diatessaron, or could the reading have been acquired from some other source, such as the gospel text current in a particular geographic area? Alternatively, could it be a spontaneous harmonization or variant wrought by the author, unrelated to the Diatessaron? Even after these hurdles have been cleared, one still faces the problem of transmission: each witness has its own textual history, and everywhere, in every age, the tendency has been to bring texts into conformity with the “standard” gospel text of that time and place.<sup>26</sup> Consequently, many genuine Diatessaronic

<sup>24</sup> Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Leloir, “Le Diatessaron de Tatien,” 209.

<sup>26</sup> This tendency (which is exactly opposite to the previous point of spontaneous harmonizations and variants) is well-known: in the *Introduction to the New Testament in the original Greek* (London, 1882<sup>1</sup>, 1896<sup>2</sup>) (Vol. 2 of their *New Testament in the original Greek*), B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort noted

readings either have been lost or are unverifiable. After checking hundreds of possible readings in each of ten or fifteen witnesses, a yield of five percent as genuinely Diatessaronic is good. This is pure scientific research where, as in the physical sciences, there is no assurance of success before beginning, and many hours will be invested before one can even begin to gauge the results. Obviously, this type of work will not appeal to everyone. For this reason, Georg Baesecke described those who study the Diatessaron as an “Orden innerhalb eines Ordens.”<sup>27</sup>

The final obstacle has been method. Within the field it has evolved slowly. Until recently there was no accepted standard against which prospective Diatessaronic readings could be measured. Each scholar used his or her own criteria—never delineated for the audience—to determine which readings were Diatessaronic. These criteria not only differed from scholar to scholar, but even from reading to reading, for they were often applied inconsistently by the same scholar. This confused state of affairs bred a healthy skepticism among those outside the field,<sup>28</sup> and led Adolf Jülicher to scoff that “Man darf von einem Tatianuskultus sprechen.”<sup>29</sup> Put charitably, the field was seen as too problematic, too abstruse, and too difficult; less charitably, it was seen as idiosyncratic, chaotic, and lacking norms and controls.

It would be foolhardy to obscure the difficulties of studying the Diatessaron; but it would be equally foolhardy to deny the exceptional insights into the development of the text of the gospels—and their theology, use, and interpretation—which the study of the Diatessaron bestows upon the patient researcher.

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It is now more than one hundred years since Theodore Zahn inaugurated his magisterial *Forschungen zur Geschichte des*

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the “proneness of both scribes and modern editors to alter the text before them into conformity with the written or printed text most familiar to themselves” (110). Among modern editors, this tendency mars some editions of Diatessaronic witnesses (see, e.g., *infra*, 105, n. 84; 137; 457).

<sup>27</sup> G. Baesecke, *Die Überlieferung des althochdeutschen Tatian*, HM 4 (Halle 1948), 3.

<sup>28</sup> Cp. the comments of R. Murray and B. Metzger, cited *infra*, p. 361, nn. 10 and 11.

<sup>29</sup> A. Jülicher, “Der echte Tatiantext,” *JBL* 63 (1924), 132.



*neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur* with a volume titled simply *Tatian's Diatessaron*,<sup>30</sup> and over fifty years since Curt Peters published the last major study of the Diatessaron under the title *Das Diatessaron Tatians*.<sup>31</sup> Developments since then—the publication of the Venetian Harmony, the Tuscan Harmony, and the Persian Harmony, the discovery of the *Gospel according to Thomas*, and the Syriac recension of Ephrem Syrus' *Commentary* on the Diatessaron, to name only the most obvious—mean that their lists of witnesses as well as their conclusions are dated. A new study of the field was in order.

The volume in hand is planned as follows. The first chapter examines gospel traditions—especially harmonized documents—in the second century. Our familiarity with the separate canonical gospels has obscured how many different traditions were available then, but are now lost. Evidence is presented to demonstrate that the present canonical gospels were still in a state of evolution. The relative antiquity of these various traditions is described, and the Diatessaron's position is stipulated. The next chapter introduces Tatian. *Testimonia* concerning the Diatessaron and its attribution to Tatian are reviewed. His biography is presented, along with a discussion of the effect of his theology upon the Diatessaron and his reasons for composing a gospel harmony. Chapters three through six combine a description of the Diatessaronic witnesses with a history of Diatessaronic studies. No previous study has offered a history of research; that is unfortunate, for a description of witnesses is pointless unless one understands the role each played in the evolution of the discipline. If one follows the history of scholarship step by step, then one discovers that what are today regarded as “questions” were often definitively answered a century ago. Combining a history of the discipline with a description of the witnesses enables the reader to see the role the discovery of individual witnesses played in shaping the course of Diatessaronic studies; it allows the reader to follow the arguments and the trail of evidence which culminates in a summary of present knowledge and description of remaining problems. Chapter three commences in 546 CE, and chapter six concludes with the most recent developments, through 1993. Chapter seven offers the reader firsthand experience with the

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<sup>30</sup> FGNK 1 (Erlangen 1881).

<sup>31</sup> OrChrA 123 (Roma 1939).

text of the Diatessaron. The difficulties in searching for genuine Diatessaronic readings are illustrated by examples, as are the methods for overcoming them. Individual readings are presented to support the claims made for the Diatessaron's importance for New Testament and historical studies. The last chapter of the book (chapter eight) uses these examples and the history of research presented in chapters three through six to summarize the present state of the discipline, and to indicate areas which need research. The book concludes with two sections intended to compensate for the present lack of tools for Diatessaronic research: an Appendix, which provides a *Catalogue of Manuscripts of Diatessaronic Witnesses and Related Works*, and a *Bibliography* of literature on Tatian and the Diatessaron.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE SECOND-CENTURY BACKGROUND

Few epochs in the history of Christianity are more important or obscure than the second century. Any attempt to study this period is immediately confronted with the question of sources. Among the most valuable are the second-century writers and documents themselves; these include Justin, Theophilus, and Irenaeus among the former, and the *Didache*, the *Protevangelium Iacobi*, the *Gospel of Peter*, and the *Gospel according to Thomas* among the latter. We also have recourse to sources anterior to these earliest writers and documents, for we may study the sources *they* cite in their quotations or allusions.

When examined closely, many gospel quotations found in second-century sources display two striking characteristics. First, in addition to quotations from what appear to be early versions of the present canonical gospels (a topic dealt with in the next paragraph), these sources also quote gospels later considered extra-canonical, such as the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, the *Gospel according to Thomas*, the gospel used by the Nazoraeans, and the gospel used by the Naassenes, among others. Sometimes the quotations are presented with a cautionary note, warning that the author does not consider the gospel authoritative;<sup>1</sup> but in other instances the citation is presented without comment, leading to the conclusion that the author apparently considered it authoritative. This underscores the frequently ignored facts that (1) there was no set canon in the second century; (2) some gospels which would later be considered heretical were used by “orthodox” members of the Great Church; and (3) some gospels, which were originally regarded as “heterodox” by many in the Great Church later became “orthodox” (*e.g.*, the Gospel of John<sup>2</sup>).

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<sup>1</sup> Examples are Irenaeus, *Haer.* I.20.1–3 (*Irénée de Lyon, Contre les Hérésies, Livre I*, edd. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau, SC 264 [Paris 1979], 288–294); Origen, *de princ.* I praef. 8 (*Origène, Traité des Principes, Tome I*, edd. H. Crouzel and M. Simonetti, SC 252 [Paris 1978], 86).

<sup>2</sup> Almost all histories of the canon fail to note that John was either rejected or accepted only with reservations in the West—especially in Rome—

Turning our attention to the citations from what we called “early versions of the present canonical gospels,” it quickly becomes apparent that these citations, when compared with the text preserved in our oldest manuscripts of the gospels, often contain striking variants. This is incontestable evidence that the text of the four canonical gospels was in a state of flux in the second century. After surveying the relevant materials, Helmut Koester concluded that “All the evidence . . . points to the fact that the text of the Synoptic Gospels was very unstable during the first and second centuries.”<sup>3</sup> Kurt and Barbara Aland make the same point differently: “in the second century the New Testament text was not yet firmly established. . . . It is not until 180 (in Irenaeus) that signs of an established text appear.”<sup>4</sup> Since a religious group’s texts reflect its theology and praxis, both of the phenomena noted (the citation of extra-canonical gospels, and the variants in the citations of gospels which would later become canonical) are valuable evidence for research into the social world of second-century Christianity.

For the moment, let us put aside the matter of the extra-canonical gospels, and examine the citations from the gospels which would later become canonical. Our earliest codices of the canonical gospels, Codex Vaticanus (B) and Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲛ), date only from the fourth century. The agreements between Vaticanus (B) and ⲑ<sup>75</sup> (a papyrus dated to about 200<sup>5</sup>) demonstrate that the text-type represented in Vaticanus, the so-called “Alexandrian Text,”<sup>6</sup> is older, and can be traced back

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during the first Christian centuries. It was rejected in the early third century by the Roman presbyter Gaius (also spelt Caius) who attributed it to the gnostic Cerinthus; among Hippolytus’ lost works is a “Defence of the Gospel and Apocalypse of John.” The Alogoi also claimed Cerinthian authorship. See: A. Bludau, *Die ersten Gegner der Johannes-Schriften*, BSt(F) 22.1–2 (Freiburg 1925); B.H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (London 1924), esp. the section “The Hesitation of Rome,” 436–42.

<sup>3</sup> H. Koester, “The Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century,” in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text and Transmission*, ed. W.L. Petersen, CJA 3 (Notre Dame [Indiana], 1989), 37.

<sup>4</sup> K. and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids [Michigan]/Leiden 1989<sup>2</sup>), 55.

<sup>5</sup> V. Martin and R. Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV*, BBod (Zürich 1961), 13, date the papyrus to between 175 and 225. K. & B. Aland, *The Text*, 101, date it to the third century.

<sup>6</sup> Also called the “neutral” (note the lower case “n”) text by Westcott and Hort. For a discussion of the terminology, see F.G. Kenyon, *The Text of the Greek Bible*, revised and augmented by A.W. Adams (London 1975<sup>3</sup>), 181, 214–23; B. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (Oxford 1968<sup>2</sup>), 133–34, 215–19.

as far as 200. However, within the ambit of the canonical gospels, we know that other textual traditions circulated at this time. An example is the so-called "Western Text,"<sup>7</sup> whose premier witness is the fifth-century Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D).<sup>8</sup> Like B and  $\aleph$ , the text-type found in D has earlier representatives in third-century papyri ( $\rho$  29.38.48).<sup>9</sup> But the origin of the "Western Text" is older than the third century, for many of the earliest Christian writers—such as Marcion, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Cyprian—frequently cite the canonical gospels in the form of this "Western Text." Regarding Clement of Alexandria, F.C. Burkitt noted that: "[His] quotations have a fundamentally 'Western' character. His allies are not B and the Coptic Versions, but D and the Old Latins."<sup>10</sup> Burkitt's conclusion has been tempered by the most thorough and recent examination of Clement's text, that of M. Mees, who places Clement's text somewhere between the "neutral" Alexandrian Text and the "Western Text."<sup>11</sup> What does the presence of these "Western" readings mean for the B- $\aleph$  text? Burkitt again:

In the first place, they cut off the only channel by which we might have thought to connect the 'non-Western' text, as an organic whole, with apostolic times. With Clement's evidence before us we must recognise that the earliest texts of the Gospels are fundamentally 'Western' in every country of which we

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<sup>7</sup> The expression "so-called" and the use of quotation marks around the words "Western text" are not—pace K. & B. Aland, *The Text*, 55—an admission that the "Western Text" does not exist, or is, in the Alands' words, a "phantom." Rather, scholarship uses these devices to remind the reader that the name "Western" is a misnomer; see *infra*, 140–144.

<sup>8</sup> See the discussion by J.N. Birdsall, "The Western Text in the Second Century," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text and Transmission*, ed. W.L. Petersen, CJA 3 (Notre Dame [Indiana], 1989), 3–17. The most recent study of Codex Bezae is by D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge 1991).

<sup>9</sup> See the discussion by E.J. Epp, "The Significance of the Papyri for Determining the Nature of the New Testament Text in the Second Century: A Dynamic View of Textual Criticism," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text and Transmission*, ed. W.L. Petersen, CJA 3 (Notre Dame [Indiana] 1989), 71–103; esp. 98–100.

<sup>10</sup> F.C. Burkitt, in his "Introduction" to P.M. Barnard, *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria in the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles*, TaS V.5 (Cambridge 1899), p. xi.

<sup>11</sup> In Mees' exemplary study (M. Mees, *Die Zitate aus dem Neuen Testament bei Clemens von Alexandrien*, *Quadreni di Vetera Christianorum* 2 [Bari 1970]), each of Clement's NT citations is excised, and compared with the NT MS tradition and other Patristic evidence. His conclusions are reached on a book-by-book basis: see 52–54 (Matt.), 84–86 (Luke), and 105–07 (John).

have knowledge, even in Egypt. If we have any real trust in antiquity, any real belief in the continuity of Christian tradition, we must be prepared to admit many 'Western' readings as authentic, as alone having a historical claim to originality.<sup>12</sup>

This is not just the judgement of one man; consider the much more recent statement of Sir Frederic Kenyon:

Of all of these [*viz.* Justin and Marcion] it can be said that the evidence, so far as it goes, seems to show that they used texts which show a considerable amount of deviation from the Alexandrian type. The same is the case with Irenaeus. . . . In the Gospels and Acts [the MSS used by Irenaeus] were of a distinctly Western type such as is found in Codex Bezae. . . . [Clement of Alexandria's] quotations are plentiful, and it is a noteworthy fact, in view of his place of residence, that in the Gospels they also are generally not of the  $\aleph$  B family, but broadly agree with the Western type found in D, the Old Syriac, and Old Latin.<sup>13</sup>

Westcott and Hort agreed, remarking that "On all accounts the Western text claims our attention first. The earliest readings which can be fixed chronologically [*i.e.*, Patristic citations] belong to it."<sup>14</sup> It is this Patristic evidence—not codices or papyri of the gospels—which allows us to date the origin of the "Western Text" to no later than the first half of the second century. This demonstrates an important point: our earliest evidence for the text of the gospels is *not* found in papyri or codices of the canonical gospels, but in Patristic quotations. Further, our earliest evidence for the text of the gospels has the characteristics of the "Western Text," the textual family to which the Diatessaron belongs.<sup>15</sup>

Justin Martyr († 162–167) is the earliest Father to offer extensive quotations from the gospels. His *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* and his *First Apology* survive in two principal manuscripts, one from the fourteenth and one from the sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Burkitt, "Introduction," pp. xvii–xviii.

<sup>13</sup> Kenyon, *The Text*, 169.

<sup>14</sup> B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek* (Vol. II of *The New Testament in the Original Greek*) (Cambridge 1881 [reprinted: Peabody (Massachusetts) 1988]; also in the second edition, 1896), §170, p. 120.

<sup>15</sup> See *infra*, 140–144.

<sup>16</sup> The manuscripts are: Paris: Bibliothèque National, MS graec. 450, dated 11 September 1364 (in Goodspeed's edition [*Die ältesten Apologeten*, ed. E.J. Goodspeed (Göttingen 1914)], MS "A"); and Middlehill (England): Cod. Claromontanus, dated 1541 (Goodspeed's "B").

Justin's quotations frequently differ from the text of the present canonical gospels.<sup>17</sup> In absolute terms, many of his variant readings are datable to a point earlier than the oldest witnesses for the present canonical reading. Now, given that it has already been stated that Justin's text survives in two manuscripts, one from the fourteenth and one from the sixteenth century—both far more recent than the fourth-century codices  $\aleph$  and B or the third-century papyri—how, then, can one appraise certain of his readings as having an antiquity equal to or, in some cases, even greater than readings in the canonical manuscript tradition? The answer turns on three points, two of which are axioms of textual criticism; the third is simply an empirical fact.

First, one of the fundamental principles of textual criticism is that the age of a manuscript is unrelated to the antiquity of the readings it presents. For example, a fifteenth-century manuscript may derive from a now-lost second-century archetype, while a sixth-century manuscript may derive from a bowdlerized fourth-century archetype, also lost. In such a situation, the text of the fifteenth-century manuscript is superior to that of the sixth-century manuscript. A second basic principle is that the "majority reading," speaking numerically, has *no* intrinsic value over any other reading for, once again, this majority may stem from a corrupt hyparchetype,<sup>18</sup> while the single manuscript may be the lone witness to the uncorrupted archetype.<sup>19</sup> This axiom

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<sup>17</sup> This phenomenon is well-known, and has occasioned many studies: see the chapter on Justin in H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (Philadelphia/London 1990), 360–402; see also A.J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, NT.S 17 (Leiden 1967).

<sup>18</sup> On the terminology "hyparchetype" and "archetype," see P. Maas, *Textual Criticism* (Oxford 1958), 2–6.

<sup>19</sup> An example of this phenomenon in the Diatessaronic family of texts occurs in the Middle Italian Harmonies (on these, see *infra*, 247–251), extant in two families of manuscripts, one in the Venetian dialect, the other in the Tuscan. The Venetian survives in a single manuscript, the Tuscan in 26 manuscripts. Yet, when compared with other Diatessaronic witnesses, the single manuscript in the Venetian dialect (the "Venetian Harmony") preserves a greater number of Diatessaronic readings. See W.L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist*, CSCO 475 (Louvain 1985), 35–36; 159. In this study, 28 passages were deemed Diatessaronic; 9 were paralleled in the single Venetian manuscript, while only 5 were paralleled among the twenty-six Tuscan manuscripts.

In another example—this time *within* the Tuscan family, at Luke 24.37—it is the reading *fantasima*, which is found in only one manuscript in the Tuscan family, which agrees with the Diatessaronic tradition (the other Diatessaronic witnesses with the reading are presented *infra*, 229); the rest of the Tuscan tradition—25 manuscripts in all—reads *spirito*, which agrees with the canonical Greek reading πνεῦμα.

is especially pertinent in situations where attempts at textual standardization have been made—and sacred theological writings are obviously such a case.<sup>20</sup> The third point is strictly empirical. The existence of similar or identical variant readings in documents authored in the same period indicate that the reading is genuine to that period, and not some later interloper.<sup>21</sup> An example will illustrate these points.

In Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, 88, we find an account of Jesus' baptism. Using vocabulary virtually identical with the synoptics, Justin tells of Jesus approaching John the Baptist, the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, and the voice from heaven. However, Justin's account also includes a detail not found in any Greek gospel manuscript. Justin states that when Jesus entered the water, "... and a fire was kindled in the Jordan" (... καὶ πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ).<sup>22</sup> What is one to make of this reading? One's first inclination is to regard it as a corruption which crept into the *Dialogue* sometime between the first half of the second century, when Justin wrote it, and the date of our oldest manuscript, the fourteenth century. Examination of the full range of evidence, however, dictates a different conclusion.

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<sup>20</sup> Cp. the observation of H. Koester, "The Text of the Synoptic Gospels," in *Gospel Traditions*, 20: "... the Gospels, from the very beginning, were not archive materials but used texts. This is the worst thing that could happen to any textual tradition. A text, not protected by canonical status, but used in liturgy, apologetics, polemics, homiletics, and instruction of catechumens is most likely to be copied frequently and is thus subject to frequent modifications and alterations." See also the quotation from Westcott and Hort, *supra*, p. 5, n. 26.

<sup>21</sup> Dr. G. Mussies of Utrecht drew my attention to a possible exception. It is conceivable that gospel quotations in one manuscript might have been brought into conformity with a local gospel text known to the scribe. If that local text were riddled with Diatessaronic readings, then it would be difficult to determine whether the many manuscripts had been "Vulgarized," or whether the one manuscript had been "Tatianized." Questions of provenance, of what was the "standard text" in that place and period, and whether the original author of the work might have known the Diatessaron—all of these questions would have to be answered before a decision could be made. Such a process of "Tatianizing" is, however, very unlikely to have taken place in *all* manuscripts of an author—Justin Martyr, for example; in his case, the "Tatianisms" seem to be part of his original text. Examples of the "Tatianizing" of manuscripts are, however, found in the East, where the "standard" (by the norms of the Syrian church) Diatessaronic readings were often substituted for the Greek gospel citations when the works of various Greek Fathers (*e.g.*, Eusebius) were translated into Syriac (see *infra*, 223–224). Observe, however, that we are able to detect and stipulate the point of influence with relative ease.

<sup>22</sup> *Dial.* 88.3 (*Die ältesten Apologeten*, ed. E.J. Goodspeed [Göttingen 1914], 202).



The fourth-century writer Epiphanius reports that the baptismal account in a gospel used by an early Judaic-Christian group, the Ebionites, contained the following: "... and immediately a great light shone around the place" (... καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα).<sup>23</sup> This demonstrates that the reading is at least as old as Epiphanius—the fourth century—and almost certainly even older, for the Ebionites flourished in the first two Christian centuries. Corroboration of a date prior to the fourth century comes from the Latin gospel tradition, where two Vetus Latina manuscripts—that is, manuscripts which reflect the text of the gospels prior to Jerome's Vulgate revision in the late fourth century (the date 384 is often proposed)—interpolate the reading *ante* Matt 3.16: "... a great light shone about from the water" (... *lumen ingens circumfulsit de aqua*): so MS *a*, fourth century—the oldest Vetus Latina manuscript extant); "... a big light shone from the water" (... *lumen magnum fulgebat de aqua*): so MS *g*<sup>1</sup>, sixth century).<sup>24</sup> In order to have found its way into the canonical Matthew of MS *a*, the reading must have originated earlier than the fourth century. Since Epiphanius states that the reading stood in the "Hebrew gospel," and since a similarly named document is cited in the second century by Clement of Alexandria and in the third century by Origen, circulation of the reading in the second century seems likely. Textual support for such an assertion comes from the sixth of the *Sibylline Oracles* (6.4–6), which probably references the incident ("... when he had washed in the streams of the river/Jordan, which moves with gleaming foot, sweeping the waves./He will escape the fire [πυρός] and be the first to see delightful God..."), and is dated to before 300. The seventh of the *Sibylline Oracles* (7.81–84) clearly knows the tradition ("You shall pour a libation of water on pure fire, crying out as follows,/ 'As the Father begot you, the Word, so I have dispatched a bird,/ a word which is swift reporter of words, sprinkling/ with holy waters your baptism, through which you were revealed out of fire [πυρός]"), and is usually dated to the second century.<sup>25</sup> Thus, by referencing sources independent from

<sup>23</sup> Epiphanius, *haer.* 30.13 (*Epiphanius I, Ancoratus und Panarion haer.* 1–33, ed. K. Holl, GCS 25 [Leipzig 1915], 350–51).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Itala, I. Matthäus-Evangelium*, ed. A. Jülicher (Berlin 1938), 14.

<sup>25</sup> "Sibylline Oracles," ed. J.J. Collins, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J.H. Charlesworth (Garden City [New Jersey] 1983), Vol. I, 406, 408. For the Greek text: *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, ed. J. Geffcken, GCS 8 (Leipzig 1902), 130, 137.

Justin, it can be demonstrated that the tradition he transmits indeed stems from the second century. One is, therefore, justified in concluding that the “fire” in the Jordan is a genuine part of Justin’s text as he penned it in the mid-second century.<sup>26</sup>

Let us pause and compare the antiquity of Justin’s reading with our present canonical reading. Scholarship acknowledges that whatever source Justin is quoting, it is related to the synoptics and/or their traditions,<sup>27</sup> and not the Gospel of John (which Justin cites only once, if at all).<sup>28</sup> The fact that two *Vetus Latina* manuscripts of *Matthew* also contain this variant reinforces the conclusion that Justin’s source was a synoptic or proto-synoptic tradition. The oldest canonical account of the baptism from a synoptic gospel is in  $\wp$ <sup>75</sup>, dated to about 200;<sup>29</sup> it contains Luke 3.18–4.2. But Justin’s reading antedates  $\wp$ <sup>75</sup> by at least half a century; in fact, if one compares Justin’s absolute date with that of the papyrus, then it is Justin who offers the earliest “synoptic” account of Jesus’ baptism.<sup>30</sup> And its description includes a “fire” in the Jordan.

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<sup>26</sup> On this tradition and the variance between  $\phi\omega\varsigma$  and  $\pi\acute{o}\rho$ , see: H.J.W. Drijvers and G. Reinink, “Taufe und Licht. Tatian, Ebionäerevangelium und Thomasakten,” *Text and Testimony, Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A.F.J. Klijn*, edd. Tj. Baarda, A. Hilhorst, G.P. Luttikhuizen and A.S. van der Woude (Kampen 1988), 91–110; also E. Bammel, “Die Täufertraditionen bei Justin,” *StPatr* 8.2 (TU 93) (1966), 53–61. Strangely enough, none of these scholars broach the possibility that the bifurcation of the tradition might have arisen in Aramaic, from confusion between two homophones which are also orthographically almost identical:  $\text{ܢܗܪܐ}$  (*nuhra*: “light”) and  $\text{ܢܪܐ}$  (*nura*: “fire”). Prof. David Levinson first called my attention to this possibility, which must have occurred to expert Orientalists like Drijvers and Reinink. I suspect, however, that they discarded it without remark, since modern scholarship presumes that the source Epiphanius’ is quoting (the *Gospel of the Ebionites*) was originally composed in Greek, the “proof” being the substitution of  $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma$  (“a cake dipped in oil”) for the canonical  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$  (“a locust”). The obvious ease with which the confusion could have arisen in Aramaic (or Syriac), and the possibility that the source Epiphanius was quoting might have existed in Aramaic (or Syriac) earlier in its transmission history (see *infra*, 39–41), commends Levinson’s solution.

<sup>27</sup> H. Koester (*Ancient Christian Gospels*, 394; “Justin’s reports are based upon the Synoptic accounts”) notes that Justin’s “Holy Spirit,” “in the form of a dove,” and full quotation of Ps. 2.7 (“this day I have begotten you”) all presuppose the Gospel of Luke—in a textual form similar to that now found in Codex Bezae (D). But Justin is also dependent upon Mark and Matthew for his references to John baptizing at the Jordan when Jesus came, and his description of John’s diet.

<sup>28</sup> At *Apol.* 61.4 (ed. Goodspeed, 70): John 3.3, 5.

<sup>29</sup> See *supra*, p. 10, n. 5.

<sup>30</sup> It is acknowledged that the Synoptic gospels were probably composed

The fate of this reading in the hands of later redactors is fascinating. We saw that Justin, the "Hebrew gospel," the *Sibylline Oracles*, and two canonical Vetus Latina manuscripts give the reading without remark: it is their "standard" version of the baptism. Later Latin manuscripts, however, either do not know this tradition or, if they know it, choose not to reproduce it. Despite the incontestable antiquity of the "Hebrew gospel" used by the Ebionites, Epiphanius disparages it as a "falsified and distorted" (νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ἠκρωτηριασμένῳ) gospel, used by heretics.<sup>31</sup> But it is impossible to call Justin a heretic, for he is a martyr and saint; yet he used—without comment, and apparently as his "standard text"—a text of Jesus' baptism which shares variants with this heretical "Hebrew gospel."

While the antiquity of Justin's reading is indisputable, its value for the reconstruction of the early text of the Gospel of Matthew is uncertain, for one can imagine several scenarios. In the first scenario, Justin's reading might stem from a more ancient redaction of the Gospel of Matthew than  $\wp^{75}$ .  $\wp^{75}$  would represent a later redaction of Matthew, from which this specific reading was removed. In such a situation, Justin would present us with the most ancient recoverable text of Matthew. In a second scenario, Justin and  $\wp^{75}$  witness different recensions of the primitive Gospel of Matthew. In such a circumstance, it would be impossible to determine which of the two preserves the more ancient form of the text. In a third scenario, Justin knows the same form of Matthew as  $\wp^{75}$ , but interpolated into it early (but non-Matthean) traditions known to him from other sources; one such tradition was the "fire" at the baptism. In such a scenario, Justin's evidence would be irrelevant to efforts to reconstruct the primitive form of Matthew. In a fourth scenario, Justin has access to a Hebrew or Aramaic gospel, the same early Hebrew or Aramaic traditions which are the *Vorlage* from which our Greek Matthew was later translated and given a specific redaction. In this case, Justin's text would be valuable as a witness to the pre-canonical form of Matthew

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before the end of the first century, certainly no later than 110; however, we have no evidence—prior to Justin—for their text in the baptismal episode. The argument that  $\wp^{75}$  has correctly preserved the text of Luke while Justin has not is based on an *a priori* assumption, for there is no evidence before  $\wp^{75}$  except Justin! Such an argument is, therefore, defective.

<sup>31</sup> Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 30.13.2 (ed. Holl), 349.

traditions. Additional scenarios can be imagined; which of them is correct can only be speculated.

It is important that the reader understand exactly what this example demonstrates. We have already pointed out that textual criticism cautions against presuming that the “earliest recoverable reading”—in this case, Justin’s (in terms of datable origin, not manuscript date)—is the “best” reading. Hence, we are *not* proposing that Justin’s reading is the “best” reading. Rather, this example demonstrates a curious circumstance: although we can recover two versions of Jesus’ baptism, one of which mentions a “fire” (or “light”) in the Jordan, and one which does not, the most ancient of these in terms of absolute date—that of the orthodox Father Justin, which includes the “fire” and which can be dated to the middle of the second century—is rejected as an extra-canonical tradition, while a reading which can be traced back no further than the beginning of the third century is chosen by scholars for their critical text (signifying, presumably, that it is the “better,” more reliable, and “more primitive” reading—claims which are not self-evident), principally because it agrees with the majority of *later* manuscripts. Burkitt made the plea in 1899: “Let us trust the earliest text we can get . . . and see whether the result does not justify the venture.”<sup>32</sup> Here—for reasons which are not clear from a strictly scholarly point of view—the earliest recoverable form of the pericope has *not* been trusted.

This example has been pursued in some detail because the tradition of a “fire” (or “light”) in the Jordan at Jesus’ baptism is also preserved in another second-century source, the Diatessaron. In the Eastern witnesses to the Diatessaron (which will be described fully in chapters three through six) we find the following:

Ephrem’s *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (Armenian recension; Syriac *hiatus*), IV.5:

*Et cum vidisset, ex splendore lucis super aquas et per vocem factam de caelis . . .*<sup>33</sup>

And when he had seen, from the bright light upon the water and by the voice from heaven . . .

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<sup>32</sup> F.C. Burkitt, in the “Introduction” to P.M. Barnard, *The Biblical Text*, p. xix.

<sup>33</sup> *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l’Évangile concordant, version arménienne*, ed. L. Leloir, CSCO 145 (Louvain 1954), 36.

Isho'dad of Merv's *Commentary* (at Matt 3.15–16):

ⲉⲩⲧⲁ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲕ ⲕⲉⲗ ⲕⲓⲙⲁ ⲁⲩⲉⲃⲏⲧ ⲛⲁⲩⲱⲧ ⲛⲓⲕ ⲕⲉⲙⲱⲧ  
 34 : ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲱ ⲕⲓⲗ ⲛⲁⲩⲱⲧ

And straightway, as the Diatessaron testifies, a powerful light shone, and above the Jordan it [the light] was enveloped by white clouds . . .<sup>35</sup>

Romanos Melodos, *First Hymn on the Epiphany*, XVI.14.7–10:

καὶ πάλιν θεωρῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ρείθρων  
 τὸν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν παίδων φανέντα,  
 δρόσον ἐν πυρὶ καὶ πῦρ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ  
λάμπον, πηγάζον, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀπρόσιτον.<sup>36</sup>

(As John the Baptist approaches Jesus to baptize him, he marvels:)

And seeing again in the middle of the streams  
 The one who appeared in the midst of the three youths,  
 The dew in the fire, and the fire in the Jordan,  
Shining, springing forth, the unapproachable Light.

Among the Western witnesses to the Diatessaron (which will also be described fully in chapters three through six) we find the following:

Pepysian Harmony, 7:

*And þo baptized John Jesus. And whan he was baptized, and was in  
 praier for hem þat resceyueden baptizinge in his name, so com þe  
 briȝthnesse of heuene & þe Holy Gost, & alȝth wiþinne hym.*<sup>37</sup>

*Vita Rhythmica*, lines 3684–87:

*Cum ergo Jesus a Johanne foret baptizatus  
 populusque plurimus cum ipso renovatus,  
 ecce celum est apertum, lux magnaue refulsit*

<sup>34</sup> *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv*, ed. M.D. Gibson, 3 vols., HSem V–VII (Cambridge 1911); here, Vol. II (HSem VI), 45.

<sup>35</sup> Translation adapted from *ibid.*, Vol. I (HSem V), 27.

<sup>36</sup> *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes II*, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons; here, SC 110 (Paris 1965), 254. A further reference to the “light” in the Jordan probably exists in another hymn of Romanos: *Second Hymn on the Epiphany*, XVII.1, lines 1–4, with φῶς . . . ἄσβεστον read in line 4 (*ibid.*, 270).

<sup>37</sup> *The Pepysian Harmony*, ed. M. Goates, EETS 157 (London 1922), 10.

*in Jesum necnon universos presentes circumfulsit.*<sup>38</sup>

Now when Jesus was about to be baptized by John and many of the people with him were renewed, behold, the heaven was opened, and a great light shone in Jesus as well as shining about all those present.

This is evidence, first, for the antiquity of some of the traditions in the Diatessaron: they can antedate our oldest canonical manuscripts and can be fixed to the second century. Second, it demonstrates that the traditions found in the Diatessaron are neither capricious nor egregious: one cannot assume that Tatian is responsible for all the Diatessaron's deviations from the text of the canonical gospels, for in some instances he is reliably transmitting a very ancient tradition. Third, it shows that traditions in the Diatessaron are sometimes connected with primitive recensions which were either so obscure that they failed to be included in the main Greek manuscript tradition, or, alternately, were actively rejected by later Christians.<sup>39</sup> This last point underlines the importance of the Diatessaron for studies of the most primitive strata of the gospel tradition and, by extension, for church history: the tapestry of the early church becomes infinitely richer when one perceives the variety of gospel readings current in the second century. Charting the currents of historical theology and church history becomes easier and surer when one can document trajectories by means of datable textual variants. In the second century, canonical sources fail us in this endeavour, but Patristic sources do not. Where sufficient reference points can be established, gospel traditions in the second century can be fixed with a very high degree of certainty.

At this point, the reader must be apprised of a pertinent fact ignored by most handbooks of New Testament textual criticism, and by the editors of critical editions of the Greek New Testament. In the second edition (1896) of the second volume (*Introduction and Appendix*) of their *The New Testament in the original Greek*, B.F. Westcott (F.J.A. Hort was by then deceased) acknowledged that

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<sup>38</sup> *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, ed. A. Vögtlin, BLVS 180 (Tübingen 1888), 129.

<sup>39</sup> In the case of the "light" at Jesus' baptism, the presence of the tradition in both the eastern and western Christendom in the second century seems to point more towards rejection rather than ignorance.

The discovery of the Sinaitic MS. of the Old Syriac raises the question whether the combination of the oldest types of the Syriac and Latin texts can outweigh the combination of the primary Greek texts. A careful examination of the passages in which Syr.<sup>sin</sup> and *k* are arrayed against  $\aleph$ B, would point to the conclusion.<sup>40</sup>

This is a stunning concession, for it was the edition of Westcott and Hort which championed the idea that the most primitive recoverable form of the text—indeed, the “original” text, as they put it in their title—was to be found in B! But by 1896 the evidence to the contrary was so compelling that Westcott himself states he would favour the readings of the “combination of the oldest . . . Syriac and Latin texts” over the “combination of the primary Greek texts,” namely his beloved B with  $\aleph$ .

Westcott’s view was quickly embraced by F.C. Burkitt who, in 1899, asked rhetorically, “what right [have we] to reject the [reading of the] oldest Syriac and the oldest Latin when they agree[?]”<sup>41</sup>

Alexander Souter was even more outspoken in 1909, when he wrote:

The combination of Syr<sup>sin</sup> and *k* would now generally be regarded as sufficient to upset the combination of B $\aleph$  or, in other words, the versions may sometimes have retained the correct text, where all known Greek MSS. have lost it. This is a principle of the highest importance, and likely to be increasingly fruitful.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> The citation is from the “Additional Notes” (to §170 [p. 121]) printed on p. 328 of the *Introduction and Appendix* (Vol. 2 of *The New Testament in the original Greek*) (Cambridge 1896<sup>2</sup>). We shall have cause to return to this matter later in our study (see *infra*, 140–144; 164).

Although F.C. Burkitt provided the “Supplementary Notes to the Appendix” (= pp. 143–47 in the *Appendix*), and Westcott credits him both with “inserting the evidence [from Syr<sup>sin</sup>] in the ‘Notes on Select Readings’” (= pp. 1–43 in the *Appendix*) and “contributing other independent notes of considerable interest which deal mainly with questions suggested by Syriac authorities,” it is clear that this statement, on p. 328, is from the hand of Westcott himself.

<sup>41</sup> Burkitt, in the “Introduction” to P.M. Barnard, *The Biblical Text*, p. xix.

<sup>42</sup> A. Souter, “Progress in Textual Criticism of the Gospels since Westcott and Hort,” in *Mansfield College Essays, Presented to the Reverend Andrew Fairbairn* (London 1909), 363.

Eberhard Nestle endorsed the principle and cited Westcott approvingly.<sup>43</sup> C.H. Turner agreed, asserting that “the agreement of European Westerns with non-Alexandrian Easterns [*viz.* the Syrian, Armenian, etc.] appears to give the true text (against  $\aleph$  B  $k$ ) . . .”<sup>44</sup> That connoisseur of Syriac literature, Arthur Vööbus, also endorsed the principle, for he found it confirmed by his researches.<sup>45</sup> The position of these scholars is striking, not because it overturned the labour of a lifetime (as in the case of Westcott), nor because it was assumed by a textual conservative (as in the case of Souter); rather, it is striking because it has been so assiduously and inexplicably ignored by virtually all textual critics since.<sup>46</sup>

It is precisely this combination of the oldest Syriac with the oldest Latin witnesses—so esteemed by Westcott, and already familiar to us from this example of the “light” in the Jordan—which we will encounter again and again in our study, especially in relation to Diatessaronic readings. And it is a pattern which Westcott, Burkitt, Souter, Eb. Nestle, Turner, and Vööbus felt outweighed the evidence of B and its allies.<sup>47</sup>

The importance of the Diatessaron for historical theology can be demonstrated from a variant found at Matt 8.4 and parallels. The present canonical text reads ὑπάγε σεαυτὸν δεῖξον τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ προσένεγκον τὸ δῶρον ὃ προσέταξεν Μωϋσῆς, εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς (“Go, show yourself to the priest and

<sup>43</sup> E. Nestle, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament* (translated from the 2nd German edition; London 1901), 223.

<sup>44</sup> C.H. Turner, “The Textual Criticism of the New Testament,” in *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, edd. C. Gore, H.L. Goudge, and A. Guillaume (London 1928), Vol. 2, 729. He was speaking of a specific reading in Mark 14.65.

<sup>45</sup> A. Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*, CSCO 128 (Louvain 1951), 3.

<sup>46</sup> The principle is not even mentioned as an historical oddity by B.M. Metzger, *Text*, or (to my knowledge) by any other post-Second World War handbook on the NT text.

<sup>47</sup> Examples of the Old Syriac agreeing with the Old Latin are almost too numerous to count. Among the hundreds of examples: at Matt 8.5, Syr<sup>s</sup> and Vetus Latina MS  $k$  omit “and entering into Capernaum”; at Matt 9.34, the entire verse is omitted in Syr<sup>s</sup>, Greek D, and Latin MSS  $a d k$  (it is also omitted in the Arabic Harmony); at Matt 11.5, the clause “and the poor are evangelized” is omitted in Syr<sup>s</sup> and MS  $k$ ; at Luke 17.11, “and Jericho” is interpolated at the end of the verse by Syr<sup>c</sup> and MSS  $a b c e f f^2 i l q r^1 s$ ; at John 11.25, Syr<sup>s</sup> and MS  $l$  omit “and the life”; at John 12.8, the entire verse is omitted in Syr<sup>c</sup>, Greek D, and Latin MS  $d$ . This extraordinary relationship between the Old Latin and the Old Syriac is treated *infra*, 140–144; on the link between the Diatessaronic tradition and Codex Bezae (D), see *infra*, 160.



offer the gift which Moses commanded, as a proof to them"). Five Diatessaronic witnesses—two in Syriac, one in Armenian, one in Middle Dutch, and one in Middle Italian—preserve readings from which we may reconstruct the text probably known to Tatian in the second century: ὑπαγε σεαυτὸν δεῖξον τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ νόμον πλήρωσον ("Go, show yourself to the priests and fulfill the Law"). In the East, the witnesses are:

Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (Syriac recension), XII.23:

<sup>48</sup> ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

Go, show yourself to the priests, and execute the Law, that which you scorn.

Ephrem, *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (Armenian recension), XII.23:

*Vade tu, ostende teipsum sacerdotibus, et perface legem quam spernis.*<sup>49</sup>

Go you, show yourself to the priests, and execute the Law which you scorn.

Isho'dad of Merv, *Commentary* (at Matt. 8.4):

<sup>50</sup> ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

(... that he should) go to the priests and offer a gift as the Law commanded.<sup>51</sup>

Romanos Melodos, *Hymn on the Healing of the Leper*, XX.15:

“Ὑπαγε, νόμον πλήρωσον καὶ ἑαυτὸν δεῖξαι  
[σπεῦ[σο]ν τῷ ἱερεῖ,  
καὶ προσένεγκε τὸ δῶρον ὅπερ προσέταξε προσφέρειν  
Μωσῆς ὁ παῖς μου καθαρθέντας ἐν τῷ ἔθνει λεπρούς.”<sup>52</sup>

Go, fulfill the Law and hasten to show yourself to the priest,  
And present the gift which my child Moses prescribed  
Lepers cleansed in the nation to offer.

<sup>48</sup> *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque*, ed. L. Leloir, CBM 8(a) (Dublin 1963), 97–8.

<sup>49</sup> *Saint Éphrem . . . version arménienne* (ed. Leloir; CSCO 145), 126.

<sup>50</sup> *The Commentaries* (ed. Gibson), Vol. II (HSem VI), 70.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I (HSem V), 42.

<sup>52</sup> *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes II*, (ed. Grosdidier de Matons), SC 110, 376.

In the West, two Diatessaronic witnesses give similar readings:

The Liège Harmony, 58:

*ganc ten papen van der wet. en̄ vertoegh di hen. en̄ offer hen alselke offerande alse moyses gheboet in der wet.*

Go to the popes of the Law, and show yourself to them, and offer them such an offering as Moses commanded in the Law.<sup>53</sup>

The Venetian Harmony, 42:

*va et monstrate a li prevedi e fa l'oferta che comanda la lege.*<sup>54</sup>

Go and show (yourself) to the overseers and make the offering which the Law commands.

In all these texts, the leper is told to fulfill “the Law.” It is substituted in all but two cases; in these (the Liège Harmony and Romanos), it is conflated with the canonical reading “Moses.” At first glance, the change might seem of little moment: the two words are virtually synonymous in this context. Yet we know that one of the great debates in the early church was upon this precise point: the validity of the Torah for Christians. If Jesus had unambiguously demanded obedience to “the Law,” then such a reading would have supported the Judaic-Christian position that the Law was still binding. Such a reading would have been anathema to followers of Paul, who disputed the Law’s applicability to Christians, and who later became the guardians and transmitters of the gospel text in Greek. Is there evidence which would suggest that in the second century an edition of the gospels existed which was supportive of a Judaic-Christian point of view? The evidence of the Diatessaron suggests that the question be answered in the affirmative: “Yes, the evidence exists, and it suggests that such an edition indeed existed.”<sup>55</sup>

The idea of a profusion of gospel traditions in the first and second centuries may disturb some, but the evidence is beyond dispute. It is even found in the canonical gospels themselves, notably in the Prologue of the Gospel of Luke (Luke

<sup>53</sup> *The Liège Diatessaron*, ed. D. Plooij et al., VANW 31.1–8 (Parts 1 and 2 are incorrently labeled VANW 29) (Amsterdam 1929–70), 104.

<sup>54</sup> *Il Diatessaron Veneto*, ed. V. Todesco, Pt. I of *Il Diatessaron in Volgare Italiano*, StT 81 (Città del Vaticano 1938), 50.

<sup>55</sup> Another reading in these witnesses—the plural “priests,” against the singular “priest”—will be dealt with *infra*, 365.

1.1, 3), where the author takes notice of other documents: πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν (“many have undertaken to compile a narrative [of Jesus’ life]”); the author then promises καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι (“to write an orderly account for you”). The implied criticism of these earlier documents—that they were *not* “orderly”—has sometimes been thought to reference the Gospel of Mark which, according to the “Four Source Theory,” was one of Luke’s sources. Papias’ characterization of Mark’s gospel as “not orderly” lends credence to this contention<sup>56</sup> and stands as an indirect invitation for someone to compose an “accurate” account of Jesus’ life. Papias—who was writing about 115—lived at a time when oral traditions about Jesus still circulated;<sup>57</sup> these offered additional information about Jesus’ life. Finally, lest one become complacent about the canonical gospels, and assume that they sprang, Athena-like, full-grown from their authors’ pens, recall Papias’ description of Matthew’s gospel: Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. ἡρμήνευσε δ’ αὐτά, ὡς ἦν δυνατός, ἕκαστος (“Matthew arranged the words [of Jesus] in the Hebrew dialect and everyone translated them as best he was able”<sup>58</sup>). This hardly squares with our current Matthew, and suggests one of three things: (1) Papias was talking nonsense; (2) his statement has been garbled in transmission; (3) the document he knew in 115 and attributed to Matthew was very different from our Gospel of Matthew.

The sum of this evidence indicates that the gospel tradition was still evolving in the first half of the second century. A large number of traditions, both written and oral, were in circulation. And while the documents were known under the names now attached to the canonical gospels, one cannot assume that these gospels had attained the form found in the great fourth century uncials, B and  $\aleph$ , or even the most ancient papyri, such as  $\phi$ <sup>75</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> As quoted by Eusebius, *h.e.*, III.39.15 (*Eusebius de Césarée, Histoire ecclésiastique, Livres I–IV*, ed. G. Bardy, SC 31 [Paris 1952], 156): Μάρκος μὲν, . . . ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ [τοῦ] κυρίου ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα (“Mark, . . . wrote down accurately what he remembered of the things said or done by the Lord, but not however in order”).

<sup>57</sup> As quoted by Eusebius, *h.e.*, III.39.3 (ed. Bardy, 154). Eusebius (*h.e.*, III.39.1 [ed. Bardy, 154]) also states that Papias knew Polycarp and a certain “John”; he is using Irenaeus, *haer.*, V.33.4 (edd. A. Rousseau, L. Doutreleau, and C. Mercier, *Irénée de Lyon, Contre les hérésies, Livre V*, SC 153 [Paris 1969], 416).

<sup>58</sup> Quoted by Eusebius, *h.e.*, III.39.16 (ed. Bardy, 157).

It was during this early period of textual flux that a particular genre of gospel was devised: the harmony. Although the idea of a gospel harmony seems odd today—especially to Biblical scholars who are trained to detect the slightest differences among the gospels, and to lay persons, some of whom are taught Biblical inerrancy—they are still common. Children are taught the story of Jesus' life in a harmonized form. Cinematic and theatrical adaptations of Jesus' life (*e.g.*, "Passion Plays") harmonize the gospels. The "Words of Institution" used in liturgies are a harmony of the three synoptic versions (each of which is different) and Paul's (I Cor. 11.24), which adds the uniquely Pauline "do this in remembrance of me." These examples reveal two powerful motives for creating a harmony: teaching (or evangelization), and the desire not to omit anything (or, put differently, to reproduce fully what is spread out among various sources). These same motives were operative in the second century, and probably contributed to the creation of harmonies in the early church. In antiquity (and perhaps even now) a third motive also seems to have been at work, and that was the desire to disarm critics of Christianity, such as Celsus (*fl.* c. 180), who used the inconsistencies and contradictions in the gospels to prove that the new religion was a fraud.<sup>59</sup> The range of sources available for harmonization in the early Christian centuries was also far broader than the four gospels which later became canonical: there were oral traditions as well as what are now called apocryphal or extra-canonical gospels. From these sources a surprising number of gospel harmonies were created. Many date from the second century and still survive, albeit in fragmentary form. A survey of these will be helpful in locating the Diatessaron among its confrères.

## I. THE CANONICAL GOSPELS

While normally not thought of as such, all of the canonical gospels "harmonize" earlier materials. While it is true that the

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<sup>59</sup> See Tj. Baarda, "ΔΙΑΦΩΝΙΑ—ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ: Factors in the Harmonization of the Gospels, Especially in the Diatessaron of Tatian," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text and Transmission*, W.L. Petersen, ed., CJA 3 (Notre Dame [Indiana] 1989), 133–154; and also Baarda's *Vier = Eén: Enkele bladzijden uit de geschiedenis van de harmonistiek der Evangelien* (Kampen 1969). The earliest known example of such criticisms is Celsus' *Alethes logos* ("On the True Doctrine"); see the study and translation of R.J. Hoffman, *Celsus, On the True Doctrine* (Oxford 1987), esp. 66–69.

Diatessaron appears to have been a very subtle, word-by-word harmonization, and the canonical gospels seem to use their sources *en bloc*, the genre of both is, ultimately, the same. If one subscribes to the "Four Source Theory" of synoptic origins, then Matthew and Luke are "harmonies" of Mark, "Q," and the evangelists' own unique traditions—"Special Matthew" and "Special Luke"—which, in turn, undoubtedly incorporate more than one source. Furthermore, Mark—itself clearly a pastiche from various sources—has gone through at least three independently verifiable recensions.<sup>60</sup> If one subscribes to Matthean priority, the "Griesbach Hypothesis," then Matthew draws on material from early, unknown sources, while Luke used Matthew and other documents, and Mark made use of Matthew and Luke. The Gospel of John is also a composite: first, the Johannine Prologue (1.1–18) is generally recognized as coming from a different source than the narrative material; second, within the narrative material, the discourses come from a distinct source; third, the "signs" are thought to come from a "Gospel of Signs";<sup>61</sup> fourth and finally, John shares certain traditions with the synoptics (especially with Luke), suggesting some sort of dependence, probably indirect.

## II. JUSTIN MARTYR'S HARMONY

As noted earlier, the gospel quotations of Justin Martyr clearly show harmonization. These have been studied for more than a century, and while opinions have varied over time, the most recent investigation concludes that Justin possessed a harmony of the synoptic gospels.<sup>62</sup> With one possible exception, his gospel quotations come from the synoptics; this suggests that his harmony did not incorporate the Gospel of John. Justin's text

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<sup>60</sup> See H. Koester, "The Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century," 19–37. The three stages are demonstrable on textual grounds. The first is the canonical Mark now found in the manuscripts; the second is the "Mark" which was used by Matthew and Luke in the first or second century—a "Mark" which can be reconstructed by substituting the so-called "minor agreements" between Matthew and Luke for the parallel passage in our present canonical Mark; the third is the so-called "Secret Gospel of Mark," cited by Clement of Alexandria (cf. M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* [Cambridge (Mass.) 1970]).

<sup>61</sup> On the sources of the fourth gospel, see the works of R.T. Fortna: *The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source underlying the Fourth Gospel*, SNTS. MS 11 (London 1970), and *The Fourth Gospel and its Predecessor: From Narrative Source to Present Gospel* (Philadelphia 1988).

<sup>62</sup> A.J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 140 *et passim*.

deserves more attention than it receives from scholars, not only because of its antiquity, but also because of its deviating readings, many of which are paralleled in extra-canonical gospels.<sup>63</sup>

Because Tatian was Justin's student in Rome, the nature of Justin's gospel text is of particular interest to students of the Diatessaron. Did Tatian know Justin's harmony? If so, did he use it when creating the Diatessaron? Justin uses the word εὐαγγέλιον only four times, twice in the singular, and twice in the plural. He usually refers to his source as the ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, commonly translated as the "memoirs of the apostles." Because of certain agreements between his text and Epiphanius' quotations from a "Hebrew gospel" (see the next Section), scholars have long wondered about the real name and character of these "memoirs." As long ago as 1814 J.C. Zahn suggested that Justin's ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων were a harmony which "coincided" with or was "nearly the same as" the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. According to Zahn, Justin's harmony—which was essentially identical with the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*—was the "fifth source" Tatian used alongside the four "canonical" gospels.<sup>64</sup> In 1890 J. Rendel Harris wrote: "THERE MUST HAVE BEEN A PREVIOUSLY EXISTING HARMONY, PROBABLY A HARMONY OF THE PASSION-GOSPELS, which Tatian used."<sup>65</sup> Harris called this harmony "Pre-Tatian." Noting that Justin's harmonized gospel shared variants with Tatian's Diatessaron, he concluded that "Pre-Tatian" "was used by Justin."<sup>66</sup> According to Harris, then, both Tatian and Justin had known and used the same pre-existing harmony. In 1901 Ernst Lippelt examined Justin's gospel citations and concluded that he used a Greek gospel harmony; this was the (Greek) archetype from which

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<sup>63</sup> Some of his readings are paralleled in Epiphanius' quotations from the "Hebrew gospel" used by the Ebionites; Irenaeus attributes another reading found in Justin to the Marcosians (Clement of Alexandria says of the same reading that it was a Naassene variant). See my "Textual Evidence of Tatian's Dependence Upon Justin's ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ," *NTS* 36 (1990), 512–534, esp. 533.

<sup>64</sup> J.C. Zahn, "Ist Ammon oder Tatian Verfasser der ins Lateinische, Altfrankische und Arabische übersetzten Evangelien-Harmonie? und was hat Tatian bei seinem bekannten Diatessaron oder Diapente vor sich gehabt und zum Grunde gelegt?" in *ASEST*, edd. C.A.G. Keil & H.G. Tzschirner, Band II, Theil 1 (Leipzig 1814), 206–07.

<sup>65</sup> J.R. Harris, *The Diatessaron of Tatian* (Cambridge 1890), 54 (Harris' capitals).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

Tatian composed/translated his Syriac Diatessaron.<sup>67</sup> The most recent study of the matter, which compared Justin's gospel citations with their parallel passages in the Diatessaron, found textual agreements both in the sequence of harmonization and in variant readings, some of which are unique.<sup>68</sup> These agreements admit only two explanations: either Tatian knew and used Justin's harmony, or both relied on the same pre-existing harmonized source.<sup>69</sup>

### III. THE "HEBREW GOSPEL" (THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE EBIONITES)

Recent scholarship has apportioned citations from Judaic-Christian gospels found in the *testimonia* of the Fathers and in the *scholia* of New Testament manuscripts among three distinct sources: the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans*, the *Gospel according to the Ebionites*, and the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.<sup>70</sup> All three are assigned dates from the first half of the second century.<sup>71</sup> Earlier scholarship disagreed over the assignments of the fragments.<sup>72</sup> While there are justifications for the tripar-

<sup>67</sup> E. Lippelt, *Quae fuerint Justini Martyris ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ quaeque ratione cum forma evangeliorum Syro-Latina cohaeserint* (Halle 1901): "*Demonstravimus non solum Iustini evangelium harmoniam evangeliorum fuisse. . .*" (35); "*Atque ante nos iam Eberhardus Nestlius auctor ille clarissimus quaesivit, nonne codices Syro-Latini ex evangeliorum harmonia penderent, atque de Tatiani harmonia διὰ τεσσάρων coniecturam fecit*" (36).

<sup>68</sup> See my "Textual Evidence," *NTS* 36 (1990), 512-534.

<sup>69</sup> Recently, D.A. Bertrand, "L'Évangile des Ébionites: Une harmonie évangélique antérieure au Diatessaron," *NTS* 26 (1980), 563, n. 52, wondered whether Tatian's "fifth source" might have been a harmony. See also *infra*, 229f., 427.

<sup>70</sup> See, e.g., A.F.J. Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, VigChr.S 17 (Leiden 1992), 27-30; P. Vielhauer, "Jewish-Christian Gospels," *New Testament Apocrypha*, edd. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, (translated from the 3rd German edition; Philadelphia 1963), I, 117-165 (in the latest German edition: P. Vielhauer and G. Strecker, "Judenchristliche Evangelien," in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, ed. W. Schneemelcher [Tübingen 1990<sup>6</sup>], I, 114-147).

<sup>71</sup> Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, 29-30; Vielhauer, "Jewish Christian Gospels," *New Testament Apocrypha*, edd. Hennecke and Schneemelcher, I, 146, 156, 163 (in the newer German edition: Vielhauer and Strecker, "Judenchristliche Evangelien," *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, ed. Schneemelcher, I, 133, 140, 146).

<sup>72</sup> Compare the assignments made by Vielhauer and Strecker with those of E. Klostermann (*Apocrypha II: Evangelien*, KIT 8 [Berlin 1929<sup>3</sup>], 12-15); M.R. James (*The Apocryphal New Testament* [Oxford 1924], 8-10); and E. Preuschen (*Antilegomena* [Giessen 1905<sup>2</sup>], 3-12; 106-112). See also *infra*, 39-41.

tite division used by contemporary scholars, there are also problems. The most obvious is that two of the names (*Gospel according to the Nazoraeans* and the *Gospel according to the Ebionites*) are unknown from antiquity, and are the invention of modern scholars for discreet groupings of fragments. The issue of the number and names of the Judaic-Christian gospels will be dealt with in the next chapter. Here we wish only to examine one set of fragments and their textual character.

Epiphanius (*haer.* 30.13.1–14.5) offers a series of quotations from a gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) that he calls [τὸ] Ἑβραϊκόν (“the Hebrew [gospel]”); he states it was used by Ebionites.<sup>73</sup> Because of this, modern scholars have assigned Epiphanius’ *testimonia* to a work they call the *Gospel according to the Ebionites*.<sup>74</sup> It is obvious from Epiphanius’ citations that whatever the precise name of the source he was quoting, it was a harmony of the *synoptic* gospels. Passages from John are absent, a circumstance which reminds one of Justin’s harmony.<sup>75</sup> The scope of this harmony is difficult to determine, but Epiphanius speaks of it as a “falsified and distorted” version of Matthew, which suggests a document of more-or-less standard gospel length. Epiphanius states that the Ebionites “have removed the genealogies of Matthew and begin” with Jesus’ baptism (*haer.* 30.14.2). Epiphanius’ quotations and descriptions attract our attention because, first, whatever the name of the Judaic-Christian gospel he is quoting, it has textual parallels with the Diatessaron (the “light” at Jesus’ baptism is only one example); second, as we will discover in the next chapter when examining *testimonia* concerning the Diatessaron, Theodoret of Cyrrhus states that the genealogies had been excised from the Diatessaron.

Although the *testimonia* and *scholia* relating to the other two Judaic-Christian gospels (the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans*

<sup>73</sup> Recent scholarship—perhaps perversely—distinguishes this source from the only Judaic-Christian gospel which is cited by name (by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Jerome): τὸ καθ’ Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον (“*The Gospel according to the Hebrews*”). Jerome—like Epiphanius—states that *this* gospel was used by Ebionites!

<sup>74</sup> Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, 30; P. Vielhauer, “The Gospel of the Ebionites,” *New Testament Apocrypha*, edd. Hennecke and Schneemelcher, I, 153–58 (in the newer German edition: P. Vielhauer and G. Strecker, “Das Ebionäerevangelium,” *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, ed. Schneemelcher, I, 138–42). No such name is known from antiquity; it is a modern scholarly invention.

<sup>75</sup> See Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, 38–9, and D.A. Bertrand, “L’Évangile des Ebionites,” 548–563.



and the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*) are generally too brief to reveal their textual character, scholarship presumes they were not harmonies. It is striking, however, that the fragments modern scholars assign to the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans* also have parallels with the Diatessaron: for example, one of the fragments—a *scholion* in MS 566—states that at Matt 4.5 “τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν” read ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ (“in Jerusalem”) rather than the canonical “into the holy city.” A Diatessaronic witness, the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony, makes the same substitution, reading at Matt 4.5 “into the city of Jerusalem.” The fact that fragments from *two* Judaic-Christian gospels find frequent parallels in Diatessaronic witnesses raises the question whether the fragments have been assigned correctly: since both sets of fragments contain parallels with the Diatessaron, might they come from *one* (not two) Judaic-Christian gospel, one which was also known to Tatian? These formal and textual similarities are not the only link between the Diatessaron and the Judaic-Christian gospels, for Epiphanius states that a gospel used by the Nazoraeans, which he calls [τὸ εὐαγγέλιον] κατὰ Ἑβραίουσ ( “[the gospel] according to the Hebrews”) is also known as Tatian’s Diatessaron.<sup>76</sup>

Whatever the precise number and names of the Judaic-Christian gospels, it is clear that at least one of them, quoted extensively by Epiphanius and designated by modern scholars as the *Gospel according to the Ebionites*, was a harmony of the synoptic gospels. It also incorporated extra-canonical traditions. Fragments from it and from another Judaic-Christian gospel, designated by modern scholars as the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans*, have textual parallels with Diatessaronic witnesses.<sup>77</sup> The precise nature of this dependence will be explored in subsequent chapters.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Epiphanius’ full citation is given and discussed *infra*, 39–41.

<sup>77</sup> The most important study of apocryphal traditions in the Diatessaron is C.A. Phillips, “Diatessaron—Diapente,” *BBC* 9 (February 1931), 6–8, which lists five variants the Diatessaron has in common with the document modern scholars call the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans* (Phillips calls it the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*). See also: C. Peters, “Nachhall ausserkanonischer Evangelienüberlieferung in Tatians Diatessaron,” *AcOr* 16 (1937), 258–294; J.R. Harris, *Tatian’s Diatessaron*, 27–35 (“VI. Apocryphal Additions to the Gospels found in the Diatessaron”); and G. Winkler, “Das Diatessaron und das Hebräer-evangelium, ihr Verhältnis zueinander,” *IIP Symposium Syriacum* 1980. *Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures*, ed. R. Lavenant, *OrChrP* 221 (Roma 1983), 25–34.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. esp. 229–230; 257–259; and 275–279.

## IV. THE HARMONY OF THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, is well-known through his two surviving works, his *Apology* and *Ad Autolycum*. He is also famed as the first Greek writer to use the word τριάς ("trinity") of the Godhead. An opponent of Marcion and a contemporary of Tatian, he was active in the latter half of the second century.<sup>79</sup> His *Ad Autolycum* has several parallels with Tatian's *Oratio ad Graecos*:<sup>80</sup> both argue that the antiquity of Moses exceeded that of Plato (antiquity was a proof of truth); both ridicule Greek philosophy for its contradictions; both decry the immorality of pagan culture when compared with Christian culture.

The first report that Theophilus combined the gospels into one work comes from Jerome, who writes: "*Theophilus Antiochenae Ecclesiae septimus post Petrum Apostolum episcopus, qui quattuor evangelistarum in unum opus dicta compingens. . .*" ("Theophilus of the church of Antioch, the seventh bishop after Peter the Apostle, who put together into one work the words of the four gospels. . .").<sup>81</sup> Nothing of Theophilus' harmony—if that is what it was—is known to survive.

## V. THE HARMONY OF AMMONIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

Virtually nothing is known of Ammonius of Alexandria, who has been confused with Ammonius Saccas, also resident in Alexandria in the same epoch. He is dated to the late second or very early third century.<sup>82</sup> It is Eusebius who provides us with our first notice of him and his work with the gospels:

Ἀμμώνιος μὲν ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς πολλὴν ὥς εἰκὸς φιλοπονίαν καὶ σπουδὴν εἰσαγοχῶς τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν εὐαγγέλιον, τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον τὰς ὁμοίωνους τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν περικοπὰς παραθεῖς, ὥς ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβῆναι τὸν

<sup>79</sup> On Theophilus, see: B. Altaner and A. Stuiber, *Patrologie* (Freiburg 1980<sup>9</sup>), 75–7.

<sup>80</sup> Tatian's *Oratio* is discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>81</sup> *Ep. ad Algasiam* (121) 6 (*Saint Jérôme, Lettres, tome VII*, ed. J. Labourt [Paris 1961], 30). The text is also in Migne *PL* 22, 1020.

<sup>82</sup> On Ammonius, see: Altaner and Stuiber, *Patrologie*, 210: "ein Zeitgenosse des Origenes." He should also not be confused with another Ammonius of Alexandria, who was a fifth or sixth century monk, and whose commentaries survive (Migne *PG* 85, 1361–1610; 1823–26).

τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἰρμὸν τῶν τριῶν διαφθαρῆναι ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ ὕφει τῆς ἀναγνώσεως.<sup>83</sup>

Ammonius the Alexandrine has left us the gospel διὰ τεσσάρων, [in which] he set running beside a section of [the Gospel] according to Matthew the same pericope of the other Gospels, so that of necessity it happened that the order of the succession [of pericopes and verses] of the [other] three was destroyed, as far as the reading-text was concerned.

Whatever it was that Ammonius created, no trace is known to survive. Because Eusebius gives τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων as the title of both Ammonius' creation and Tatian's harmony,<sup>84</sup> many later writers confused the two men and their compositions.<sup>85</sup>

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This brief survey of second-century sources has demonstrated the variety of traditions current then, and their instability. The frequency and popularity of harmonization is noteworthy. And while documents may have circulated under the names of the present canonical gospels, Papias' remarks caution against automatically presuming that these second-century documents were identical in form or content with our present canonical gospels. Another striking feature of these second-century traditions is their legitimacy, as demonstrated by their use by the earliest Fathers.<sup>86</sup> The importance of these traditions for reconstructing the earliest strata of the gospels and the history of the church should be self-evident. Many of these sources, however, are fragmentary, limited to quotations (*e.g.*, Epiphanius' citations from the "Hebrew gospel" used by the Ebionites), or simply reports of sources (*e.g.*, Theophilus' harmony).

The importance of the Diatessaron should now be manifest, for it stands at the intersection of these second-century traditions. It was constructed from a very ancient form of the sepa-

<sup>83</sup> *Ep. ad Carpianum*, 1 (most readily available in Nestle-Aland<sup>26</sup> [*Novum Testamentum Graece*, edd. K. Aland, et al. (Stuttgart 1979<sup>26</sup>), 73\*]).

<sup>84</sup> Eusebius' references to Tatian and his Diatessaron are treated in the next chapter.

<sup>85</sup> See *infra*, 59f., 63, 65.

<sup>86</sup> For example, Jerome (*de vir. inl.* 2) says that Origen "frequently uses" the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*; the "memoirs of the apostles" cited by Justin contain readings which are found in the *Gospel according to the Ebionites*.

rate “canonical” gospels; it has structural and textual links with Justin’s harmony; it has textual links with the Judaic-Christian gospels; it was confused with the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*; it was confused with Ammonius’ similarly-named harmony. Like these other second-century sources, its text can be recovered with certainty only here and there. But when a probable Diatessaronic reading can be recovered, and when its status can be confirmed by independent controls, then one discovers that, in addition to offering an *entrée* to the second century, the Diatessaron preserves many early readings which are absent from the received tradition: hundreds of readings similar to those given above (the “light” at Jesus’ baptism; “fulfill the Law” at Matt 8.4) can be recovered. The fact that many readings now considered “canonical” cannot be traced as far back as readings which are *not* considered canonical should instill in the seeker for truth a healthy agnosticism towards all sources, canonical or extra-canonical.

We are now prepared to take a closer look at the most famous and enduring of the second-century harmonies, the Diatessaron. It is striking that—with two exceptions—all of the traditions and harmonies just surveyed quickly became extinct or obscured. The two exceptions are the canonical gospels and the Diatessaron. Tatian’s harmony remained a living tradition well into the second millennium; indeed, copies are still being executed today.<sup>87</sup>

Who was the man who created this preeminently popular gospel harmony? What drove him to compose the Diatessaron? What distinguished his theology, and what role—if any—did it play in shaping the Diatessaron? These questions are addressed in the next chapter, where we meet the man credited with creating the Diatessaron: Tatian, the Assyrian.

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<sup>87</sup> In 1980, the Dutch scholar C.C. de Bruin published a harmonized gospel in modern Dutch, intended for popular use: *Jezus: het verhaal van zijn leven* (’s-Gravenhage 1980). He arranged the pericopes so that their sequence was identical with that of a thirteenth-century Middle Dutch witness to the Diatessaron, the Liège Harmony (on the Liège Harmony, see *infra*, 170–178). Among the witnesses used by scholarship, the most recently copied is MS E of the Arabic Harmony (Cairo: Library of the Coptic Patriarchate, MS 202), dated 1795.

## CHAPTER TWO

### TATIAN

This chapter commences with an examination of Patristic references to the Diatessaron and its attribution to Tatian. Next, it assembles the evidence for his biography. It continues by reviewing his theology, insofar as it may relate to the Diatessaron, and concludes by investigating his motives for creating a gospel harmony.

#### I. EARLY TESTIMONIES TO THE DIATESSARON AND ITS ATTRIBUTION TO TATIAN

References to the Diatessaron crop up in a wide variety of antique writers and sources. A survey of these reports will show what ancient writers knew of it, what they thought of it, and what they knew of its author. The *testimonia* are presented in chronological order. Additional biographical information on the transmitters of the traditions is available in the standard handbooks.<sup>1</sup>

##### A) EUSEBIUS, *H.E.* IV.29.6 AND THE *EP. AD CARPIANUM*

Eusebius, writing in Caesarea in Palestine, is the first to name Tatian as the Diatessaron's composer, and the first to use the title "Diatessaron" in Greek.

‘Ο μέντοι γε πρότερος αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα  
καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεῖς, τὸ διὰ

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<sup>1</sup> For Greek writers: B. Altaner and A. Stuiber, *Patrologie: Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter* (Freiburg 1980<sup>9</sup>), or any of the other Patrologies; for Syriac writers: A. Baumstark, *Geschichte des syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922); for Arabic writers: G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols., StT 118, 133, 146, 147, 172 (Città del Vaticano 1944, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953).

τεσσάρων τούτο προσωνόμασεν, ὃ καὶ παρὰ τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν  
φέρεται.

—*h.e.* IV.29.6<sup>2</sup>

However, their [the Encratites'] first leader, Tatian, brought together a certain combination and collection—I do not know how—of the gospels, he called this the Diatessaron, which is also still now received by some [or: many].

Although the meaning of Eusebius' "I do not know how" has been disputed,<sup>3</sup> it is best understood as an indirect disclaimer of firsthand acquaintance with the Diatessaron.<sup>4</sup> This seems correct, for he does not specify those who use it beyond mentioning an indefinite *τισιν*, and nowhere does he remark on any of its specific readings or features. Since Eusebius was extremely interested in the relationships among the gospels (cf. his *On Problems and Solutions in the Gospels* and his *Canons*), one must conclude that had he seen a Diatessaron, he would have been more specific.

In the fourth century,<sup>5</sup> an anonymous translator produced a Syriac version of the *h.e.* in the following form:

ܐܬܬܬܐܪ ܡܫܐ ܕܬܬܐܪ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ  
ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ  
ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ ܕܡܬܬܐܪ

He, then, this Tatianus their first leader, collected and mixed up [or: combined] and composed a Gospel, and he called it Diatessaron; now this is [the Gospel] of the Mixed, the same that is in the hands of many unto this day.

The Syriac translator omits the clause "I do not know how" found in the Greek Eusebius; from this it is inferred that the

<sup>2</sup> *Eusèbe de Césarée, Histoire ecclésiastique, Livres I–IV*, ed. G. Bardy, SC 31 (Paris 1952), 214.

<sup>3</sup> J.B. Lightfoot, "IX. Tatian's Diatessaron," *The Contemporary Review* 29 (May 1877), 1136 (reprinted in his *Essays on the Work entitled Supernatural Religion* [London 1889], 278), argued that "I do not know how" meant "I cannot think what he was about," or "absurdly," or "unaccountably." Lightfoot thought Eusebius had examined a Diatessaron.

<sup>4</sup> So, e.g., P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford 1959<sup>2</sup>), 294; A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, PETSE 1 (Stockholm 1951), 25.

<sup>5</sup> The date of the oldest MS (St. Petersburg) is 462 (cf. *Eusebius Werke II, Die Kirchengeschichte*, Teil 3, ed. E. Schwartz, GCS 9.3 [Leipzig 1909], p. xli).

<sup>6</sup> *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius in Syriac*, edd. W. Wright and N. McLean (Cambridge 1898; photomechanical reprint Amsterdam 1975), 243; the text is also given in F.C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (Cambridge 1904), II, 175.

translator *did* “know how,” *i.e.*, he had firsthand acquaintance with the Diatessaron. Unlike the Greek Eusebius, the Syriac translation calls Tatian’s composition a “gospel” (ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ).<sup>7</sup> The fact that the Greek word “Diatessaron” requires explanation (“now this is ‘of the Mixed’”) suggests that the Syriac-speaking audience is unfamiliar with the Greek title. It would seem that the designation ܕܡܫܠܬܐ (da-Meḥalletē: “[the Gospel] of the Mixed”) was the earliest Syriac name for Tatian’s creation. In Syriac, the four separated canonical gospels were commonly referred to as ܕܡܦܗܪܫܐ (da-Mepharreshē: “[the Gospel] of the Separated”).

In 402, Rufinus made a Latin translation of Eusebius’ Greek *h.e.* Save for a few minor differences, his translation follows the Greek quite closely:

*verumtamen prior eorum auctor Tatianus conlationem quandam faciens euangeliorum nescio quomodo composuit euangelium unum ex quattuor, quod Diatessaron nominavit, quod etiam nunc habetur a multis.*<sup>8</sup>

Their first founder Tatian, making a composition of the gospels, composed in some way or other one gospel from the four, which is called Diatessaron, which is even now possessed by many.

The Syriac and Latin translations of the *h.e.* offer the first recorded use of the word “diatessaron” in those languages;<sup>9</sup> the translations are also the first Syriac and Latin texts to attribute the Diatessaron to Tatian. Since both translations specifically speak of the Diatessaron as a “gospel,” it suggests that Eusebius’ Greek text originally referred to the Diatessaron as an εὐαγγέλιον.

In his *Epistle ad Carpianum*, Eusebius also uses the words διὰ τεσσάρων, but this time to designate a work created by Ammonius of Alexandria, who apparently arranged pericopes in synopsis-like sequence. (Eusebius’ text was presented in the

<sup>7</sup> On the use of “gospel” as part of the full title of the Diatessaron, see Tj. Baarda, “A Syriac Fragment of Mar Ephrem’s Commentary on the Diatessaron,” *NTS* 8 (1962), 294.

<sup>8</sup> *Eusebius Werke II, Die Kirchengeschichte*, Teil 3 “Einleitung, Übersichten und Register,” ed. E. Schwartz, and *Die lateinische Übersetzung des Rufinus*, ed. Th. Mommsen, printed together in GCS 9.3 (Leipzig 1909). For the Latin text: Mommsen, 393; date of same, *ibid.*, p. xlii.

<sup>9</sup> The first usage in Greek appears to be in Origen, *Comm. Io.*, V.7 (*Origène, Commentaire sur S. Jean, I*, ed. C. Blanc, SC 120 [Paris 1966], 388): καὶ τὸ ὁληθῶς διὰ τεσσάρων ἐν ἑστὶν εὐαγγέλιον (“... and the gospel is, in truth, one in the midst of four”). Book V is dated to between 226 and 229, and was written in Alexandria.

preceding chapter, *supra*, 32f.) Despite the fact that Eusebius never links the two “dia tessarons,” and despite the fact that scholarship today concludes that the two were distinct creations—Tatian’s being a real harmony, and Ammonius’ a type of synopsis—later Patristic writers sometimes confused not only the two documents, but also the two men (examples are below, in items N, Q and R).

## B) THE *DOCTRINA ADDAI*

The second reference to the Diatessaron appears in the *Doctrina Addai*, a Syriac document probably dating from around 400, although some of its traditions are much older. In describing the introduction of Christianity into Syria, it mentions that

ܡܬܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܢ  
 10 ܕܡܬܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܬܝܢ

Moreover, much people day by day assembled and came together for the prayer of the service and for [the reading of] the Old Testament and the New, that [is] of the Diatessaron.

The *Doctrina Addai* does not name the Diatessaron’s composer. The juxtaposition of “New” and “Diatessaron” prompted Burkitt to suspect tampering with the text. He suggested that “Diatessaron” was the original reading, and “New” was a later interpolation.<sup>11</sup> Other scholars have suggested that “Diatessaron” is the intruder.<sup>12</sup> This debate is not without moment, for after the *Doctrina Addai*, the next known original Syriac source to use the word is Theodore bar Koni’s *Liber Scholiorum* (late eighth century; see *infra*, item F). The situation is complicated by the fact that the word occurs in the already-mentioned fourth-century Syriac translation of Eusebius’ *h.e.*, and, according to

<sup>10</sup> *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle . . .*, ed. G. Phillips (London 1876), 34 (folio 23a); Phillips’ text was reprinted with an English translation in *The Teaching of Addai*, ed. G. Howard, Texts and Translations 16 (Early Christian Literature Series 4) (Chico [California] 1981), 73. The spelling of “Diatessaron” is given here after the St. Petersburg Public Library manuscript (sixth cent.); the spelling in the only other extant MS of this portion of the text, British Library MS 14,644 (sixth cent.; described by Phillips as “very imperfect”) is garbled: ܕܡܬܬܬܝܢ (“Diatonron”).

<sup>11</sup> *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ed. F.C. Burkitt (Cambridge 1904), II, 174

<sup>12</sup> So A. Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*, CSCO 128 (Louvain 1951), p. 13, n. 5. He is following W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (London 1864), 158.



a *testimonium* discovered by Baarda (see *infra*, 44), the word stood in the title of Ephrem's *Commentary*, which was composed in the mid-fourth century.

Although it is odd that the use of the word "Diatessaron" in Syriac literature of the third through eighth centuries is not more frequent, it may be accounted for in part by the fact that the Syriac name for the Diatessaron ("Diatessaron" being a Greek loan word) was, as noted above, the *Euangelion da-Mehalletē* ("the Gospel of the Mixed"), a term which occurs in fifth century Syriac literature, as will be seen below.

### C) EPIPHANIUS, *HAER.* 46.1.8–9

Epiphanius, a Greek ecclesiastical writer who often depends upon Eusebius, wrote his *Panarion* between 374 and 376. In it he mentions the Diatessaron, attributes it to Tatian, and—like the Syriac and Latin translations of Eusebius—calls it a "gospel":

λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι,  
ὅπερ κατὰ Ἑβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσι.

—*haer.* 46.1.8–9<sup>13</sup>

It is said the Diatessaron gospel was created by him [Tatian], which some call according to the Hebrews.

Epiphanius is noted for his garbled reporting. Scholarship usually assumes that he confused two distinct documents: the Diatessaron, and a Judaic-Christian gospel called "according to the Hebrews." This may be so, but there are other possibilities as well, which may shed light on how this confusion came about.

Epiphanius' *testimonia* from the "Hebrew gospel" (which modern scholarship calls the *Gospel according to the Ebionites*) were cited for the "light" at Jesus' baptism in our previous chapter. There we noted that his *testimonia* showed that this "Hebrew gospel" was (1) a gospel harmony composed from the Synoptics, which he described as (2) a "falsified and distorted" version of Matthew, (3) from which the genealogies had been excised. Theodoret of Cyrrhus (see *infra*, item D)

<sup>13</sup> *Epiphanius II, Panarion haer.* 34–64, edd. K. Holl and J. Dummer, GCS 66 (Berlin 1980<sup>2</sup>), 204–05.

states that Tatian's Diatessaron likewise lacked the genealogies (Theodoret's assertion is confirmed by Diatessaronic witnesses). These "coincidences" raise an intriguing possibility: Could these similar characteristics have caused Epiphanius to confuse the two?

But there is another possibility as well. As explained in the previous chapter, although antique sources name only *one* Judaic-Christian gospel (the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, presumably also known as the "Hebrew gospel"), modern scholarship posits two additional Judaic-Christian gospels, namely, the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans*, and the *Gospel according to the Ebionites*. In the previous chapter it was pointed out that two of these "documents" (a more accurate description would be "collections of fragments") contain Diatessaronic parallels: the harmonized document quoted by Epiphanius, which scholars call the *Gospel according to the Ebionites*, and the document quoted by Jerome, which scholars call the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans*. These modern scholarly names are derived from the names of the sects Epiphanius and Jerome report used the documents.

The problem arises from the fact that Jerome once states that a reading which scholars assign to the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans* (as they do all of Jerome's citations from Judaic-Christian gospels) stood "in the gospel which the Nazoraeans and the Ebionites use" (*In euangelio quo utuntur Nazareni et Hebionitae* [Comm. in Matt. at 12.13]); Jerome goes on to state that he recently translated this gospel "from Hebrew to Greek," and that many call it the "authentic text of Matthew." Two of Jerome's fragments—which are assigned to the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans* by modern scholars!—*he himself* states are from "the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*" (Jerome, Comm. in Matt. at Matt 6.11 [cp. Tract. de Ps. 135]: "*in euangelio quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos*"; Comm. in Matt. at Matt 27.16: "*in euangelio quod scribitur iuxta Hebraeos*").

Jerome's description has obvious parallels with Epiphanius' description of the document *he* is citing, which modern scholars have chosen to call the *Gospel according to the Ebionites*. It too (1) is used by Ebionites, (2) is called "according to Matthew," and (3) is written "in Hebrew and with Hebrew letters" (haer. 29.9.4). Epiphanius also tells us that the document he is quoting (4) is called κατὰ Ἑβραίων ("according to the Hebrews": haer. 30.3.7) and [τὸ] Ἑβραϊκόν ("the Hebrew [gospel]": haer. 30.13.2). And (5) both sets of fragments—those

from Jerome, assigned to the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans*,<sup>14</sup> and those from Epiphanius, assigned to the *Gospel according to the Ebionites*<sup>15</sup>—have variants which show up in the Diatessaron. This evidence suggests to the present writer that we are dealing here with *one* Judaic-Christian gospel, which modern scholarship has erroneously divided up between two *hypothesized* gospels. If we are, in fact, dealing with only *one* gospel and not two—something Alfred Schmidtke argued long ago<sup>16</sup>—and if it were related to the harmonized Diatessaronic tradition (an assumption which is correct, for the textual parallels are indisputable)—then Epiphanius' remark that the Diatessaron is known to some as κατὰ Ἑβραίους (“[the gospel] according to the Hebrews”) becomes understandable.<sup>17</sup>

#### D) THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *HAER. FAB. COMP.* I.20

From 423 to 457, Theodoret was bishop of Cyrrhus, a small town in Syria two days' journey from Antioch. In his *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*—commonly known as his *History of Heresies*—he mentions the Diatessaron:

Οὗτος καὶ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων καλούμενον συντέθεικεν εὐαγγέλιον, τὰς τε γενεαλογίας περικόψας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα γεγεννημένον τὸν κύριον δείκνυσιν. ἐχρήσαντο δὲ τούτῳ οὐ μόνοι οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου συμμορίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς ἐπόμενοι δόγμασι, τὴν τῆς συνθήκης κακουργίαν οὐκ ἐγνωκότες, ἀλλ' ἀπλούστερον ὥς συντόμῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ χρησάμενοι. εὗρον δὲ καὶ πλείους ἢ διακοσίας βιβλούς τοιαύτας ἐν ταῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκκλησίαις τετιμημένας, καὶ πάσας

<sup>14</sup> An example was given in chapter 1 (*supra*, 17). See also the evidence *infra*, 257–259.

<sup>15</sup> Among the readings: (1) the “fire” at Jesus' baptism; (2) the substitution of “cake dipped in oil” (ἐγκρίς) for “locust” (ἀκρίς); (3) at Jesus' baptism, the Holy Spirit descends “in the form” of a dove (ἐν εἶδει), not the canonical ὡς or ὡσεὶ (“like” a dove).

<sup>16</sup> A. Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den judenchristlichen Evangelien*, TU 37.1 (Leipzig 1911), 1–302; idem, “Zum Hebräerevangelium,” ZNW 36 (1936), 24–44.

<sup>17</sup> These lines of thinking led J.C. Zahn (*supra*, 28) to hypothesize that Justin's harmonized gospel—which he refers to only as the “memoirs of the apostles”—was titled the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and that this “Hebrew gospel” was the foundation upon which Tatian built his Diatessaron. Epiphanius (or his sources) may have failed to distinguish carefully enough between the two harmonies, which would have been quite similar.

συναγαγὼν ἀπεθέμην καὶ τὰ τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν  
ἀντεισήγαγον εὐαγγέλια.

—*haer. fab. comp.*, I.20<sup>18</sup>

This one [Tatian] also composed the gospel called Diatessaron by cutting out the genealogies and whatever goes to prove the Lord to have been born of the seed of David according to the flesh. And this work was in use not only among his own party but also among those who follow the Apostolic teachings, who used it somewhat too innocently as a compendium of the Gospels, because they did not recognise the wickedness of its composition. I myself found more than two hundred copies in reverential use in the churches of our diocese, and all of them I collected and removed and instead of them I introduced the Gospels of the four Evangelists.

Theodoret, like the Latin and Syriac translations of Eusebius, and like Epiphanius, calls the Diatessaron a “gospel.” Theodoret is the first writer to assert that the Diatessaron excised the genealogies. Subsequent discoveries of Diatessaronic witnesses have shown his statement to be accurate.<sup>19</sup> He also states that the Diatessaron was used by orthodox Christians. Elsewhere, Theodoret informs us that his diocese consisted of eight hundred Syriac-speaking parishes.<sup>20</sup> The fact that he confiscated “more than two hundred copies” of the Diatessaron and “introduced the Gospels of the four,” means that over twenty-five per cent of the parishes in his diocese not only used the Diatessaron, but also lacked the separate gospels as late as the early fifth century.

Corroboration for Theodoret’s report comes from one of his contemporaries. Rabbula, bishop of Edessa from *c.* 412 to 435, was a rigorous enforcer of orthodoxy<sup>21</sup> who promulgated a series of canons. Canon 43 stipulates the use of the four-fold or “Separate” gospels.

ܐܠܡܢܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܥܕܝܣܐ ܕܥܕܝܣܐ ܕܥܕܝܣܐ ܕܥܕܝܣܐ ܕܥܕܝܣܐ  
ܕܥܕܝܣܐ ܕܥܕܝܣܐ ܕܥܕܝܣܐ ܕܥܕܝܣܐ ܕܥܕܝܣܐ

<sup>18</sup> Migne PG 83, 372.

<sup>19</sup> Cp. *infra*, 118, 136.

<sup>20</sup> The size of his diocese is given in his *Epistle* 113 (Migne PG 83, 1316). That he had to preach in Syriac is mentioned in his *h.rel.* 14 (Migne PG 82, 1412). Cp. Th. Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, FGNK 1 (Erlangen 1881), 41–44.

<sup>21</sup> W. Bauer, (*Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia 1971), remarks that according to the *Canons*, “arraignment in chains before the municipal judge is prescribed as a means of ecclesiastical discipline” (p. 27, n. 62). Cp. Rabbula’s *Canon* 28.

The priests and deacons should exercise [due] care that in all the churches a copy of the *Euangelion da-Mepharreshe* [the *Gospel of the Separated Ones*] shall be present, and shall be read.<sup>22</sup>

Although the Diatessaron is not named, it was “evident that when Rabbula became bishop of Edessa the form in which the Gospel was practically known to Syriac-speaking Christians was Tatian’s Harmony.”<sup>23</sup>

Despite the attribution of a Diatessaron to Ammonius, the evidence we have encountered thus far indicates that Tatian is the composer of a work known as the Diatessaron. There are, however, earlier and other references to Tatian—in Irenaeus,<sup>24</sup> for example. None, however, mentions the Diatessaron. Clement of Alexandria names two of Tatian’s treatises by title,<sup>25</sup> but not the Diatessaron; his silence is even more significant if, as has been suggested, he were a student of Tatian.<sup>26</sup>

Another odd fact is that—with three exceptions—all of these early notices of the Diatessaron come from *Greek* authors in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire: Eusebius in Palestine and Epiphanius on Cyprus. The exceptions are the Syriac *Doctrina Addai*, and the Syriac and Latin translations of Eusebius’ *h.e.* Apart from Rufinus’ reference, the first European or African writer to mention the work (and he calls it a *diapente*, not

<sup>22</sup> A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents regarding Legislation Relative to Syrian Asceticism*, PETSE 11 (Stockholm 1960), 47 (translation modified). Also in: W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London 1894), 4; F.C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, II, 177. For additional commentary on the canon, see also A. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen. I. Westsyrische Originalurkunden, I, A.*, CSCO 307 (Louvain 1970), 128–38, esp. 134, n. 64, and 137, n. 95.

<sup>23</sup> *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ed. Burkitt, II, 164.

<sup>24</sup> Irenaeus’ report is considered *infra*, 76–79.

<sup>25</sup> Clement praises Tatian for the *Oratio* (*Strom.* I.21 [101.2] [*Clemens Alexandrinus*, II, *Stromata Buch I–IV*, edd. Stählin and Früchtel, GCS 15 (Berlin 1960<sup>3</sup>), 64]); he also mentions (negatively) Tatian’s *On perfection according to the Saviour* (*Strom.* III.12 [81.1] [edd. Stählin and Früchtel, 232]). Eusebius (*h.e.* IV.29.7 [ed. Hardy, I (SC 31), 214]) also praises Tatian and his *Oratio*.

<sup>26</sup> Clement states that he studied Christianity with “an Assyrian” (*Strom.* I.1 [11.2]; edd. Stählin and Früchtel, 8). Many scholars have surmised that Tatian was one of his teachers: cf., e.g., J.B. Lightfoot, “IX. Tatian’s Diatessaron,” *The Contemporary Review* 29 (May 1877), 274 (reprinted in his *Essays on the Work entitled Supernatural Religion* [London 1889; 1893<sup>2</sup>], 274); J.R. Harris, *The Diatessaron of Tatian* (Cambridge 1890), p. 3, n. 1; P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford 1959<sup>2</sup>), 284, 294; and M. Whittaker, ed., *Tatian. Oratio ad Graecos and Fragments*, OECT (Oxford 1982), p. ix. There is little connexion between the thought of the two men, and Clement shows no acquaintance with the Diatessaron. The suggestion must remain a conjecture, one which I view skeptically.

a *diatessaron*) is Victor of Capua, in his preface to the Latin Codex Fuldensis, dated 546 (see *infra*, item E). The obvious conclusion—which may or may not be valid, since it is *e silentio*—is that these earliest (and Western?) Fathers were ignorant of the Diatessaron and, consequently, its attribution to Tatian. The silence of these Fathers will be considered when we deal with the question of the provenance of the Diatessaron.<sup>27</sup>

Thus far (with the exceptions of the *Doctrina Addai* and the Syriac translation of Eusebius) we have focused on evidence from the Greek Fathers, for they offer the earliest testimony concerning Tatian and the Diatessaron; but the first citations from the Diatessaron come from the Syrian East. Ephrem Syrus († 373) wrote a *Commentary* on the Diatessaron. It survives in three manuscripts, one in Syriac, which lacks the first folio with the title, and two in Armenian. The Armenian title is, following the usual translation, “Commentary on the concordant gospel.” The Armenian word *Համաբարբառ* can also mean “symphonic” or “homophonic.”<sup>28</sup> On the basis of a Syriac catena (Vatican: MS Borgia Syriaca 82; the catena attributes a quotation to “Mar Ephrem the Teacher, from the Commentary of the Diatessaron<sup>29</sup> Gospel”), Tj. Baarda conjectured that the Syriac title of Ephrem’s work was “Commentary of [or: on] the Diatessaron Gospel.”<sup>30</sup> If Baarda is correct, then Ephrem’s title would be the second use of the word “Diatessaron” in Syriac, the first being in the Syriac translation of Eusebius’ *h.e.* That Ephrem’s *Commentary* was written on the Diatessaron is certain, for its sequence of pericopes and variant readings follow those of the Arabic Harmony quite closely.

In addition to the *Commentary*, Ephrem’s sermons (both prose and metrical) and hymns frequently quote the gospels in the form of the Diatessaron, not the separate gospels. Similarly, the gospel citations of Aphrahat, “the Persian Sage” († c. 350 ?),

<sup>27</sup> See *infra*, p. 49, n. 45; 429.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Tj. Baarda’s discussion of the Armenian and Syriac title of the *Commentary* in his “A Syriac Fragment of Mar Ephrem’s *Commentary* on the Diatessaron,” *NTS* 8 (1962), 295 (also in his *Early Transmission of the Words of Jesus: Thomas, Tatian and the Text of the New Testament* [Amsterdam 1983], 59).

<sup>29</sup> The text actually reads “Diasarun,” a metathesis of ܕܝܐ and ܫܐܪܘܢ. Baarda notes that this same metathesis also occurs in the Cambridge MS of Isho’dad of Merv’s *Commentary*, and in the lexica of bar Ali and bar Bahlul (see below, items H and I).

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. The date of the Vatican MS is late, but the *testimonia* in the catena are attributed to Comes Irenaeus, who probably died before 450 (cf. Tj. Baarda, “A Syriac Fragment,” p. 288, n. 3).

a slightly older contemporary of Ephrem, also frequently agree with the Diatessaron. Aphrahat provides an interesting bit of information which, as it turns out, is relevant to Diatessaronic studies. In his *Demonstrations*, I.10, one reads:

31. ܠܠܗ ܠܡܡ ܡܢܕܠܟ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܕܝܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܝܫܘܥ  
 ... as is written in the beginning of the Gospel of our Saviour:  
 "In the beginning was the Word."

Later Syrian writers (see *infra*, items N and Q) reiterate that the Diatessaron began with John 1.1; and indeed, many extant Diatessaronic witnesses commence with John 1.1.<sup>32</sup> This report of Aphrahat's, then, is usually understood as referencing the Diatessaron—which he calls "the Gospel of our Saviour." It is the earliest description of a physical feature of the Diatessaron; Theodoret's negative statement, reporting the lack of genealogies, is the second.

#### E) VICTOR OF CAPUA, PREFACE TO CODEX FULDENSIS

The oldest witness to the Diatessaron in the West is a sixth-century Latin manuscript of the New Testament. Its gospels, however, are in the form of a harmony. Known as Codex Fuldensis, it was copied at the order of bishop Victor of Capua. Writing on 2 May 546,<sup>33</sup> Victor concluded a Preface to the manuscript, which begins as follows:

*Cum fortuito in manus meas incideret unum ex quattuor euangelium  
 compositum et absente titulo non inuenirem nomen auctoris, diligenter  
 inquirens quis gesta uel dicta domini et saluatoris nostri euangelica*

<sup>31</sup> *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae, Demonstrationes*, ed. I. Parisot, in *PS*, ed. R. Graffin (Parisii 1894) I, 21 (text) & 22 (trans.).

<sup>32</sup> This fact has long been noted and has played an important role in Diatessaronic studies: cp. e.g., Th. Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 73–74 and 113–14; see also § 1 ("Das erste Wort des Diatessaron") of Th. Zahn's "Kleine Beiträge zu Tatian's Diatessaron," printed at the end of FGK 2 (*Der Evangeliencommentar des Theophilus von Antiochien*) (Erlangen 1883), 286–90; Tj. Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage* (Meppel 1975), I, 55–59. See also *infra*, 98, 116.

<sup>33</sup> See. B. Fischer, "Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters," in *La Bibbia nell'alto Medioevo*, in the series *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo* 10 (Spoleto 1963), p. 546, n. 67. The copying of the MS's text was completed on 19 April 546; Victor finished adding his Preface on 2 May 546; he reviewed the MS once more, and approved it on 12 April 547. Fischer also provides a helpful description of the MS (545–53).

*lectione discreta in ordinem quo se consequi uidebantur non minimo studii labore redegerit, repperi ammonium quemdam alexandrinum, qui canonum quoque euangelii fertur inuentor, matthei euangelio reliquorum trium excerpta iunxisse ac sic in unam seriem euangelium nexuisse. sicut eusebius episcopus carpiano cuidam scribens in praefatione editionis suae qua canones memorati euangelii edidit, supra dicti uiri imitatus studium refert in hunc modum: ammonius quidam alexandrinus multum ut arbitror laboris et studii impendens unum ex quattuor nobis abreliquit euangelium.*

*Ex historia quoque eius comperi quod tatianus vir eruditissimus et orator illius temporis clarus unum ex quattuor conpaginauerit euangelium, cui titulum diapente composuit. hic beati iustini philosophi et martyris dum adiuueret discipulus fuit quo migrante ad dominum cum palma martyrii magistri sanctam deserens disciplinam et doctrinae supercilio elatus in lapsum encratitarum heresim marcionis potius amplexus errorem quam iustini christi philosophi ueritatem suae uitae perniciosus excoluit asserens inter alia nuptias et stupra pari crimini subiacere. sed et dictis apostolicis manus profanae emendationis uel ut dicam uerius corruptionis dicitur intulisse. sed quia et hominum perfidorum christi dei nostri operante potentia confessione uel opere saepe triumphat gloria ueritatis (nam et daemones christum fatebantur et filii sceuae in actibus apostolorum in nomine ihesu quem praedicaret paulus demonia fugabant) tatianus quoque licet profanis implicatus erroribus non inutile tamen exhibens studiosis exemplum hoc euangelium ut mihi uidetur sollerti conpaginatione disposuit et forsitan adhuc beati iustini adherens lateri illius eruditionis merito hoc opus explicuit.*

*Arbitror enim propterea non ammonii sed huius esse editionem memorati uoluminis, quod ammonius matthei fertur relationi euangelistarum reliquorum relatione discretos adnexuisse sermones: hic uero sancti luciae principia sunt adsumpta, licet ex maxima parte euangelio sancti matthei reliquorum trium dicta coniunxerit, ut iure ambigi possit, ammonii an tatiani inuentio eiusdem operis debeat extimari. Uerumtamen uel si iam heresiarches huius editionis auctor exstitit tatianus, uerba domini mei cognoscens libenter amplector, interpretationem si fuisset eius propria procul abicerem. nam et contra gentes magnificos libros edidisse narratur.<sup>34</sup>*

When by chance one composite gospel out of the four came into my hands and since there was no title, I could not find the name of the author, I diligently investigated who brought the deeds and words of our Lord and Saviour back into an order in which they seem to have followed each other [*i.e.*, in the historical order] after the gospel reading was disassembled. And I found out that a certain Ammonius of Alexandria (who it is also said is the inventor of the canons of the gospel) had joined to the gospel of Matthew excerpts of the other three, and in this way joined in one series the gospels, as Bishop Eusebius—

<sup>34</sup> *Codex Fuldensis*, ed. E. Ranke (Marburg 1868), 1–2. I have adopted the paragraphing and interpunction of Tatian. *Lateinisch und allddeutsch, mit ausführlichem Glossar*, ed. E. Sievers, BADLD 5 (Paderborn 1872<sup>1</sup>; 1892<sup>2</sup>; 2nd edition reprinted: Paderborn 1960), 3.



writing to a certain Carpius in the preface to his edition in which he edited the canons of the above-named gospel, imitating the effort of the man mentioned above—says in the following words: “A certain Ammonius of Alexandria spending a great deal of labour and study—as it seems to me—left to us one gospel out of the four.”

It became clear to me also from his [Eusebius’] *History* that Tatian, a very learned man and famous orator of that time, combined one gospel out of the four, for which he composed the title “Diapente.” He was a disciple of the blessed Justin, philosopher and martyr, as long as the latter was alive. When he [Justin] went to the Lord with the palm of martyrdom, he [Tatian] deserted the holy discipline of his master, and through self-conceited teaching involved himself in the aberration of the Encratites, having embraced the heresy of Marcion, the error, rather than the truth of Justin, the philosopher of Christ. He took care of his own life as a destructive man, asserting among other things that marriage and adultery fell under the same judgement, but he [Tatian] is also said to have applied the hand of profane emendation—or, to speak more truly, of corruption—to the apostolic sayings.<sup>35</sup> But because even through the belief or works of unfaithful men—through the help of the power of Christ our God—the glory of truth often triumphs. For even daemons confessed Christ, and the sons of Sceva, in the Acts of the Apostles [Acts 19.14], chased the daemons in the name of Jesus, whom Paul proclaimed; Tatian too, although involved in profane errors, nevertheless, placed before savants an example which is not useless, arranged this gospel—as it seems to me—with skillful composition. And perhaps he [Tatian] completed this work, still adhering to the side of the blessed Justin, thanks to the latter’s erudition.

For the following reason I think that the edition of the above mentioned volume was not by Ammonius but by him [Tatian], namely because Ammonius is said to have joined to Matthew’s narrative the wordings [which had been] lifted out of the narrative of the remaining Evangelists. But here the principles of Saint Luke [presumably his sequence of material] have been adopted, although for the most part he joined the words of the remaining three [gospels] to the gospel of Saint Matthew. Hence it can be rightly disputed whether the discovery of the same work ought to be thought Ammonius’ or Tatian’s. Even if the author of this edition is the heresiarch Tatian, I recognize and embrace with pleasure the words of my Lord, for if the interpretation had been his [Tatian’s] own, then I would cast it away.

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<sup>35</sup> Victor’s statement is based on Eusebius’ report (*h.e.* IV.29.6 [ed. Bardy, I (SC 31), 214]) that also Tatian “revised” the Pauline epistles: τοῦ δ’ ἀποστόλου φασὶ τολμήσαι τινὰς αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φωνάς, ὡς ἐπιδιοποθούμενον αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς φράσεως σύνταξιν (“It is said that he changed certain expressions of the apostle under the pretext of correcting the arrangement of the phrase.”). This follows immediately on Eusebius’ report (cited above, as item A) on Tatian’s Diatessaron.

For he is also said to have published distinguished books against the Gentiles.

Although Victor's Latin is awkward and at points opaque, this preface is important for what it tells us about knowledge of the Diatessaron in the West, and about the document he ordered copied.

It is apparent that the Diatessaron was not commonly known in the West at this time; otherwise, Victor would have immediately recognized what had come into his hands.<sup>36</sup> Victor's research led him to Eusebius who, as we already know, mentions *two* Diatessarons: Tatian's and Ammonius'. The basis upon which Victor decided the issue of authorship—namely, that Ammonius' Diatessaron was built around Matthew, but the work in question commences with Luke—probably indicates that the manuscript which came into his hands began with a passage from Luke. Codex Fuldensis also begins with Luke 1.1–4, followed by John 1.1–4, followed by Luke 1.5–15. Victor's remark suggests that Codex Fuldensis' *incipit* agrees with its archetype's *incipit*.<sup>37</sup> Although Victor obviously has no love for Tatian the heretic, the harmony before him evoked respect: God can use even evil men for good purposes, and Victor regarded the harmony as a "skillful composition." Victor's suggestion that Tatian composed the harmony while still under the watchful eye of the orthodox Justin is probably more a pious wish than a historical circumstance.

Victor's difficulty in deciding whether Ammonius of Alexandria<sup>38</sup> or Tatian was the author of the document is sympto-

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<sup>36</sup> This is important, for what appear to be Diatessaronic readings permeate the earliest *separate* Latin gospel citations and MSS (see *infra*, 160). This suggests that the Diatessaron was the *earliest* form of the gospels in Latin, for, had the Diatessaron been introduced in the West *after* the arrival of the separate Latin gospels, it would be impossible to explain how its text became so popular that it, first, altered the received Latin separated gospel text so as to leave its imprint on them, and then, second, utterly vanished from sight and memory (cf. Victor's ignorance)—all within a century or two. See *infra*, under the names Th. Zahn, A. Harnack, and, especially, H.J. Vogels. See also the remarks *infra*, 346–348, regarding Justin's harmony and its influence in the West.

<sup>37</sup> As will be discussed below (pp. 128, 248), it appears the original Diatessaron began with John 1.1, *as do the capitularia of Codex Fuldensis*. This means that somewhere in Fuldensis' *Vorlage* the sequence of the *text* of the body of the manuscript was revised, but not the *capitularia*. The reasoning which led Victor to conclude Tatian was the document's author also leads to the conclusion that Victor did not effect a revision—at least of the *incipit*.

<sup>38</sup> See *supra*, 32f.

matic of other ancient writers who also confuse the two.<sup>39</sup> J.C. Zahn (1814) decided the issue in favour of Tatian with a logic which remains definitive,<sup>40</sup> but uncertainty is found in the literature as late as the 1920s.<sup>41</sup> Victor's description of the document as an "[in] unum ex quattuor" is intelligible, for this is the superscription borne by some Latin harmonies in the West.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, Victor's title for the work, "dia-pente" (not "dia-tessaron"), has puzzled scholars. Various explanations have been proposed. Some have interpreted it as a simple error;<sup>43</sup> others have seen in it Victor's recognition that Tatian incorporated a "fifth source" into the Diatessaron, namely one of the lost Judaic-Christian gospels (scholars usually suggest the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* [modern scholars' *Gospel according to the Ebionites*] as the most likely candidate);<sup>44</sup> it has even been suggested that Victor's copy of Eusebius' *h.e.* was defective, and read "diapente";<sup>45</sup> it has also been interpreted in terms of musicology, in which "diapente" references the chord or interval of the fifth.

This musical explanation of Victor's "Diapente" warrants examination, for it has attracted proponents for over three hundred years. It originated in 1614 with Isaac Casaubon (\* 1559–† 1614; an independent Huguenot scholar, friend of Theodore Beza in Geneva, who corresponded with Scaliger and Daniël Heinsius in Leiden) who suggested that

<sup>39</sup> See below, items, J, N, Q, and R.

<sup>40</sup> *Infra*, 98f.

<sup>41</sup> The title of a book by J.A. Schmeller, *Ammonii Alexandrini quae et Tatiani dicitur Harmonia Evangeliorum in linguam Latinum et inde ante annos mille in Francicam translata* (Viennae 1841), is an early example; he speaks of him as "Ammonii (vulgo Tatiani)" (p. xi). J. Rendel Harris indicates his uncertainty in his article "The Gospel Harmony of Clement of Llanthony," *JBL* 43 (1924): "... nor can we say with any degree of confidence whether the celebrated Harmony... is an Ammonian or a Tatianic product" (349).

<sup>42</sup> E.g., the harmony commented upon by Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (see *infra*, 187–189).

<sup>43</sup> So C.A. Semisch, *Tatiani Diatessaron* (Breslau 1856), 28; E.W.B. Nicholson, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews* (1879), 132; and Th. Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 2–3.

<sup>44</sup> So H. Grotius, *Annotationes in Libros Evangeliorum* (Amsterdami 1641), 7; A. Baumstark, "Die syrische Übersetzung des Titus von Bostra und das Diatessaron," *Bib.* 16 (1935), 293–94; C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, *OrChrA* 123 (Roma 1939), 200–201; G. Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas* (Leiden 1975), 83.

<sup>45</sup> So J.C. Zahn, "Ist Ammon oder Tatian Verfasser der ins Lateinische, Altfrankische und Arabische übersetzten Evangelien-harmonie? und was hat Tatian bei seinem bekannten Diatessaron oder Diapente vor sich gehabt und zum Grunde gelegt?" in *ASEST*, edd. C.A.G. Keil & H.G. Tzschirner, Band II, Theil 1 (Leipzig 1814), 202.

In praefatione Victoris Capuani, quae habetur Bibliothecae Patrum nuper editae Parisijs tomo septimo, pag. 25. ita legitur: *Tatianus unum ex quatuor compaginavit Euangelium, cui titulum Dia pente imposuit*. Videtur scribendum *Dia panton*. quod consentit cum Eusebio. Alioquin scimus & *Dia pente* concentus nomen esse apud Musicos, vt *Dia tessaron* & *Dia pason*: quas appellationes & Latini retinuerunt vt Vitruuius.<sup>46</sup>

In the Preface of Victor of Capua, which is found in the seventh tome of the Bibliotheca Patrum recently published in Paris, page 25, we read as follows: *Tatian composed one Gospel out of the four, and he entitled it "Dia pente."* It seems that we should write "*Dia panton*," which agrees with [what we find in] Eusebius. We know otherwise that "*Dia pente*" was [used as] the name of a harmony among musicians, just like *Dia tessaron* & *Dia pason*: also Latins like Vitruvius kept to these [Greek] terms.

Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, a first century BCE writer on architecture, uses the term *diapason* (διὰ πασῶν) to reference the musical octave; *diapente* (διὰ πέντε) to reference the musical fifth (made up of four steps: C to G in current musical notation); and *diatessaron* (διὰ τεσσάρων) to reference the interval of a fourth (made up of three steps: C to F).<sup>47</sup> According to those who propound this view, Tatian, thinking of the four gospels as equivalent to the "harmony" of the fourth, named his gospel harmony διὰ τεσσάρων. Citing Pythagorean musical terminology, Paul de Lagarde embraced this explanation and thought it explained both Tatian's title and Victor's title.<sup>48</sup> Th. Zahn dismissed the idea, observing that the theory deserved no further attention.<sup>49</sup> A. Hjelt reported it, but reserved his opinion.<sup>50</sup> The most recent proponent is Franco Bolgiani. He suggests that while Tatian thought in terms of *terminology* (where a harmony of the *four* gospels would be called a διὰ τεσσάρων), Victor calculated differently: for Victor, a work composed from *four* gospels should be referenced by *four* steps (notes C to D [step 1], D to E [step 2], E to F [step 3],

<sup>46</sup> I. Casaubon, *de Rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis Exercitationes XVI. ad Cardinalis Baronii . . .* (Londini 1614), 236 (Exercitatio XIII.11).

<sup>47</sup> Vitruvius Pollio (*De architectura*, ed. F. Granger, 2 vols. [Loeb Class. Library: New York/London 1931]) mentions the "*diatessaron*" at I.1.9, V.4.8, V.5.1; the "*diapente*" at I.1.9, V.4.8, V.4.9, V.5.5; the "*diapason*" at I.1.9 and V.4.7.

<sup>48</sup> P. de Lagarde, review of Th. Zahn's *Tatian's Diatessaron*, in *GGA* sans num. (1882), 334.

<sup>49</sup> *Tatian's Diatessaron*, p. 3, n. 4 (" . . . verdient keine Beachtung mehr").

<sup>50</sup> *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron besonders in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis*, FGK 7 (1903), p. 20, n. 1, and p. 57, n. 2.

and F to G [step 4]), that is, the *diapente* (the fifth, C to G).<sup>51</sup> It is incontestable that the terms *diatessaron* and *diapente* were used in music; the theory that these musical ideas inspired the titles handed down to us must, however, remain a conjecture, for no ancient author explains the title in terms of musical theory.

F) THEODORE BAR KONI, *LIBER SCHOLIORUM*

The *Liber scholiorum*, written in 791, is the first original Syriac document (as opposed to translations, such as that of Eusebius' *h.e.*) to mention Tatian and the Diatessaron.<sup>52</sup> Theodore, a Nestorian, writes thus:

[illegible]

And finally came the Greek Tatian, and he saw that in the Evangelion da-Mepharreshē (“The Gospel of the Separated”) the episodes were described two and three times, and he undertook to write them down, each time once, and collected [or: compiled] from all four one book, and called it Diatessaron. And when he reached the pericope of the resurrection, he saw that the testimonies of all four differed, because each one described that He was risen from the dead at the time that our Lord appeared to him. And so as not to have to choose one testimony and omit three, he spoke thus in order to take account of the testimony of all four: “In the night when the first day of the week dawned our Lord rose from the dead.”

Tatian is the compiler of the Diatessaron; Theodore is the first to call Tatian “the Greek,”<sup>54</sup> a sobriquet perhaps inspired

<sup>51</sup> *Vittore di Capua e il "Diatessaron"*, MAST.M, ser. 4a, no. 2 (Turin 1962).

<sup>52</sup> The *Doctrina Addai* does not mention Tatian.

<sup>53</sup> *Theodoros bar Koni. Liber Scholiorum, II*, ed. A. Scher, CSCO 69 [Syr. 26] (Leuven 1912), 159, lines 9–16. Theodore also gives a report about Tatian, in which he mentions his efforts at harmonization, but does not name the Diatessaron: *ibid.*, 305.

<sup>54</sup> In conversation, Tj. Baarda, reflecting on all the *testimonia* concerning Tatian, observed that Tatian was a Syrian (or Assyrian) to the Greeks, but a Greek to the Syrians.

by knowledge of Tatian's *Oratio*. For the first time we find a motive stipulated for the creation of the Diatessaron: Tatian undertook his harmonization when he encountered the gospels' parallel accounts. Whether the text from which Tatian worked—Theodore calls it the “Evangelion da-Mepharreshē”—was in Greek or Syriac is unclear. In this passage, Theodore provides us with the first quotation attributed by name to the Diatessaron.<sup>55</sup> The emphasis Theodore places on the difficulties Tatian faced with the resurrection accounts is a theme which surfaces in some later *testimonia* (see *infra*, items N and P).

### G) ISHO'DAD OF MERV, *COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPELS*

The Nestorian bishop of Hēdattā in Assyria, Isho'dad of Merv (*fl.* 860) composed numerous commentaries, including one on each of the gospels. In the Prologue to his *Commentary on Mark*, Isho'dad speaks of the Diatessaron with an easy familiarity:

ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

Now Tatian, a disciple of Justin the Philosopher and Martyr, made selections from the four Evangelists, mixed [or: combined] them, and composed a Gospel; and called it the *Diatessaron*, that is to say, of the *mixed*; he did not write about the Divinity of Christ; and Mar Ephrem commented upon this [the Diatessaron].<sup>57</sup>

Note that even in the ninth century, it is apparently still necessary to inform readers that “Diatessaron” means *da-Mehalleṭe* (“of the Mixed”). Elsewhere in the *Commentaries*, Isho'dad names the Diatessaron as the source for variant readings adduced at Matt 1.20;<sup>58</sup> 3.4;<sup>59</sup> 3.16;<sup>60</sup> 21.1;<sup>61</sup> and Mark 1.1.<sup>62</sup> In

<sup>55</sup> Aphrahat and Ephrem quote it much earlier—in the fourth century—but they do not do so by name.

<sup>56</sup> *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv*, ed. M.D. Gibson, HSem V–VII, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1911); here, Vol. II (HSem VI), 204.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, I (HSem V), 123.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, II (HSem VI), 23 (text), I (HSem V), 14 (translation).

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 39–40 (text), I, 23 (trans.).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 45–46 (text), I, 27 (trans.).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 134–5 (text), I, 80 (trans.).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 208 (text), I, 126 (trans.).

some instances these are presented as warranting consideration; in others they are given without comment. Isho'dad's *Commentaries* show that as late as the mid-ninth century an orthodox Christian bishop regarded the Diatessaron as an authority worthy of citation.

At Mark 1.2, Isho'dad offers a variant from the Diatessaron, and states that it was composed in Alexandria:

63. *தஞ்சை மகாலக்ஷ்மி கிரந்தம்*  
 தஞ்சை மகாலக்ஷ்மி கிரந்தம்

Others say that in the book *Diatessaron* which was composed in Alexandria, instead of this, as it is written by *Isaia the prophet*, it is said by the *Prophets*.<sup>64</sup>

Since the citations reproduced in Isho‘dad’s *Commentary* contain unique variants found only in Diatessaronic witnesses, one can be certain that the Diatessaron he knew is the one which spawned all these other texts; this means the readings come from Tatian’s harmony, not Ammonius’.<sup>65</sup> Isho‘dad’s designation of Alexandria is interesting: perhaps Tatian went there after leaving Rome; recall also that Tatian has been proposed by some as one of Clement of Alexandria’s teachers. Yet there is no evidence to link Tatian with Alexandria, or to suggest that Clement knew a Diatessaron. The tradition that Tatian’s Diatessaron was composed in Alexandria is probably due to confusion over the two Diatessarons mentioned by Eusebius, and their two authors: Tatian, and Ammonius the Alexandrian.<sup>66</sup>

H) ISHO<sup>c</sup> BAR ALI

A Nestorian physician, famed for his work in ophthalmology, bar Ali († 1001) composed a Syriac/Arabic lexicon in the late

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., Vol. II (HSem VI), 208.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., Vol. I (HSem V), 126.

<sup>65</sup> Two of the readings presented above in chapter 1 (the “fire” in the Jordan; Jesus’ command to “fulfill *the Law*”) are found in Isho’dad; so is Exhibit 7 in chapter 7 (see *infra*, 404–414).

<sup>66</sup> Because of a variant reading in his own MS of Isho'dad's *Commentaries* (MS "H" in Gibson's text; her text, based on MSS "M" and "C" [which she felt more reliable], is printed above), J.R. Harris, *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron* (London 1895), 15, concluded that Isho'dad distinguished between Tatian's Diatessaron and Ammonius' Diatessaron; although following Gibson's text, A. Hjelt, *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron*, FGKN 7.1 [Leipzig 1903], 34–5,





Diatessaron, that is to say, the Gospel combined, that is from the four Evangelists.<sup>70</sup>

This reference is from the oldest MS of bar Bahlul's opus, dated 1214.<sup>71</sup> Later manuscripts augment the entry by appending:

ܕܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ

and this was composed in Alexandria which Tatian the bishop wrote.<sup>72</sup>

Alexandrian provenance appears to derive from Isho'dad of Merv, although the confusion could have arisen independently. The tradition concerning Tatian's ecclesiastical office first appears here. That Tatian wore a bishop's miter is unsubstantiated. This tradition betrays, however, the East's high esteem for the Diatessaron and its composer: since the Diatessaron was venerated, its creator must have been a holy man.

#### J) MOSES BAR KEPHA

A slightly younger contemporary of Isho'dad of Merv, bar Kepha served as bishop of the combined diocese of Mosul, Beth Kijonaja and Beth Raman; he died in 903 at the age of 90. Like Isho'dad, it appears bar Kepha also cited the Diatessaron in his *Commentaries*; however unlike Isho'dad's *Commentaries*, which survive complete, bar Kepha's exist only in fragmentary form (London: British Library, Add. 17,274; eleventh/twelfth cent.).

ܕܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ  
ܕܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ  
ܕܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ  
ܕܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ  
ܕܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ

<sup>70</sup> Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, I, 870. The text is also in *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule*, ed. R. Duval (Parisii 1901), I, col. 552; it is reproduced in A. Hjelt, *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung*, 48, with a German translation.

<sup>71</sup> On this MS, Socin 1, see A. Baumstark, *Geschichte*, p. 242, n. 1.

<sup>72</sup> The text is from the same sources as given in note 70, above. J.R. Harris, *The Diatessaron*, 14, was the first to note that this was an addition; due to the MSS they were using, neither Duval nor Hjelt realized this was a gloss.

ܡܠ ܕܝܗܘܢܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ  
 ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ  
 ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ  
 ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ  
 ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ  
 ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ ܕܝܚܝܐ

Which shows who collected the four books of the Evangelists and set them in order in one book.

And some people, indeed, say that Eusebius of Caesarea, when he saw that Julianus [*sic*: one expects Ammonius] of Alexandria made the Gospel of the Diatessaron, i.e. by means of the Four, and changed the sequence of stories [or: words] of the Gospels. And also Tatian the Greek, the heretic leader, made a Gospel which is called Tasaron [*sic*] and he too changed the sequence of the stories [or: words]; he, Eusebius, took care and collected the four books of the four Evangelists and set them in order and placed them in one book, and preserved the essence of the books of the evangelists as it [= the “essence”] was, without taking anything from their books or adding anything to them, and made certain Canons concerning their mutual agreement.<sup>73</sup>

Tatian is a “Greek,” and the Diatessaron’s full title seems to include the word “gospel.” “Julianus” must be corrected to “Ammonius,” as per Eusebius’ *Ep. ad Carpianum*. Bar Kepha appears to be juggling multiple traditions from earlier sources. First, he conflates Eusebius’ two references to a “Diatessaron” (that of Ammonius of Alexandria’s and that of Tatian’s); second, he calls Tatian a heretic (cp. the presumed addition to bar Ali’s description [item H]); third, he also calls him a Greek (cp. Theodore bar Koni [item F] and the *Chronicle of Se’ert* [item L]).

<sup>73</sup> Chapter 53; text and translation (adapted) cited from J.R. Harris, *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus on the Diatessaron* (London 1895), 21. Also given by Hjelt, *Die altsyrische*, 39, who uses Harris’ text; M. Kmosko, “Analecta Syriaca e codicibus Musei Britannici excerpta,” Part II in *OrChr* 3 [= I.3] (1903), 104–05, reedited the text and offers a Latin translation. Harris’ MS has a lacuna (indicated by the square brackets), which he restored by reference to a parallel passage in bar Salibi (see *infra*, under “N”). Dr. G. Mussies of Utrecht suggested that bar Kepha probably arrived at the name “Tasaron” by mistaking the inceptive ܐ as the Syriac prefixed particle which has many functions, including that of the preposition “of” and to introduce a relative clause.

## K) AGAPIUS (MAHBUB) OF HIERAPOLIS

In his *Kitab al-'Unvan* ("Universal History"), composed in Arabic about 942, this historian mentions Tatian and—without naming it—the gospel he created:

At this time a man named Tatian appeared, who was a disciple of Justin the philosopher about whom we spoke that he was crowned a martyr. Having left his teacher, he sundered orthodoxy and became the author of a great heresy. There existed, he said, many other gods and many invisible aeons. Everything is a mixture of good and evil, for which reason everything lives in couples [*i.e.*, in Syzygies]. He changed and destroyed the order of the tribute [*i.e.*, the genealogy], which had been fixed. He said that the Lord Christ, whom he glorified, [was of the race of] David. He composed a gospel which differed from that [...] He said that after death, eating [...] his errors produced many difficulties.<sup>74</sup>

Irenaeus seems to be the source for Agapius' description of Tatian's "gnosticism." The statement that Tatian "composed a gospel which differed from that [...]" seems to reference the Diatessaron; the lacuna comes at a most unfortunate point in the text.

## L) CHRONICLE OF SE'ERT

This Nestorian church history, written in Arabic shortly after 1036, names Tatian as the Diatessaron's composer:

And among his [Ephrem's] celebrated works: a *Commentary on the Old [Testament]*, a *Commentary on the Psalms of David*, a *Commentary on the Gospel called Diatessaron*, which is collected from the four gospels, which Tatian the Greek made. And *Diatessaron* is a Greek word which signifies four-fold, that is to say, produced from the four gospels. In interpreting this book, Saint Ephrem was able to avoid the repetition of the chapters; and that was also the aim of the one who composed it.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> *Kitab al-'Unvan, Histoire Universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj*, ed. A. Vasiliev, PO tome 7, fasc. 4 (or: tome 7, partie 2, pars 1) (Paris 1909), 515–16 (Arabic text and French translations). The Arabic text is also in *Agapius episcopus Mabbugensis. Historia universalis*, ed. L. Cheikho, CSCO 65 (Beryti/Parisiis/Lipsiae 1912), 264.

<sup>75</sup> *Histoire Nestorienné Inédite (Chronique de Séert)*, Première partie (I), ed. A. Scher, PO 4.3 (Paris 1907), 295, which gives the Arabic text and a French translation. The same work mentions the fact that Ephrem composed "a Commentary on Diatessaron" a second time, in Chap. 28 (p. 323).

Tatian is again a “Greek”; the description of the Diatessaron is quite straightforward. The title of Ephrem’s *Commentary* is exactly what Baarda conjectured. The reason Tatian created his harmony (to avoid the repetition found in the separate gospels) is identical with that given by Theodore bar Koni (*supra*, item F).

M) GREEK GOSPEL MS 72  
(LONDON: BRITISH LIBRARY, HARLEY 5647)

This eleventh century Greek gospel manuscript contains two *scholia* (ση. = σημειώσεις or σημειώσαι) at Matt 27.48 or 27.49:

ση. ὅτι εἰς τὸ καθ’ ἱστορίαν εὐαγγέλιον Διαδώρου [*sic*] καὶ Τατιανοῦ καὶ ἄλλων διαφορῶν ἁγίων πατέρων· τοῦτο προσκεῖται·

Because into the gospel according to a report of Diodore<sup>76</sup> and of Tatian, and various other holy Fathers, it adds this:

ση. ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν λόγχην ἔνυξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευράν· καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα· τοῦτο λέγει καὶ ὁ Χρυσόστομος.

But another, taking a lance, pierced his side, and water and blood came out; Chrysostom also says this.

Many manuscripts<sup>77</sup> of Matthew interpolate the piercing of Jesus’ side (normally found in John 19.34, *after* Jesus’ death) *post* verse 49 (*before* Jesus’ death); although Harley 5647 does not make the interpolation, its *scholia* offer an explanation and point to a source: Tatian. However, no Diatessaronic witness—with one possible exception<sup>78</sup>—has yet been found with this

<sup>76</sup> It has been suggested that the scholion’s Διαδώρου is a corruption of an original reading Διὰ δ’, *i.e.*, “dia 4” (= “diatessaron”); see the discussion in Th. Zahn, *Tatian’s Diatessaron*, p. 28, n. 1.

<sup>77</sup> Among the many: in the Greek: Ⲙ B C L M U Γ 7 27 71 115 127\* 160 179 267 349 517 659 692 827 945 954 990 1010 1082 1188 1293; in the Latin: Vetus Latina MSS  $\tau^2$  30 (Gatianus) and a total of 7 Vulgate MSS; in the Syriac: all 3 MSS of Syr<sup>pal</sup>; and the Aethiopic (this list is from the apparatus in Huck’s *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, ed. H. Greeven [Tübingen 1981<sup>13</sup>], 269).

<sup>78</sup> The possible exception is the Manichaean Homilies (*Manichäische Homilien in Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Band I*, ed. H.J. Polotsky [Stuttgart 1934], here, 68), which, although the text is damaged at the left and right margins (preventing a complete reconstruction of the text), would seem to indicate (lines 24–30) that the lance thrust came *before* Jesus’ death. The reason is that line 27 speaks of giving him gall to drink; line 28 mentions the division of his clothing; and line 29 speaks of “blood” on “their lances.” See C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*,

arrangement of verses. As a consequence, it is difficult to know whether to attribute the reading to the Diatessaron or not.<sup>79</sup>

#### N) DIONYSIUS BAR SALIBI

The Jacobite bishop of Mar'aš and Amida, Dionysius bar Salibi died in 1171. In his *Commentary on the New Testament* he writes:

ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

Tatian, the disciple of Justin the Philosopher and Martyr, selected from the four Gospels and wove them together and made a Gospel and called it Diatessaron, that is, the Mixed, and Mar Ephrem explained this book. The beginning of this ran: "In the beginning was the Word."

The Diatessaron is called a "gospel"; it begins with John 1.1. The word "Diatessaron" still requires explanation as the "Mixed." Tatian is the composer; Ephrem wrote a commentary on the work.

In another reference, bar Salibi states:

ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

Eusebius of Caesarea took care to draw up the canons of the gospels, and this is known from his Epistle to Carpianus, and

OrChrA 123 (Roma 1939; photomechanical reprint 1962), 127-29.

<sup>79</sup> Cp. H.J. Vogels, "Der Lanzenstich vor dem Tode Jesu," *BZ* 10 (1912), 396-405; and Th. Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 25-29.

<sup>80</sup> *Dionysii Bar Salibi, Commentarii in Evangelia*, edd. A. Vaschalde, Vol. II, pt. 1, CSCO 95 [Syri 47] (Louvain 19310, 173. With minor variant, the text is also given in J.S. Assemani, *BO* (Rome 1721), II, 159-60, and A. Hjelt, *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung*, p. 40, n. 4.

<sup>81</sup> *Dionysii Bar Salibi, Commentarii in Evangelia*, edd. I. Sedláček and J.-B. Chabot, Vol. I, pt. 1, CSCO 15 (Paris 1906, photomechanical reprint, Louvain 1953), 25. J.R. Harris, *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron* (London 1895), 20, cites a different MS (British Library MS 12,143) which has some variants. Hjelt, *Die altsyrischen*, 43, presents Harris' text.

he showed in them the agreement of the Evangelists. Ammonius—also Tatian—has written the Gospel of [the] Yitessaron [*sic*]—that is, of [the] four—as we remarked above. And when they came to the narrative of the resurrection and saw that [the accounts] varied, they gave up their work.

This quotation leaves one unsure whether bar Salibi equated Tatian and Ammonius, or distinguished between two persons and their two Diatessarons. Baarda drew attention to the disjunction between the singular verb in connexion with Ammonius (“he had written”; implying bar Salibi was speaking of one person known by two names) and the later plural verbs (“they came . . . they gave up”; implying similar activities by two people). According to bar Salibi, it appears that Tatian (and/or Ammonius?) despaired of harmonizing the discrepancies among the resurrection accounts; this recalls Theodore bar Koni’s remark (*supra*, item F) that Tatian stopped harmonizing when he reached the resurrection accounts. This need not mean Tatian abandoned creating the Diatessaron at that point; rather, bar Koni’s remarks suggest that he ceased his harmonizing, and presumably switched to presenting the accounts seriatim. Baarda<sup>82</sup> noted that the tradition that the resurrection accounts were Tatian’s undoing also appeared in a gloss in an eighth or ninth century Syriac MS, Vatican, Syr. 154 (see *infra*, item P).

Elsewhere, Dionysius provides a quotation from the Diatessaron and offers more information:

ܐܬܬܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ  
ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ  
ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ

ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ ܕܬܬܐܢܐ

Others: In the book of the Diatessaron composed in Alexandria, which Tatianos the bishop wrote, and also in the Greek Gospel and in the Harqlaya (= Harclean), it is written “In the prophet,” without explaining who the prophet is.

Tatian is once again called a bishop (cp. *supra*, item I), and the Diatessaron is given Alexandrian provenance. The com-

<sup>82</sup> Tj. Baarda, “The Resurrection Narrative in Tatian’s Diatessaron according to three Syrian Patristic Witnesses” in his *Early Transmission of the Words of Jesus*, 104–05 (= pp. 50–53 of his *Vier = Eén: Enkele bladzijden uit de geschiedenis van de harmonistiek der Evangelien* [Kampen 1969]).

<sup>83</sup> Dionysii Bar Salibi, *Commentarii in Evangelia*, ed. Vaschalde, Vol. II, pt. 1, CSCO 95 [Syri 47], 181. With minor variants, the text is also in Harris, *Fragments*, 16, and Hjelt, *Die altsyrischen*, 44.

## O) MICHAEL THE SYRIAN

84

Mention of Saturninus and Marcion, “invisible aeons,” rejection of marriage, and Tatian’s role as founder of the Encratites suggests Michael was acquainted with Irenaeus’ description of Tatian (see *infra*, pp. 76–79). The term “gospel” is once again used of the Diatessaron; note that its Greek name still requires explanation: “that is to say, of [the] Mixed” (da-Mehalletē).

<sup>84</sup> *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris 1924 [sic], 1901, 1905, 1910); here IV (Paris 1910), 108–09 (text); there is a French translation in I, 180–81. Tatian is mentioned at one other point in the *Chronicle*, IV, 11 (text); I, 63 (translation), but the reference contains nothing of interest.

## P) MS VATICAN SYR. 154

Two glosses in a thirteenth-century hand are of interest in this eighth or ninth century manuscript of a *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, written by Gregory of Be‘eltan († 790). On folio 65a, at Chapter 51, there is what Baarda describes as a “careless excerpt” from Eusebius’ *Ep. ad Carpianum*, in Syriac. The glosses have been placed in the margin at the point where Eusebius mentions Ammonius and his Diatessaron. The first gloss reads:

ܡܢ ܕܢܗܪܐ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ

that is, “from four”

Apparently the Greek loan-word “Diatessaron” once again requires clarification.

The second gloss, at the same point, but squeezed between the first gloss and the text, reads:

ܕܬܬܝܢ ܕܗܪܬܝܩܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

Tatian, the heretic, is—some say—he who made this. And when he came to the story of the resurrection and saw that it was different, he gave up his work.<sup>85</sup>

Tatian is termed a heretic, and the resurrection accounts are again given as the passage which caused Tatian to despair of his work, a tradition akin to the reports of Dionysius bar Salibi (*supra*, item N) and Theodore bar Koni (*supra*, item F). As noted before, however, this probably means Tatian ended his harmonizing and reproduced the resurrection accounts *seriatim*.

## Q) BAR HEBRAEUS

Born in 1225/6 as the son of a Jewish physician, bar Hebraeus became a Jacobite. In 1277/8 he wrote a *Commentary*, titled *The Storehouse of Secrets*. He confuses the Diatessaron of Tatian (which he correctly refers to as “of the Mixed,” commencing with “In the beginning was the word,” and as the work on

<sup>85</sup> Tj. Baarda, *Vier = Eén: Enkele bladzijden uit de geschiedenis van de harmonistiek der Evangelien* (Kampen 1969), 51–53 (= *Early Transmission*, 105).



[illegible]

In another work, *The Candelabra of Holiness touching the Foundations of the Church*, bar Hebraeus chronicles various heresies, among them, Encratism:

[illegible]

That of the Encratites, by a man named Tatian who was from Mesopotamia. He affirmed invisible aeons [like] Valentinus, and he called marriage fornication. And he composed a gospel which is named Diatessaro [*sic*], that is of [the] Mixed. Because he cut out all of the genealogies and all which demonstrated that Christ was from the seed of David, and he also changed the Apostle.

<sup>86</sup> Text in R. Schröter, "Scholien des Bar-Hebraeus zu Psalm III. IV. VI. VII. IX–XV. XXII. LIII., nebst dessen Vorrede zum Neuen Testamente," *ZDMG* 29 (1875), 275; translation (German) 286; remarks 300–302; text also in J.S. Assemani, *BO* I, 57–58; English translation in Harris, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 15.

<sup>87</sup> *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'église Nestorienne*, ed. F. Nau, PO 13.2 (Paris 1916), 254–55, with a French translation.





Source	Tatian	Diat	bp.	described Gk.	as philos.	Alex.	Ammonius	Ephrem begins comment Jn. 1.1	w. no gen	Encr.	haer
A) Eusebius	X	X								X	
B) D. Addai		X									
C) Epiphanius	X	X									
D) Theodoret	X	X							X		
E) Victor	X	X					( X )				
F) Theodore	X	X		X							
G) Isho'dad											
1.	X	X						X			
2.		X				X					
H) Bar Ali	X	X									X
I) Bar Bahl.											
1.		X									
2.	X		X								
J) Bar Kept.											
1.		X				X	(Julian)				
2.	X			X							
K) Hierapol.											
L) Se'ert	X			X				X			
M) MS 72	X										
N) Bar Sali.											
1.	X	X						X	X		
2.	X	X					X				
3.	X	X	X			X					
O) Michael											
P) Vat. MS	X										X
Q) Bar Heb.		X				X	X	X	X		
R) Bar Ber.											
1.	X				X						
2.	X	X				X	X				
S) Ibn Salom.	X						( X )				

fusion between Ammonius and Tatian does not appear until bar Hebraeus, who seems to have misunderstood the report of Dionysius bar Salibi. Bar Salibi's description is somewhat ambiguous, but in two passages he mentions Tatian alone; only in one passage does he mention Tatian and Ammonius, and then it appears he is simply reporting on Eusebius' attribution of a "Diatessaron" to each. Bar Hebraeus conflates bar Salibi's three references, and concludes that Ephrem commented on Ammonius' Diatessaron—something Dionysius never says. The confusion is taken a step further by bar Berika, who—apparently depending on bar Hebraeus—makes Tatian and Ammonius one and the same person.

It is a curious fact that, with one exception, all of the Diatessaronic witnesses themselves fail to name the harmony's composer.<sup>92</sup> Since there is scant internal evidence,<sup>93</sup> we are obliged to depend upon tradition to supply a composer for the Diatessaron. Although we know of other harmonies and other creators of harmonies, and although there appears to have been confusion (largely in later sources) over whether Ammonius or Tatian wrote it, the earliest as well as the vast majority of tradition assigns composition of the Diatessaron commented upon by Ephrem to Tatian.

## II. TATIAN'S BIOGRAPHY

Although the titles of various works by Tatian (among them: *Problems*, *On Animals*, *On Perfection according to the Saviour*, and a planned treatise *To Those who have propounded Ideas about God*) are known, only two survive. One is the Diatessaron. Certain theological tendencies—usually attributed to Tatian—are thought to manifest themselves as variants in the harmony's text. These variants are favourable to Encratism, and are discussed later in this chapter (in Section III.B). At the most, these variants illuminate only one aspect of Tatian's personality. His "need"

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<sup>92</sup> In addition to the just-named Codex Fuldensis, which was transmitted without a title or author's name until Victor supplied one, the lone exception is the Arabic Harmony (MSS A B E and Sbath 1020, all of which contain a preface and/or a colophon stating that the work is "the Diatessaron" composed by "Tatian"); see *infra*, 137.

<sup>93</sup> The internal evidence consists of variant readings which are Encratic, presumably a consequence of Tatian's alleged Encratism; discussed below in this chapter, in section III.B: "The Influence of Tatian's 'Heresy' upon the Diatessaron" (*infra*, 78–82).

to create a harmony—that is, to reconcile all the loose ends of the various gospel accounts—may reflect another feature of his character. Otherwise, however, a gospel harmony affords little latitude for transmitting information about its composer. Tatian's biography must be constructed from information in his only other extant work, the *Oratio ad Graecos*, and from the reports of the Fathers.<sup>94</sup> Although the *Oratio* is largely philosophic and polemic in nature, it contains the faint outline of a biography.

Tatian describes himself as γεννηθεὶς μὲν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γῇ ("born in the land of the Assyrians": *Or.* 42).<sup>95</sup> The geographer Claudius Ptolemaeus, a contemporary of Tatian, describes Assyria as extending from the Tigris River in the West to Media in the East, from the Armenian mountains in the North to Ctesiphon in the South. Colloquially, it could reference Syria in general.<sup>96</sup>

In a passage which may be nothing more than posturing, but which is possibly autobiographical, Tatian states: "... I have no desire to rule, I do not wish to be rich; I do not seek command, I hate fornication, I am not driven by greed to go on voyages ... I do not boast of my good birth" (*Or.* 11). Antipathy to sexual activity—a characteristic of Encratism—figures in Tatian's theology as well, and perhaps manifests itself in variants in the Diatessaron. Vööbus interpreted the disdain for power, wealth, and his claim to a "good birth" as indicative of a high social station.<sup>97</sup> Tatian's wide travels and leisure to pursue philosophic interests support Vööbus' claim, but the passage must also be read in context, where Tatian also boasts of "scorning death [and] rising above every sickness." This suggests he may be indulging in either hyperbole or a Stoic-

<sup>94</sup> The *Oratio* is cited after the edition of M. Whittaker, *Tatian, Oratio ad Graecos and Fragments*, OECT (Oxford 1982).

<sup>95</sup> See the discussion of this clause by Th. Zahn, "Kleine Beiträge zu Tatian's Diatessaron," printed at the end of FGNC 2 (*Der Evangeliencommentar des Theophilus von Antiochien*) (Erlangen 1883), esp. 292–99.

<sup>96</sup> Lucian, whose home was Samosata, calls himself an "Assyrian," and calls Hierapolis an Assyrian city (*De Dea Syra* 1); cp. the treatment of Th. Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 268–70. Also noteworthy is the fact that Tatian is called ὁ Σύρος by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* III.12 [81.1] [edd. Stählin and Früchtel, 232]) and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*Haer. fab. comp.* 1.20 [Migne, PG 83, 372]), while Epiphanius calls him τὸ γένος Σύρος (*haer.* 46.1.6 [edd. Holl and Dummer, 204]).

<sup>97</sup> A. Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*, CSCO 128 [Subsidia 3] (Louvain 1951), 10.

like indifference to the storms of life; his statements may be nothing more than posturing.

Whatever Tatian's social position or means, it appears that he imitated many young men in the second century, and became a wandering student, searching for wisdom. He taunts the Greeks with his knowledge of their world:

All this I set down not from second-hand knowledge, but after much travel. I followed your studies and came across many devices and many notions, and finally I spent time in the city of the Romans and got to know the varieties of statues which they brought home with them from you.

—*Or.* 35<sup>98</sup>

The self-described culmination of these travels was a stay in Rome, where he met Justin Martyr and became one of his *auditores*.<sup>99</sup>

The personal and philosophic parallels between Justin and Tatian are striking. Both were provincials from the Levant. Both were wandering seekers of knowledge and wisdom who, after experiencing numerous schools, eventually converted to Christianity; the "true philosophy," and ended up in Rome. As already noted, Justin also used a gospel harmony. Each styled himself a philosopher and led a school. Their conversions were essentially intellectual exercises brought about by encounters with the Scriptures, not charismatic experiences. In the *Oratio* Tatian never uses the words "Christian(s)," "Christ," or "Jesus." Instead, he refers to his religion as "philosophy" (φιλοσοφία: 31.1), "education" (παιδείας: 12.5; 35.2), "truth" (ἀληθείας: 17.1), and "true wisdom" (ἀλήθειαν σοφίας: 26.2).

Tatian describes his own conversion as coming after having "seen . . . and also taken part in mysteries . . . and rituals" which offended him because of their officiants (whom he terms "effeminate" and "male-screwers") and their practices, which he denounces for taking "pleasure in men's gore and blood shed by manslaughter . . . busily encouraging wrong-doing" (*Or.* 29). Left to himself, he "began to seek by what means I could discover truth." Happenstance led to his first encounter with Christian religious texts—almost certainly the Septuagint:

<sup>98</sup> Whittaker, *Tatian*, 67.

<sup>99</sup> Irenaeus, *haer.* I.28.1 (*Irénée de Lyon, Contre les hérésies, Livre I, tome II*, edd. Rousseau and Doutreleau, SC 264 [Paris 1979], 354–56); cp. Eusebius, *h.e.* IV.29.1 (ed. Bardy, I [SC 31], 213).

While I was engaged in serious thought I happened to read some barbarian writings, older by comparison with the doctrines of the Greeks, more divine by comparison with their errors. The outcome was that I was persuaded by these because of their lack of arrogance in the wording, the artlessness of the speakers, the easily intelligible account of the creation of the world, the foreknowledge of the future, the remarkable quality of the precepts and the doctrine of a single ruler of the universe.

—*Or.* 29<sup>100</sup>

The remainder of the *Oratio* (31–41) is a demonstration that Moses' antiquity is greater than Homer's. In this manner, Tatian seeks to demonstrate that the "wisdom" of the Greeks is, in fact, derived from the Jews and, consequently, inferior to it. By adopting the teachings of Moses, Tatian is embracing an older, "purer," truer form of philosophy than any offered by the Greeks.<sup>101</sup>

After his conversion to Christianity, Tatian spent an extended period with Justin. We know that Tatian had students—and, consequently, his own school—in Rome, for Eusebius (*h.e.* V.13.1) names one of his pupils: a certain Rhodon, who opposed Marcion.<sup>102</sup>

According to Irenaeus, it was after the death of Justin (under the prefect Rusticus: 163–67<sup>103</sup>) that Tatian lapsed into heresy. He speaks of Tatian as having become "puffed up with pride by the thought of being a teacher," and charges that he created "his own peculiar type of doctrine."<sup>104</sup> The exact nature of Tatian's "error" is unclear since the reports of the Fathers are inconsistent, perhaps poorly-informed, and quite probably

<sup>100</sup> Whittaker, *Tatian*, 55.

<sup>101</sup> Equating the antiquity of a tradition with truth is a *topos* in this period, and a favourite of Jewish and early Christian writers: cp. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* I.22–23 [ed. Stählin and Früchtel, 92–99]) and Tertullian (*Apol.* 47 [CChr.SL 1, 163–65]), both of whom claim Plato's dependence upon Moses. Eusebius mentions Clement and Tatian in relation to Moses at the beginning of the *Chronicle* (*Eusebii Chronicorum Canonum*, ed. A. Schoene, II, [Berlin 1966], 4; also in *Eusebius Werke. Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, 7.1, ed. R. Helm, GCS 24 [Leipzig 1913], 7). Cp. A.J. Droge, *Homer or Moses? Early Christian Interpretations of the History of Culture*, HUTb 26 (Tübingen 1989), 82–101, who devotes a chapter to Tatian.

<sup>102</sup> On Rhodon, cp. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, I (Freiburg im Breisgau 1913), 392–94. Eusebius, *h.e.* V.13 is the sole antique source.

<sup>103</sup> Epiphanius, *haer.* 46.1.3 (edd. Holl and Dummer, II, 203) states that Justin was martyred under the ἡγεμὼν Rusticus.

<sup>104</sup> *Haer.* I.28.1 (edd. Rousseau and Doutreleau, I.2 [SC 264], 354–56); cp. Eusebius, *h.e.* IV.29.3 (ed. Bardy, I [SC 31], 213).



prejudiced. Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Pseudo-Tertullian, Eusebius, and Epiphanius all state that Tatian adopted the teachings of the gnostic Valentinus.<sup>105</sup> A second charge, that Tatian was an Encratite, is voiced by Irenaeus, Epiphanius, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Jerome.<sup>106</sup> The evidence for each of these will be considered below, in Section III.B.

Epiphanius is our sole source for Tatian's life after this point. He reports that after Justin's death, Tatian left Rome and founded a school in Mesopotamia around the twelfth year of Antoninus Pius' reign (138–161),<sup>107</sup> or about 150. This date contradicts Irenaeus' claim that Tatian lapsed into heresy after Justin's death. If, however, one substitutes the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (reigned 161–180) for Antoninus Pius, then one arrives at a date of 172/3—virtually identical with the date given by Eusebius: 172.<sup>108</sup> Epiphanius further reports that Tatian's teaching had great influence in the regions of Antioch of Daphne (Syria, on the Orontes), Cilicia, and Pisidia.<sup>109</sup>

Various scholars have tried to determine where Tatian located in the East. Th. Zahn<sup>110</sup> and A. Harnack<sup>111</sup> speculated that he went to Edessa, the centre of Syrian Christianity, but this view finds no support in the oldest record of Edessene Christianity, the *Chronicon Edessenum*, which—although it mentions Marcion, Mani, and Bardaisan—fails to mention Tatian.<sup>112</sup> On the other hand, this list includes only heretical figures, and since Tatian was never regarded as a heretic by the Eastern churches,<sup>113</sup> his failure to be named in the *Chronicon* is understandable. R.C. Kukulka concluded that Tatian settled in

<sup>105</sup> *Infra*, 76ff.

<sup>106</sup> *Infra*, 78.

<sup>107</sup> *Haer.* 46.1.6 (edd. Holl and Dummer, II, 204).

<sup>108</sup> *Eusebius Werke VII, Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, ed. R. Helm, GCS 47 (Berlin 1956<sup>2</sup>), 206 (at the year 172).

<sup>109</sup> *Haer.* 46.1.8 (edd. Holl and Dummer, II, 204).

<sup>110</sup> Th. Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, FGNK I (Erlangen 1881), 282.

<sup>111</sup> A. Harnack, *Chronologie des altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig 1897), I, 289.

<sup>112</sup> *Chronica minora*, edd. E.W. Brooks, I. Guidi, J.-B. Chabot, CSCO 1 [Syr. 1] (Paris 1903), 3–4.

<sup>113</sup> This statement must be qualified; some of the later Syriac sources describe Tatian as a heretic: other than the Syriac translation of Eusebius' *h.e.*, the first to do so is bar Ali, *c.* 1000. However, the earlier sources do not, and even in the later period (*e.g.*, bar Berika, *c.* 1300), Tatian and the Diatessaron are accorded an almost divinely-inspired status. The wide use of the Diatessaron by orthodox Christians in the time of bishops Rabbula and Theodoret shows that the laity regarded it (and, presumably, its composer) as orthodox.

Asia Minor,<sup>114</sup> which would agree with Cilicia and Pisidia, while B. Ponschab proposed Antioch in Syria.<sup>115</sup> P. Kahle suggested that Tatian returned to his Assyrian homeland;<sup>116</sup> Vööbus concurred, noting that by 224, Adiabene, Arbela and surrounding regions in the Persian territory of the Tigris supported twenty bishoprics.<sup>117</sup> It must have been somewhere in the East that Tatian died, in unknown circumstances.

Recapitulating Tatian's life, then, we may surmise that he was born in Assyria around the year 120. The child of pagan parents, perhaps of the middle- or upper-classes, Tatian studied various philosophies. With the means and leisure to travel, he wandered westward, eventually reaching Rome, perhaps about 150. There he met Justin Martyr. Either as a result of this encounter or, perhaps, prior to it, Tatian became acquainted with the Septuagint, which led to his conversion to Christianity. In keeping with his nature, the conversion was philosophical, based on the intellectual appeal of the texts he read. At first he was a student of Justin's; later he had his own pupils in Rome. After Justin's death, Tatian manifested certain theological tendencies—characterized as gnostic and/or Encratite—which led to his separation from the Roman church, probably about 172. Tatian returned to the continent of his youth, founded a school, and had great influence in the Christian East, where he died. Extrapolating from his time with Justin as a mature man and departure from Rome c. 172, he probably died between 180 and 190.

### III. TATIAN'S THEOLOGY AND THE DIATESSARON

#### A. MOTIVES FOR CREATING THE DIATESSARON

Why Tatian felt moved to compose a harmony is a question which has intrigued scholarship for a century. Th. Zahn argued that the Diatessaron was created for ecclesiastical use; Daniël Plooij said it had been created for evangelization and

<sup>114</sup> R.C. Kukulka, *Tatians sogennante Apologie* (Leipzig 1900), 3–5.

<sup>115</sup> B. Ponschab, *Tatians Rede an die Griechen* (Metten 1895), 8–9.

<sup>116</sup> P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (London 1959<sup>2</sup>), 284.

<sup>117</sup> A. Vööbus, *Studies in the History*, 21; he cites A. Migana's *Sources syriaques* (Leipzig 1908), 30, for the number of bishoprics. Later in his *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, CSCO 184 [Subsidia 14] (Louvain 1958), 38, Vööbus suggests the city of Ḥadiab, also in Persian territory.

preaching to the common folk; its form was "convenient." Adolf Jülicher felt two editions had been produced: the first, in Greek, was for polemic and apologetic purposes against the likes of Celsus; later, a Syriac translation was made to remedy the lack of a gospel text in the vernacular.<sup>118</sup> Only recently has Tatian's theology been suggested as a motive.

The most complete study of Tatian's theology is Martin Elze's 1960 monograph *Tatian und seine Theologie*.<sup>119</sup> His sketch of Tatian's theology is, of course, almost totally dependent upon the *Oratio*. According to Elze, its purpose is an exposition of the truth of Christianity. It is not an apology; rather, it is a *Lehrvortrag*.<sup>120</sup> Tatian, who proclaims himself "the herald of truth" (*Or.* 17.1), presents his "true philosophy" (*i.e.*, Christianity) as

<sup>118</sup> The evidence and arguments which led to these conclusions is presented in the next four chapters, under the individual scholar's name.

<sup>119</sup> FKDG 9 (Göttingen 1960).

<sup>120</sup> The term is from Elze's article "Tatian" in *RGCS* (Tübingen 1962), VI, 621. Elsewhere, Elze states (note his reservation) that the *Oratio* is "nicht eine Apologie im gewöhnlichen Sinn" (*Tatian und seine Theologie*, 41, italics added). He admits that the subject matter is "tatsächlich nicht um eine Apologie im engeren Sinn handelt, so sehr sie inhaltlich mit den apologetischen Schriften in wesentlichen Punkten doch auch übereinstimmt" (*ibid.*, 53, emphasis added). Elze rejects, correctly, in the present writer's opinion, two earlier theories of the *genos* and *dispositio* of the *Oratio*. The first, a suggestion by B. Ponschab (*Tatians Rede*, 8–10) and R.C. Kukula (*Tatians*, 16–17), was that the *Oratio* was the inaugural address for Tatian's school (in Rome or the East). This is unlikely, says Elze (42–43), in view of the apparently recent date of Tatian's conversion (*cp.* *Or.* 35.2); it should be added that the audience appears to be Greek and pagan. The second theory rejected is that of A. Harnack (*Die Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* [Leipzig 1897], II, 287) and O. Bardenhewer (*Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* [Freiburg 1913], I, 264), who viewed the *Oratio* as a *Propagandaschrift* composed in connexion with Tatian's conversion to Christianity. Against this, Elze (43) notes that the *Oratio* does not have the form of a protreptic. However, disproving one's opponents does not prove one's own case. Elze, like all other researchers (with the singular exception of R.M. Grant: "The Date of Tatian's Oration," *HThR* 51 [1958], 99–101; "The Heresy of Tatian," *JThS* N.S. 5 [1954], 62–68) totally ignores the *specific laws and attitudes* which Tatian repeatedly condemns. Nowhere—not even when discussing the *genos* and *dispositio* of the *Oratio*—does Elze mention the numerous passages (*e.g.*: *Or.* 4.1; 12.5; 25.3; 27.1; 28.1) which make it clear that the *Oratio* is occasioned by certain laws which discriminate against Christians (Grant suggests that the *Oratio* was occasioned by the persecution which broke out about 177; while usually thought to have been limited to the area of Lyons, where it was responsible for the martyrs of Lyons, Grant notes that Eusebius [*h.e.* IV.5.1] says that Polycarp died as a result of the "great persecutions" which reached Asia—almost certainly about 177. See also the note of G. Bardy, *Eusèbe de Césarée, Histoire ecclésiastique, Livres I–VI* [SC 31], 181, n. 4; and H. Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum* [Cambridge 1965], xxvi–xxviii, who gives the evidence for this persecution, suggesting that this same period of hostility towards Christians is the date of Celsus' at-

being characterized by three features: its divine origin, its antiquity, and its unity.<sup>121</sup> It is this latter *Grundkonzeption*, unity, which Elze, *en passant*, suggests was decisive in Tatian's decision to compose a gospel harmony: "Darum muss er im Zuge seiner Grundkonzeption ein übereinstimmendes, einheitliches Evangelienbuch herstellen."<sup>122</sup>

There is no question but that unity was an important concept for Tatian. Consider the following passage (which, oddly enough, is not cited in Elze's study); it is, perhaps, the most compelling reference to unity in the *Oratio*:

... everything has a common origin... For the structure of the body results from a single plan... although one part differs from another, in the overall plan there is harmonious agreement (συμφωνίας ἐστὶν ἁρμονία)... It is possible to apprehend the details if one does not conceitedly reject the most divinely inspired interpretations, which from time to time have been expressed in writing and have made those who study them real lovers of God.

—Or. 12<sup>123</sup>

While it is obvious that unity is important to Tatian, a careful reading of his historical context illuminates other influences which might also have contributed to his decision to compose a harmony.

Perhaps the most obvious is the existence of other gospel harmonies, already mentioned in chapter one (Justin's harmony; the scholars' *Gospel according to the Ebionites*; etc.), and the popularity of harmonization in Christian circles (cp. the canonical gospels). All of these harmonies are older than the Diatessaron. In short, Tatian had role models: he was not the first to create a gospel harmony. The degree to which his decision to create a harmony was influenced by these models—

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tack on Christianity). Whether this is a topos or not is irrelevant; what is significant is that this fact—ignored in virtually all previous discussions—is central to the *Oratio*, and to the argument Tatian mounts against these laws. Although not addressed to the emperor or cast as a legal appeal (both characteristics of the "apology" *genos*), an examination of the *Oratio*'s text shows that it is essentially an apology, whose primary purpose it to show why persecutions of Christians are both illogical (because the Greeks tolerate other diverse opinions) and an attack on the "truth" (because Christian "wisdom" [which in this period consisted of the Jewish scriptures] is more ancient than Greek wisdom).

<sup>121</sup> Elze, *Tatian*, 13, 34.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>123</sup> Whittaker, *Tatian*, 25.

especially by the model of Justin's harmony—is impossible to determine.

Another influence was first elucidated by Tj. Baarda in 1969. He noted that pagan critics of Christianity—such as Celsus (who was active when Tatian compounded his harmony), Porphyry, Hierocles, Julian, and the Manicheans—cited the contradictions among the gospels as proof that Christianity was a fraud.<sup>124</sup> One line of defence was that taken by Marcion, who limited his canon to a single gospel; another line of defence was that taken by Tatian, who harmonized the contradictions away.

The Diatessaron was a careful attempt to create *one* historical account of the words and deeds of Jesus, as far as they could be reconstructed. . . . The basic idea of the harmony was that the truth becomes visible in unity and harmony. . . . Tatian wanted to replace the sources and their contradictions with a new document that surpassed all these sources and would avoid the criticisms that pagans and Christian dissidents made on the basis of the existing Gospels. . . .<sup>125</sup>

The historical circumstances in which Tatian found himself invited the creation of harmonies: they were useful in confounding pagan critics.

Another factor—also identified by Baarda—sprang from scholarly methods employed in antiquity, and the role expectations of a historian. When confronted with contradictory or inconsistent information, the historian's task was to reconstruct "the true events." This was done (and still is done) by carefully evaluating the reliability of each account. The one judged most reliable forms the framework of the narrative; where possible and probable, what appears less reliable is fitted into that framework. If a point of corruption can be detected, it is corrected. This, said Baarda, is precisely what Tatian attempted to do in the Diatessaron.<sup>126</sup> When scrutinized by the trained eye of an

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<sup>124</sup> Baarda, *Vier = Eén*, 12. Long before Baarda, however, this same motive—silencing "die Juden und Griechen, die über die Irrtümer der sich immer selbst widersprechenden Evangelisten spöttelten"—was suggested by A. Jülicher, "Der echte Tatiantext," *JBL* 43 (1924), 166.

<sup>125</sup> Tj. Baarda, "ΔΙΑΦΩΝΙΑ—ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑ: Factors in the Harmonization of the Gospels, Especially in the Diatessaron of Tatian," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text and Transmission*, ed. W.L. Petersen, CJA 3 (Notre Dame [Indiana], 1989), 154.

<sup>126</sup> See his comments in "A Staff Only, Not a Stick. Disharmony of the Gospels and the Harmony of Tatian (Matthew 10.9f; Mark 6.8f; Luke 9.3

historian, the historical confusion of the individual gospel accounts (both canonical and perhaps extra-canonical), would yield up the truth; the conflicts among the accounts would be resolved, and the *single*, the *true* account of what actually happened would be discernable. Consequently, Tatian saw himself principally as an *historian*, and his Diatessaron as a “scientific” work, the definitive account of Jesus’ life. Baarda drew attention to bar Salibi’s comment and the gloss in Vatican Syr. 154 (*supra*, 60 and 62 respectively), which assert that Tatian gave up his work on the Diatessaron when he encountered the conflicts in the resurrection accounts.

The genesis of the Diatessaron, like that of other gospel harmonies, undoubtedly lies in a *combination of motives*. Tatian’s love of unity may well have been foremost, as suggested by Elze. But allied with this motive—and, possibly, distinct from it—are several other forces, any of which, in any combination, could have inspired Tatian to compose the Diatessaron.

#### B. THE INFLUENCE OF TATIAN’S “HERESY” UPON THE DIATESSARON

Irenaeus is the first to charge Tatian with heretical affiliations and teachings. Subsequent reports of the Fathers all depend upon Irenaeus. Two major allegations are made. First, Tatian is said to be a follower of Valentinus. In this context, Irenaeus credits Tatian with two innovations: he invented a “system of invisible aeons,” and denied the salvation of Adam.<sup>127</sup> Since Valentinus was a gnostic, and the concept of “aeons” is also gnostic, Irenaeus is charging Tatian with gnostic tendencies. The second charge says that Tatian was an Encratite. This heresy, which Irenaeus states sprang from Saturninus and Marcion, rejected marriage and practiced sexual continence, abhorred wine and other alcoholic drink, and was vegetarian.<sup>128</sup> Each of these charges is considered in turn, beginning with Valentinianism.

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& 10.4),” *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, ed. J.-M. Savin, *BETHL* 86 (Louvain 1989), 330 (§7.1).

<sup>127</sup> Irenaeus, *adv. haer.* I.28.1 (edd. Rousseau and Doutreleau, I.2 [SC 264], 354–56).

<sup>128</sup> Irenaeus, *adv. haer.* I.28.1 (edd. Rousseau and Doutreleau, I.2 [SC 264], 354); on Encratism, see the article “Enkrateia,” by H. Chadwick in *RAC* (Stuttgart 1962), V, 343–65, esp. 352–54.

The charge that Tatian was a follower of Valentinus spreads from Irenaeus to Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Ps.-Tertullian, Epiphanius.<sup>129</sup> But “formal” indicators of gnosticism are absent from the Diatessaron: it neither mentions aeons<sup>130</sup> nor addresses the question of Adam’s salvation; it does not propose an intermediary in the act of creation; it has no elaborate angelology nor does it propose a mystical union with God; its dualism is limited to that already present in its canonical sources. Indeed, the most “gnostic” passages in the Diatessaron are from the canonical Gospel of John. Tatian’s incorporation of John into his harmony (recall that Justin’s harmony apparently excluded John) could be considered “gnostic,” for John was held in high esteem among Valentinians; but since achieving canonical status, John is no longer considered a “gnostic” gospel. In a single Middle Dutch witness of the Diatessaron, Daniël Plooi noted a variant reading which denigrates Adam.<sup>131</sup> However, since the reading is found in only one Diatessaronic witness, it is uncertain whether the evidence is sufficient to conclude that the variant is Tatian’s. Apart from these caveats regarding the Gospel of John and the lone variant noted by Plooi, the Diatessaron evidences no gnostic influence beyond that already present in the canonical gospels.<sup>132</sup>

The *Oratio*, however, is another matter, for it contains a lengthy discourse (*Or.* 7.1–3) on the creation of man. God makes “the power of the Word.” This, in turn, makes the “celestial Word,”

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<sup>129</sup> Hippolytus, *refut.* 8.16 (ed. Marcovich, 366) quotes Irenaeus literally; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* III. 13 (92.1) (edd. Stählin and Früchtel, 238); Ps.-Tertullian, *adv. omn. haer.* 7 (CChr.SL 2, 1409); Epiphanius, *haer.* 46.1.7 (edd. Holl and Dummer, 204).

<sup>130</sup> “Aeons” are mentioned twice in the *Oratio*. Both can. be read in a dualistic manner which may (or may not) be interpreted gnostically: *Or.* 6.1: “[Contrary to what the Stoics say,] when our age (αἰώνων) has been brought to an end, the resurrection will take place for once and for all.” *Or.* 20.2: “heaven, O man, is not infinite, but bounded and within a limit; above this one are better worlds (αἰώνες) which have no change of season.”

<sup>131</sup> D. Plooi, “Eine enkratitische Glosse im Diatessaron; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Askese in der alten Kirche,” *ZNW* 22 (1923), 1–16. The reading is presented *infra*, 79f.

<sup>132</sup> Pace W. Henss, *Das Verhältnis zwischen Diatessaron, christlicher Gnosis und “Western Text”*, BZNW 33 (Berlin 1967), whose case rests on a single, suggested variant reading. The variant, however, was known outside the Diatessaron (e.g., Ulfilas); the possibility therefore exists that it may be nothing more than a second-century variant taken over by Tatian from his sources. See *infra*, 265–269, where it becomes clear that the links Henss uses to connect this variant with gnosticism are fragile.

which is part "spirit" and part "Word." This "celestial Word" (also called the "Word") creates angels first, and then man. One of these—presumably an angel—is called "the first-born," and it is this "arch-rebel" who leads both men and angels astray. "The power of the Word" banishes "the first-born" and his followers. Man, who is "made in the image of God," becomes mortal when "the more powerful spirit" (presumably, "the Power of the Word") departs from him, while "the first-born" and his (angelic ?) followers become "demons." This heterodox cosmology is gnostic: God is not the creator of evil;<sup>133</sup> there is an intermediary in creation (it is the "celestial Word" who creates angels and humankind); there are dyads in the creation process (the "celestial Word" is composed of Spirit and Word).<sup>134</sup> It may be that the genre of the Diatessaron—a gospel harmony—precluded the gnostic speculations evident in the *Oratio*.<sup>135</sup> It is also possible that the absence of gnostic elements in the Diatessaron indicates Tatian composed it before he embraced gnostic ideas. In that case, the *Oratio* would have been written after the Diatessaron.<sup>136</sup>

Irenaeus' second charge was that Tatian was a follower of "Saturninus and Marcion, those who are called Encratites." It is possible that there is a link between the first charge (of being a follower of Valentinus [*viz.*, being a "gnostic"])

and this new charge of Encratism. Although Valentinians are first thought of as gnostics, they were also very ascetic.<sup>137</sup> Consequently, the connexions the Fathers make between Tatian and Valentinus, on the one hand, and between Tatian and Encratism, on the other hand, need not be distinct. Indeed, the two charges may have been intended to complement each other.

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<sup>133</sup> Tatian condemns Zeno because "he portrays God as creator of evil" (*Or.* 3.2).

<sup>134</sup> *Pace* the skepticism of M. Whittaker, *Tatian*, xvi–xvii, who is loath to label Tatian a gnostic. I fear she has failed to notice the inconsistencies and distinctions Tatian makes between "God," "the Word," and "the power of the Word" (*e.g.* cp. *Or.* 5 with *Or.* 7). It is acknowledged that the borders between "orthodoxy" and "heresy" and between gnostic and non-gnostic were in a state of flux during this period, which makes labeling Tatian difficult.

<sup>135</sup> See R.M. Grant, "The Heresy of Tatian," *JThS* N.S. 5 (1954), 62–68, who presents an extensive list of what he perceives to be gnostic elements in the *Oratio*. While some of these may be in Grant's eye only, a number sufficient to make his case pass muster.

<sup>136</sup> R.M. Grant has suggested that the *Oratio* was composed about 177; see *supra*, p. 73, n. 120.

<sup>137</sup> A. Voöbus, *The History of Asceticism*, I, 54–61.



The charge of Encratism is repeated by Hippolytus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Ps.-Tertullian, and Jerome.<sup>138</sup> Eusebius adds a new twist by calling Tatian the “founder” (ἄρχηγός) of the Encratites; this allegation is repeated by Epiphanius and Jerome.<sup>139</sup> Eusebius’ report can be discounted, for Irenaeus—writing over a century earlier—calls Tatian a *follower* of Saturninus and Marcion, whom he credits with founding of Encratism:

Springing from Saturninus and Marcion, are those called Encratites, denouncing marriage, setting aside the original creation of God and blaming indirectly the maker of male and female for the propagation of mankind; some of those among them introduced abstinence from animal food, being ungrateful to God who made all things.

—*haer.* I.28.1, as per  
Eusebius, *h.e.* IV.29.2<sup>140</sup>

Although the charge of Encratism finds scant support in the *Oratio*,<sup>141</sup> there are scattered passages in the Diatessaron which, when compared with the canonical text, appear to have been redacted by a hand sympathetic to Encratism. The degree of certainty with which many of these can be traced back to the Diatessaron is, however, open to question, for the variant often occurs only in a single Diatessaronic witness. Thirteen such readings have been identified; they are listed below.

(1) At Matt 19.4, the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony has Jesus respond to the Pharisees as follows:

Have you not read that in the beginning, when God had made male and female, he joined them together? *And Adam said*, ‘Because of this bond shall a man leave father and

<sup>138</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* III.12 (80.3–81.4) (edd. Stählin and Früchtel, 232–3); Tertullian, *de Ieiun.* 15.1 (CChr.SL 2, 1273); Hippolytus, *ref.* 8.16.1; cp. 10.18.1 (ed. Marcovich, 336; 398); Eusebius, *h.e.* IV.28.2 (ed. Bardy, I [SC 31], 213); Epiphanius, *haer.* 46.1.8 (edd. Holl and Dummer, II, 204); Jerome, *in Amos* 2.12 (CChr.SL 76, 239).

<sup>139</sup> Cp. the pertinent references *supra*, n. 138.

<sup>140</sup> Irenaeus: edd. Rousseau and Doutreleau, I.2 (SC 264), 354; Eusebius: ed. Bardy, I (SC 31), 213.

<sup>141</sup> Some have seen a disparagement of eating meat in *Or.* 23.2 (“you sacrifice animals to eat meat”), but this must be linked with the next clause: “and you buy men to provide human slaughter for the soul.” While one cannot exclude the possibility of an attack on the eating of meat, the passage is best read in context as an attack on Greek animal sacrifices and the spectacles.

mother, and shall remain with his wife, and the two of them shall be joined in one flesh.’<sup>142</sup>

The standard canonical reading is:

Have you not read that he who made them from the beginning made them male and female, and said, ‘For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one?’

Plooij, who first noted this alteration, remarked that

The author of this redaction evidently was prepared to accept marriage as a divine institution, but only in the sense of a spiritual union into which God has united husband and wife; but it was Adam who said that they should be one flesh.<sup>143</sup>

The variant agrees with the Encratites’ rejection of physical marriage resulting in procreation.

(2) At Luke 2.36 Vogels<sup>144</sup> found a variant which he suggested was Diatessaronic; the discovery of new Diatessaronic witnesses has repeatedly confirmed Vogels’ conjecture. The canonical text at Luke 2.36 reads: “Anna . . . was of a great age, having lived with her husband seven years from her virginity (ἐτη ἑπτα ἀπὸ τῆς παρθενίας).” Three Diatessaronic witnesses, one in the East and two in the West, offer the identical variant, substituting “with/in” for the canonical “from.” The Persian Harmony says Anna “remained seven years a virgin with her husband” (“*era rimasta sette anni vergine con suo marito*”).<sup>145</sup> The Middle Dutch Stuttgart Harmony reads “she had lived with her husband seven years in her virginity” (“*en hadde gheleift met haren man VII jaar in haren magedomme*”),<sup>146</sup> along with the Middle High German Zürich Harmony (“had lived [with] her husband seven years in her virginity” [“*und hat belebet irne manne siben iar in irne magtume*”]).<sup>147</sup>

<sup>142</sup> *The Liège Diatessaron*, edd. D. Plooij, C.A. Phillips, A. Bakker, et al., VNAW 31.1–8, (Parts 1 & 2 are erroneously labeled VNAW 29) (Amsterdam 1929–1970), 317.

<sup>143</sup> First noted by D. Plooij, “Eine enkratitische Glosse im Diatessaron,” *ZNW* 22 (1923), 1–15, and *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron* (Leyden 1923), 54–55; the reading has been cited by Vööbus, *Asceticism*, I, 43, and Metzger, *Early Versions*, 34.

<sup>144</sup> This reading was first noted by H.J. Vogels, “Lk, 2, 36 im Diatessaron,” *BZ* 11 (1913), 168–71.

<sup>145</sup> *Diatessaron Persiano*, ed. G. Messina, *BibOr* 14 (Rome 1951), 22. This evidence was first presented in Messina’s *Notizia su un Diatessaron Persiano tradotto dal Syriaco*, *BibOr* 10 (Rome 1943), 57–59.

<sup>146</sup> *De Levens van Jezus in het Middelnederlandsch*, ed. J. Bergsma, *BML* 54, 55, 61 (Leiden 1895–98), 20. This evidence was first adduced by Vööbus, *Asceticism*, I, 42.

<sup>147</sup> *Das Leben Jhesu*, ed. C. Gerhardt, CSSN series minor, tome I, Vol. 5

An echo of the reading survives in two additional Diatessaronic witnesses, the Sinaitic Syriac (Syr<sup>s</sup>), which substitutes “days” for “years” (“and seven days only with a husband she was after her virginity”<sup>148</sup>), as does Ephrem’s *Hymn on Abraham* (X.17): “... *quae septem diebus (ܕܝܝܒܝܬܐ) cum viro fuit.*”<sup>149</sup> Either of these variants would be more palatable to an Encratite than the canonical text’s seven years of conjugal defilement.

A. Vööbus adduced the following list of eight possibly Encratite variants:<sup>150</sup>

- (3) At Matt 1.19 three Diatessaronic witnesses (the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony; the Middle Italian Venetian Harmony; and the Curetonian Syriac [Syr<sup>c</sup>]) refrain from calling Joseph the husband of Mary, reflecting the Encratite bias against marriage;<sup>151</sup>
- (4) At Matt 1.24 both the Armenian recension of Ephrem’s *Commentary* and the Persian Harmony have Joseph “guard” Mary, rather than “he took his wife,” again avoiding the intimation of a marriage between the two;<sup>152</sup>
- (5) At Matt 13.52 the Persian Harmony contains an interpolation which implies the scribe has given up his treasure, a salutary image for an ascetic Encratite;<sup>153</sup>
- (6) At Matt 26.29 (par.) the Armenian recension of Ephrem’s *Commentary* suppresses the thought of a renewed “drinking of fruit of the vine” in the future Kingdom, avoiding a possible reference to wine;<sup>154</sup>
- (7) At Mark 10.30 the Persian Harmony interpolates *post* “with persecutions” the phrase “all is affliction and anxiety”;<sup>155</sup>
- (8) At Luke 14.26 the Persian Harmony changes “hate” (μισεῖ) to “abandon”;<sup>156</sup>
- (9) At Luke 20.27–40 (par.) the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony

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(Leiden 1970), 11. This evidence was first adduced by Metzger, *Early Versions*, 34; cp. his “Tatian’s Diatessaron and a Persian Harmony of the Gospels” in his *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism*, NTTS 4 (Leiden 1963), 114–15.

<sup>148</sup> *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ed. Burkitt, I, 256–57.

<sup>149</sup> *Sancti Ephraem Syri, Hymni et Sermones*, ed. Th. Lamy (Mechliniae 1889), Vol. III, 813, strophe 17.

<sup>150</sup> Vööbus, *Asceticism*, I, 40–43.

<sup>151</sup> *The Liège Diatessaron*, ed. Plooi, 21; *Il Diatessaron Veneto*, ed. V. Todesco, Pt. I of *Il Diatessaron in Volgare Italiano*, StT 81 (Città del Vaticano 1938), 27; Syr<sup>c</sup> from *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (ed. Burkitt), 4–5.

<sup>152</sup> *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l’Évangile concordant, version arménienne*, ed. L. Leloir, CSCO 145 (Latin translation) [Armen. 2] (Louvain 1954), 20; *Diatessaron Persiano* (ed. Messina), 17.

<sup>153</sup> *Diatessaron Persiano* (ed. Messina), 222.

<sup>154</sup> *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l’Évangile concordant, version arménienne*, ed. Leloir, CSCO 145 [Armen. 2], 194.

<sup>155</sup> *Diatessaron Persiano* (ed. Messina), 157.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 295.

states that those who are worthy neither marry or are given in marriage, affirming the ascetic life of the Encratite;<sup>157</sup> (10) At John 15.1 the Persian Harmony changes "I am the true wine" to "I am the tree of the fruit of truth," eschewing oenophile imagery.<sup>158</sup>

Louis Leloir gave three further examples:<sup>159</sup>

- (11) At Matt 11.19 Ephrem's *Hymn on the Resurrection of Christ* presents Jesus as one who simply "drinks," while the canonical version states he is a "drinker of wine";<sup>160</sup>  
 (12) At Matt 27.34 (par.) the Armenian recension of Ephrem's *Commentary* reads that Jesus receives "vinegar and gall" on the cross, not the offending "wine mingled with gall";<sup>161</sup>  
 (13) At John 2.10 the Armenian recension of Ephrem's *Commentary* omits the offending remark "when they have drunk freely".<sup>162</sup>

The uneven quality of the evidence (some, such as #2, 8, and 12, have multiple attestation; others, such as 1, 5, 7, 9, and 10, are found in only one witness; still others, such as 3, 6, 11, and 13, are omissions and, therefore, based on a questionable *argumentum e silentio*) points up the difficulty of deciding what is (and what is not) a genuine Diatessaronic reading. That issue will be explored fully in chapter seven; not all of the readings above—which are presented here only as a survey of scholarship on Encratite readings, not as readings which we regard as Diatessaronic—will satisfy the criteria proposed there. Despite the questionable character of some of the readings, there are enough solid readings (nos. 2 and 8, for example) to conclude that some passages in the Diatessaron were modified to conform with Encratite beliefs. This tendency is one more piece of evidence—and the only piece of internal evidence—which links Tatian with the Diatessaron.

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<sup>157</sup> *The Liège Diatessaron*, ed. Plooi, 473–474.

<sup>158</sup> *Diatessaron Persiano* (ed. Messina), 322.

<sup>159</sup> L. Leloir, *Éphrem de Nisibe, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant ou Diatessaron*, SC 121 (Paris 1966), 12.

<sup>160</sup> *Sancti Ephraem Syri, Hymni et Sermones* (ed. Lamy), II, 747, strophe 4. B. Metzger, *Early Versions*, 33–35, suggests this is why the verse is omitted from Ephrem's *Commentary*.

<sup>161</sup> *Saint Ephrem, Commentaire . . . , version arménienne* (ed. Leloir), 214.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

While the man Tatian came from the East, moved briefly on the stage of history, and then vanished, the same cannot be said of the Diatessaron. The first man to mention a διὰ τεσσάρων, Eusebius, confessed his ignorance of the work by interjecting οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως. Since that time, scholarship has been trying to establish the "how." The next four chapters chronicle that quest.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### A HISTORY OF DIATESSARONIC STUDIES AND A DESCRIPTION OF DIATESSARONIC WITNESSES: FROM 546 TO 1900

The history of Diatessaronic studies is a tangled tale. The linguistic, chronological, and geographic diversity of the witnesses means that research has, of necessity, been specialized. This has often hindered progress towards a consensus. Since Diatessaronic witnesses are frequently among the earliest and most significant literary monuments in a language, linguists—usually unaware of their importance for New Testament studies—have often been the first to characterize and edit them. When these evaluations and editions eventually reach scholars of the New Testament and the Early Church, revisions are sometimes necessary. But by that stage, two or more separate disciplines have their pet theories at stake. It is self-evident that what an Arabist sees as important in the Arabic Harmony is different from what an Old Saxonist will find important in the *Heliand*; and neither of them will understand the arguments made by the New Testament textual critic on the basis of the canonical and extra-canonical variants in a given pericope. But the problems do not stop there. Results have been published in highly specialized journals in the diverse areas. Since few Old Saxonists regularly read journals in Oriental Studies, and even fewer New Testament textual critics read the Prefaces of Old High German dictionaries, even published research has remained compartmentalized: by the researcher's discipline, by the language of the witness, by the language in which the research is published, by the journal or series in which the research appeared, and by epoch. The result is also predictable: relevant, complementary work done in one area of research remains unknown in another area, where it might offer helpful insights. Further, many of the most significant publications are available only in the world's largest research libraries. Any would-be investigator is constantly confronted with obscure references which cannot be consulted.

The next three chapters seek to remedy some of these ills.

They will reintroduce important literature which has—without good reason—fallen into obscurity. This will be done in the process of describing the various Diatessaronic witnesses, whose discovery has been the driving force behind Diatessaronic research. Consequently, this catalogue will be interwoven with a history of scholarship. While the list of witnesses is intended to be comprehensive, the history is deliberately selective, focusing on scholars who introduced new witnesses and whose insights were crucial for the advancement of the discipline. We proceed chronologically, commencing with two manuscripts, known to scholars since they were copied in the sixth and ninth centuries, respectively. The present chapter covers the period 546 to 1900. Chapter four deals with the period 1900 to the 1930s; chapter five, the 1930s to 1951; chapter six completes the survey, covering 1951 to 1993. Throughout these chapters, the names of scholars are set flush with the left margin, while the names of Diatessaronic witnesses are set flush right.

#### CODEX FULDENSIS<sup>1</sup>

As noted in the previous chapter (see *supra*, 45–51), this Latin codex (Fulda: Landesbibliothek, MS Bonif. 1), copied at the order of bishop Victor of Capua from a manuscript now lost, marks the first discovery of a document in the West linked with the Diatessaron. In his Preface, Victor states that the manuscript from which Codex Fuldensis was copied lacked a title and failed to name an author. It has been suggested that Tatian's heretical status in the West (but not the East) explains the suppression of the author's name,<sup>2</sup> but there is no evidence to support or reject the idea.

Codex Fuldensis appears to have been brought to the Benedictine abbey at Fulda by St. Boniface.<sup>3</sup> First edited by Ernst

<sup>1</sup> Editio princeps: *Codex Fuldensis*, ed. E. Ranke (Marburg 1868).

<sup>2</sup> So, e.g., J.C. Zahn, "Ist Ammon oder Tatian Verfasser der ins Lateinische, Altfrankische und Arabische übersetzten Evangelien-harmonie? und was hat Tatian bei seinem bekannten Diatessaron oder Diapente vor sich gehabt und zum Grunde gelegt?" in *ASEST*, edd. C.A.G. Keil & H.G. Tzschirner, Band II, Theil 1 (Leipzig 1814), 174–75; also A. Harnack, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des 2. Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter*, TU 1.1–2 (Leipzig 1882), p. 216, n. 266.

<sup>3</sup> See C. Scherer, "Die Codices Bonifatiani in der Landesbibliothek zu Fulda," *Festgabe zum Bonifatius-Jubiläum 1905* (Fulda 1905), 6–12; see also B. Fischer, "Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters," in *La Bibbia nell'alto Medioevo* 10 (Spoleto 1963), 555–56.

Ranke in 1868,<sup>4</sup> its text is a very pure Vulgate; in age, it is one of the oldest extant witnesses to the Vulgate. For our purposes, however, its significance lies in the fact that it is the oldest manuscript of a gospel harmony in the West. Because of this, and the fact that it was the crown jewel of the Abbey library at Fulda—where so many other Latin and vernacular harmonies were copied<sup>5</sup>—scholarship initially assumed that Codex Fuldensis was the archetype of all Latin, bilingual, and vernacular harmonies in the West.<sup>6</sup> Later, however, internal as well as external evidence forced scholarship to reevaluate this position. For example, variant readings found in the oldest Latin gospel texts (such as the Vetus Latina manuscripts and the gospel citations of Novatian) agree with the reconstructed text of the Diatessaron;<sup>7</sup> the sequence of Codex Fuldensis, which begins with Luke 1.1–4, is not found in all Latin or vernacular harmonies: some begin with John 1.1.<sup>8</sup> This, and the fact that the text of Codex Fuldensis has been “purified” of most Diatessaronic variants (they have been replaced with Vulgate readings), suggests that the introduction of the Diatessaron in the West occurred before the creation of Codex Fuldensis or its archetype.

Ranke’s edition contains errors.<sup>9</sup> Some of these were corrected in the *corrigenda*; others were not. The consequences of Ranke’s errors would compound exponentially over the next century.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See *infra*, 87, 305.

<sup>6</sup> E. Sievers, *Tatian, lateinisch und altdeutsch, mit ausführlichem Glossar*, BADLD 5 (Paderborn 1892<sup>2</sup>), p. xviii, described Codex Fuldensis as “der Stammhandschrift aller erhaltenen lateinischen Tatiancodices.” Cf. the sections on O. Schade (*infra*, 110–112) and on Codex Sangallensis (*infra*, 86–89). As late as 1949, H. de Boor, *Die deutsche Literatur von Karl dem Grossen bis Beginn der höfischen Dichtung* (München 1949), 42, repeated this erroneous opinion, calling Codex Fuldensis the “Mutterhandschrift aller bewahrten Tatiantexte.”

<sup>7</sup> See *infra*, under Vogels (158–164) and Baumstark (218–247).

<sup>8</sup> See *infra*, 98.

<sup>9</sup> The first to draw attention to these errors was D. de Bruyne, “La préface du Diatessaron latin avant Victor de Capoue,” *RBen* 39 (1927), 5. See also B. Fischer, “Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters,” in *La Bibbia nell’alto Medioevo*, in the series *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo* 10 (Spoleto 1963), 546, nn. 66, 67.

<sup>10</sup> See *infra*, 301–302.



CODEX SANGALLENSIS<sup>11</sup>

This bilingual manuscript (Sankt Gallen [Switzerland]: Stiftsbibliothek, MS 56)—which is not to be confused with another bilingual (Greek with a Latin intralinear translation) manuscript which is also called “Codex Sangallensis” (and catalogued as Stiftsbibliothek, MS 48 [Gregory number 037, siglum Δ], also ninth century)<sup>12</sup>—dates from c. 830. Each side of each folio contains two columns: the left column is a Latin gospel harmony, and the right column is an Old High German harmony in the East Frankish dialect. The dialect is incompatible with a Sankt Gallen provenance, and suggests that the translation was probably made in Fulda; codicological studies also point to Fulda as the home of the codex.<sup>13</sup> E. Schröter, pointing to orthographic evidence, the dialect, and the report of the humanist Flacius Illyricus (1571, in his preface to Gassar’s edition of Otfrid’s *Evangelienbuch*) that Walafrid Strabo (“Walafrid the Squinter,” c. 808–49, Abbot of Reichenau from 838), Rabanus Maurus (776 [or 784]–856; Abbot of Fulda and later Archbishop of Mainz from 847), and Haimo of Halberstadt (a classmate of Rabanus Maurus; bishop of Halberstadt from 840 until his death in 853) were charged by Charlemagne with translating “*idem sacrum uolumen*” into the vernacular, concluded that Codex Sangallensis also came from the hand of Walafrid, who translated it himself.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The standard scholarly edition is that of E. Sievers, *Tatian, Lateinisch und althochdeutsch, mit ausführlichem Glossar*, BADLD 5 (Paderborn 1892<sup>2</sup>). It contains, however, an alarming number of errors: see *infra*, 301–302. H. Rost, *Die Bibel im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Bibliographie der Bibel* (Augsburg 1939), 360, published a facsimile of folio 10 (containing John 1.1ff.).

<sup>12</sup> Edited by H.C.M. Rettig, *Antiquissimus quatuor evangeliorum canonicorum codex Sangallensis Graeco-Latinus interlinearis* (Zürich 1836).

<sup>13</sup> See J. Rathofer, “Die Einwirkung des Fuldischen Evangelientextes auf den althochdeutschen ‘Tatian.’ Abkehr von der Methode der Diatesaronforschung,” *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter* (Festschrift K. Langosch), edd. A. Oennerfors et al. (Darmstadt 1973), 285–86; see also his “‘Tatian’ und Fulda. Die St. Galler Handschrift und der Victor-Codex,” in *Zeiten und Formen in Sprache und Dichtung. Festschrift für Fritz Tschirch zum 70. Geburtstag*, edd. K.-H. Shirmer and B. Sowinski (Köln/Wien 1972), 337–56. Cp. the discussion *infra*, 302–304.

<sup>14</sup> E. Schröter, *Walahfrids deutsche Glossierung zu den biblischen Büchern Genesis bis Regum II und der althochdeutsche Tatian* (dissertation, Halle; Halle 1926; reprinted: Walluf [bei Wiesbaden] 1973), 143–47. See also the remarks of E. Reuss, “Fragments littéraires et critiques relatifs à l’histoire de la Bible Française,” *RThPC* 2 (1851), p. 9, esp. n. 2, who conjectures that “l’un de ces trois hommes [Rabanus Maurus, Haimo of Halberstadt, and Walafrid Strabo] aurait été le traducteur de l’*Harmonie évangélique*, dite de Tatien.”

The Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis is the second-oldest known gospel translation into German,<sup>15</sup> making the manuscript particularly significant for Germanists.<sup>16</sup> Although absent from the earliest St. Gallen catalogues, including the catalogue of 1461, it appears to have arrived in St. Gallen before 1270.<sup>17</sup> The title of J.A. Schmeller's *editio princeps* (1841)—*Ammonii Alexandrini quae et Tatiani dicitur Harmonia Evangeliorum in linguam latinam et inde ante annos mille in francicam translata*<sup>18</sup>—evidences the confusion early researchers experienced over the name of the Diatessaron's composer. Schmeller's edition was replaced by that of E. Sievers, *Tatian. Lateinisch und althdeutsch* (1872); his second edition (now the standard for citation) appeared in 1892.<sup>19</sup>

Since the Latin and Old High German columns were side by side, and since the differences between the two were, at first glance, quite minor, it was natural to assume that Codex Sangallensis' Old High German column had been translated from the abutting Latin column. Sievers gave this supposition credibility in the preface to his edition.<sup>20</sup> His reputation as the leading Germanist of his generation caused later scholars to accept his judgement as a fact; variants in the Old High German column were ignored. Further, since the text of the Latin column was virtually identical with that of Codex Fuldensis, most scholars, again following Sievers, regarded the manuscript as a secondary witness to the text of Codex Fuldensis and, therefore, of no independent value for reconstructing the Diatessaron's text. In coming to these conclusions, Sievers (and the scholars who followed his line of thinking) ignored evidence introduced by Oskar Schade in 1872, which demonstrated that the text of the Old High German column contained variants found in other Diatessaronic witnesses, but *not* found in Codex Fuldensis.<sup>21</sup> The inference was that the author of Codex

<sup>15</sup> The oldest—by less than a century—are the Monsee Fragments (also spelt Mondsee), which preserve portions of Matthew. The Fragments have been dated as early as 738, and as late as 800 (see B. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* [Oxford 1977], 456).

<sup>16</sup> See the numerous studies in the *Bibliography* on the "althochdeutsch Tatian," which reference the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis.

<sup>17</sup> So. E. Sievers, *Tatian. Lateinisch*, p. xiii.

<sup>18</sup> Vienna 1841. Schmeller's is the first complete edition of the manuscript; however, it is—especially in its Latin column—sometimes dependent upon the text of the earlier incomplete editions of Palthen and Schilter (cf. *infra*, pp. 96–97, nn. 54 and 55).

<sup>19</sup> See *supra*, p. 87, n. 11.

<sup>20</sup> See the section on Sievers (*infra*, 113–114).

<sup>21</sup> See the section on Schade (*infra*, 110–112). Sievers' erroneous ideas

Sangallensis had access not just to the tradition of Codex Fuldensis, but also to some other tradition as well.

#### HUGO GROTIUS

The seventeenth century was the Netherlands' Golden Age. It was occasioned by a remarkable confluence of economic, political, religious, and cultural phenomena which led to a flowering of humanistic scholarship. One of the giants of this period was the polymath Hugo Grotius (Hugo de Groot; 1583–1645). Known to the Dutch as a patriot, diplomat, and historian, he is recognized throughout the world as the founder of international law. A precocious boy, he began study at the University of Leiden at the age of twelve. There he was profoundly influenced by one of the greatest textual critics of all time, J.J. Scaliger.

Grotius' *Annotationes in Libros Evangeliorum* (1641) are his enduring contribution to theological studies.<sup>22</sup> They are characterized by an acute understanding of the problems of the transmission of the gospels in the first centuries. Perhaps because of the influence of Scaliger, who was versed in both Oriental and classical languages, Grotius gave full value to evidence from Eastern Christendom. And in true humanist fashion, his sources embraced non-canonical works, including the lost Judaic-Christian gospels.

Working from Victor of Capua's appellation "diapente" in the preface of Codex Fuldensis, and Epiphanius' assertion (*haer.* 46.1.8–9) that the Diatessaron was also known as the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, Grotius concluded that the Diatessaron was a harmony of more than just the four canonical gospels. The title given by Victor, and the fact that the "Diatessaron/*Gospel according to the Hebrews*" quoted by Epiphanius spoke of a light in the Jordan at the baptism of Jesus—a reading absent from the canonical gospels—convinced Grotius that Tatian had employed a "fifth source" (*i.e.*, an extra-canonical gospel) when composing the Diatessaron.<sup>23</sup>

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were eventually corrected: see the sections on D. Plooij and A. Baumstark (*infra*, 170–178, 189–195; and 218–247, 269–271).

<sup>22</sup> Amsterdami.

<sup>23</sup> H. Grotius, *Annotationes in Libros Evangeliorum* . . . (Amsterdami 1641), 7: "Puto autem Tatianum, cum ex quatuor Evangeliiis unum concinnaret, secutum in Matthaei verbis non Graecos tantum sed & Hebraeos codices, unde Evangelium illud Tatiani, quod vulgo vocabatur διὰ τεσσάρων, ab aliis dictum κατὰ ἑβραίου

Today, more than 350 years later, scholars generally agree that Tatian had access to a tradition (or traditions) which was extra-canonical, for that is the only way to explain the empirical evidence. However, there has been disagreement over the role the "fifth source" (if that is what it was) played in Tatian's creation. Baumstark called the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* Tatian's leading source.<sup>24</sup> Others held that the "fifth source" was used only intermittently.<sup>25</sup> It is also possible that the extra-canonical readings in the Diatessaron were part of Justin's harmony, which Tatian knew and used,<sup>26</sup> or that they were part of a deviating second-century *Ur-evangelium* tradition.<sup>27</sup> The subject of extra-canonical readings in the Diatessaron is dealt with under the name of C.A. Phillips (*infra*, 257–259).

## ISAAC DE BEAUSOBRE

## MANICHAEAN TEXTS

A Huguenot refugee, pastor, and scholar, de Beausobre (1659–1738) was the first to suggest that Manichaeans used Tatian's harmony. Persecuted by Catholics in his native France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, he fled to Rotterdam. In 1693 he moved to Berlin, where he spent the rest of his life. There he wrote his pioneering *Histoire de Manichée et du Manichéisme*,<sup>28</sup> in which he assembled all known sources relative to Manicheism. This included, of course, Titus of Bostra's

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*narrat Epiphanius. Atque hinc etiam factum arbitror ut istud Euangelium alii vocent non διὰ τεσσάρων, sed διὰ πέντε ut Victor Capuanus* ("I think that Tatian, when he composed one out of four Gospels, followed in the case of the words of Matthew not only Greek but also Hebrew codices, whence this Gospel of Tatian, which was commonly called 'Diatessaron,' is by others called 'According to Hebrews' as Epiphanius says. And hence the fact that others call that gospel not Diatessaron, but 'Diapente,' as Victor of Capua.").

<sup>24</sup> A. Baumstark, "Die syrische Übersetzung des Titus von Bostra und das Diatessaron," *Bib.* 16 (1935), 293–94.

<sup>25</sup> L. Leloir, "Le Diatessaron de Tatien," *OrSyr* 1 (1956), 317.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. W.L. Petersen, "Textual Evidence of Tatian's Dependence Upon Justin's ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ," *NTS* 36 (1990), 512–534.

<sup>27</sup> If, as the Alands say (*The Text of the New Testament* [Grand Rapids (Michigan)/Leiden 1989<sup>2</sup>], 55), "signs of an established text" do not appear "until 180 (in Irenaeus)," then Tatian, like Justin, was using a fluid, preliminary form of the gospels which would later become "canonical." As the variants in the earliest Patristic citations incontestably show, these "Ur"-gospels contained numerous deviations from the text presently called "canonical."

<sup>28</sup> I. de Beausobre, *Histoire de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam 1734–39).

*Contra manichaeos*.<sup>29</sup> Relative to the Manichaeian citations of the gospels quoted by Titus, de Beausobre observed, "A l'égard de l'*Évangile*, que *Tite de Bostres* prétend avoir été composé par les Manichéens, c'est, si je ne me trompe, ou le DIATESSARON de *Tatien*, ou L'ÉVANGILE selon les *Syriens*."<sup>30</sup> He based his conclusion on Titus' statements that the Manichaeians' gospel had been revised and augmented, and that the Manichaeians did not have the gospel in their language—which de Beausobre concluded was Persian. The fact that the Manichaeians used other Syriac works suggested to de Beausobre that they also used the most popular gospel in Syriac: the Diatessaron. Although he had no primary witnesses to the Diatessaron at hand, de Beausobre offered a shrewd analysis of the Manichees and the Diatessaron, demonstrating, first, its popularity in Syria by citing Ephrem's composition of a *Commentary* upon it (de Beausobre knew of the *Commentary*'s existence only from the reports of bar Salibi and bar Hebraeus), and Theodoret's confiscation of over 200 copies. He also cited certain theological affinities which he felt pointed to Manichaeian use of the Diatessaron:

Il est vrai pourtant, que les Manichéens pouvoient avoir des raisons particulières [*sic*] de le préférer à d'autres. Car outre que *Tatien* étoit à peu près dans les mêmes Principes qu'eux, sur les Articles du Mariage & du Célibat, & sur celui de l'abstinence des Viandes, c'est, qu'on ne trouvoit dans son *Diatessaron*, ni les *Généalogies* de *J. Christ*, ni aucuns [*sic*] des témoignages, par lesquels il paroît, que le Seigneur est sorti de la Race de *David* selon la chair.<sup>31</sup>

De Beausobre's suggestion that the Manichaeians' gospel was a Diatessaron would be confirmed 250 years later, through the research of Baumstark, Quispel, and others.

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<sup>29</sup> Extant in Greek (known to Beausobre) and a Syriac translation. The Greek is available in Migne *PG* 18, 1069–1264.

<sup>30</sup> De Beausobre, *Histoire*, I, 303 (de Beausobre's capitals and italics).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 304 (de Beausobre's italics).

JOHANN CHRISTIAN ZAHN

CODEX SANGALLENSIS

LEIPZIG, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK,  
COD. LAT. 192 AND 193OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY,  
MS JUNIUS 13

THE "ERBACH" CODEX

THE "GÖTTINGEN" CODEX

THE ARABIC HARMONY

ZACHARIAS CHRYSOPOLITANUS'  
COMMENTARY ON *IN UNUM EX*  
*QUATUOR*

The father of modern Diatessaronic studies was a Lutheran pastor named Johann Christian Zahn.<sup>32</sup> He followed the spoor of the Diatessaron farther than any scholar before him; he utilized more Diatessaronic witnesses than any scholar for 75 years after him. In 1816, Zahn reported that he had prepared an "historisch-kritische Einleitung in Tatians Evangelien-Harmonie," but in the uncertain times of the Napoleonic Wars publishers were reluctant to invest capital in such a project. Had it appeared, it would have been the first comprehensive study of the Diatessaron. Among the few who appreciated Zahn's highly original research was the German Orientalist Paul de Lagarde.<sup>33</sup> In 1882, he referenced J.C. Zahn's work in a review of Theodor Zahn's *Tatian's Diatessaron* (1881), the book which became the first modern scholarly monograph on the Diatessaron. De Lagarde noted that J.C. Zahn's papers, notes, and manuscripts were conserved in seven manuscripts in the Göttingen Universitätsbibliothek, catalogued as Cod. theol. 75 through 81.<sup>34</sup> Complete descriptions are found in the Library's catalogue.<sup>35</sup> Prof. Tj. Baarda, who has examined these records, informed me that they are written in German script in a very

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<sup>32</sup> He was born in 1767, and died in 1818 while serving as pastor in Delitz bei Merseburg [Lützen] (an der Saale).

<sup>33</sup> See *infra*, 133–135.

<sup>34</sup> P. de Lagarde, review of Th. Zahn's *Tatians Diatessaron*, in *GGA* sans num. (1882), 323.

<sup>35</sup> *Verzeichniss der Handschriften im Preussischen Staate. I. Hannover. 2. Göttingen* (Berlin 1893), 334–35. Cod. theol. 75 is an "exceptionally careful" copy of Codex Sangallensis; MS 76 is presumably the text (completed through Chap. 91) of Codex Sangallensis which Zahn prepared for his edition; MS 77 is

small, cramped hand; they are now virtually impossible to read.

Although prevented from publishing his planned introduction and edition, Zahn abstracted two excursus and published them as articles. The first, appearing in 1814, posed two questions, both contained in the article's title: "Ist Ammon oder Tatian Verfasser der ins Lateinische, Altfrankische und Arabische übersetzten Evangelien-Harmonie? und was hat Tatian bei seinem bekannten Diatessaron oder Diapente vor sich gehabt und zum Grunde gelegt?"<sup>36</sup> The article is significant not only for Zahn's answers, but also for the number of Diatessaronic witnesses introduced, some albeit only by name. We will consider the witnesses first, for Zahn refers to them when answering the questions.

Zahn mentions nine witnesses to the Diatessaron. Unfortunately, not all of his references are precise enough to determine which manuscripts he meant. In addition to Codex Fuldensis and the bilingual Codex Sangallensis, he mentions three "Leipzig" manuscripts (today, two of the three Leipzig manuscripts are traceable with certainty: Universitätsbibliothek Cod. lat. 192 [13th cent., Latin]; and Universitätsbibliothek Cod. lat. 193 [14th cent., Latin]; the third is probably Universitätsbibliothek Cod. ger. 34 M.S. [Middle High German]); an "Oxford" codex (Oxford: Bodleian MS Junius 13; bilingual, Latin and Old High German); a Latin commentary on a harmonized gospel by Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (Zachary of Besançon) titled *In unum ex quatuor, sive de concordia evangelistarum libri quatuor* (mid-thirteenth cent.);<sup>37</sup> an "Erbacher" manuscript;<sup>38</sup> and an Arabic Harmony in the Vatican Library

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the "Historisch-kritische Einleitung" for the edition; MS 78 consists of 19 Appendices, among which is Rosenmüller's translation of the lines of the Arabic Harmony (see *infra*, 97f.); MS 79 is described as "zur Critik des Tatian nebst einigen grammatischen Anmerkungen . . . Vergleichung zweier Hss. in Leipzig und der Ausgaben zum lat. Texte"; MS 80 is "zur Literatur-Geschichte des Tatian"; and MS 81 is a copy of Cod. Theol. 74, which is "Tatian's Evangelienharmonie lateinisch und althochdeutsch, Cap. 76-133 (der in der Oxforder Hs. und in Palthen's und Schilter's Texte fehlende Theil). Abschrift aus Cod. Sangallensis 56." Cod. Theol. 74 was given to the Library in 1772 by C.W. Büttner.

<sup>36</sup> Published in *ASEST*, edd. C.A.G. Keil & H.G. Tzschirner, Band II, Theil 1 (Leipzig 1814), 165-210.

<sup>37</sup> This work is described *infra*, 187-189.

<sup>38</sup> This manuscript was probably in the library of the Graf Franz von Erbach (s.v. in *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, V [Wiesbaden 1968]<sup>17</sup>, 620) at Schloss Erbach (Baden-Württemberg); Graf Erbach was a noted "Sammler von Antiken und Altertümern," and who founded a museum in the Schloss; he and Zahn would have been contemporaries. The manuscript has not been mentioned in the literature since this reference by Zahn.

(Cod. arab. 14).<sup>39</sup> Two of these—MS Junius 13 (Zahn's "Oxford" MS) and the Arabic Harmony—deserve special attention.

The manuscript Zahn referred to as the "Oxford" manuscript (Oxford: Bodleian, MS 5125 [MS Junius 13]) is a bilingual (Latin and Old High German) codex. Often designated "J" (= "Junius") in the literature, it is a copy of a much older but now lost bilingual manuscript owned by Bonaventura Vulcanius (this lost codex is usually designated "B" [= "Bonaventura"]).<sup>40</sup> Vulcanius (\* 1538–† 1614) was Professor of Greek at the University of Leiden from 1581–1614; among his colleagues there were the great textual critic J.J. Scaliger, J. Lipsius, and Daniel Heinsius, who would figure in later events. In 1597, Vulcanius wrote that "*Exstat apud me exemplar Harmoniae quatuor Euangeliorum... (cum) interpretatione Teutonica.*"<sup>41</sup> The manuscript appears to have been quite old; P. Ganz suggests that it "may have been contemporary with the ninth-century St. Gall manuscript [*i.e.*, Codex Sangallensis]."<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, Vulcanius' manuscript is now lost. Probably near the turn of the century, however, Vulcanius had a copy made of his manuscript. That copy survives, and is MS Junius 13.

How Vulcanius acquired his manuscript is unknown, but Ganz, who has thoroughly studied MS Junius 13,<sup>43</sup> speculates that it might have been in Cologne, between 1557 and 1559, when Vulcanius served as secretary to Georgius Cassander (\* 1513–† 1566), a Dutch theologian who also served as counselor to various Germanic princes.<sup>44</sup> Although Ganz does not mention it, his hypothesis is supported by the fact that in 1537 (the date is inferred from the date of a preface) Cassander produced an edition of a Latin gospel harmony<sup>45</sup> composed in

<sup>39</sup> J.C. Zahn, "Ist Ammon oder Tatian . . .," refers to these sources on p. 179; in the second note on pp. 183, 190; and in the note on 186.

<sup>40</sup> Described by *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, edd. F. Madam, et al., Vol. 2, Pt. 2 (Oxford 1937), 966, as written in "Latin, Old High German, and Gothic . . . written by Francis Junius and others . . . interlaced with full annotations."

<sup>41</sup> B. Vulcanius, *De literis et lingua Getarum siue Gothorum* . . . (Lugduni 1597), 54.

<sup>42</sup> P. Ganz, p. ix, in his Introduction to the 1993 reprint of *Tatiani Alexandrini Harmoniae Evangelicae antiquissima Versio Theotisca* . . ., ed. J.P. Palthenius (Gryphiswaldiae 1706; reprinted with an introduction by P. Ganz [ESGP 2]: Amsterdam/Atlanta [Georgia] 1993).

<sup>43</sup> P. Ganz, "Ms. Junius 13 und die althochdeutsche Tatianübersetzung," *BGDS(T)* 91 (1969), 28–76.

<sup>44</sup> P. Ganz, p. ix, in his Introduction to the 1993 reprint of Palthen's *Tatiani Alexandrini Harmoniae Evangelicae*.

<sup>45</sup> *Iuueni Hispani Evangelicae historiae libri IIII* . . ., ed. G. Cassandrum (Basil 1537 [?]).



hexameters by the Spanish cleric Juvenus about 330.<sup>46</sup> This establishes that Cassander was interested in gospel harmonies. Another item which Ganz does not report but which strengthens his case is that both Cassander and Vulcanius (whose common name was De Smet) were both born in the same area: Vulcanius was from Bruges (Belgium), and Cassander from the nearby village Pittem. It is therefore easy to imagine Cassander possessing such a manuscript, and then giving or selling it to his brilliant young secretary and hometown boy, Vulcanius.

In addition to producing distinguished editions of classical authors, Vulcanius was interested in German philology: he published fragments of the Gothic version of the gospels. This explains his interest in the manuscript. A few chapters were copied and sent to the Dutch historian and professor (of Physics, Mathematics, and Medicine, at Harderwijk) J.I. Pontanus (\* 1571–† 1639), who published the manuscript's Prologue and chapters 1–4.9 in 1616.<sup>47</sup> Another copy—apparently complete, and perhaps containing some corrections and emendations introduced by Vulcanius—was sent to the historian and jurist (professor of Law at Heidelberg) Marquard Freher (\* 1565–† 1614). Freher added his own corrections to the copy, which remained in his possession until his death. A friend of Freher, Franciscus Junius the younger (\* 1589/90–† 1677; librarian to the earl of Arundel [Thomas Howard] and brother-in-law of the Dutch theologian G.J. Vossius), found the copy among Freher's papers in 1653 and removed it from Heidelberg. Meanwhile, the original codex had, upon the death of Vulcanius in 1614, passed into the hands of Nicolaas Heinsius (\* 1620–† 1681),<sup>48</sup> the son of Vulcanius' colleague at Leiden, Daniel Heinsius (\* 1580–† 1655; nominated Professor of Poetry by Scaliger, he later taught Greek as well, and delivered one of the orations at Scaliger's funeral).<sup>49</sup> Nicolaas travelled widely, collecting manuscripts for himself; later he entered the service of Queen Christina of Sweden, and carried out

<sup>46</sup> Juvenus' harmony has not yet been investigated by Diatessaronic scholarship, although it was noted by Windisch (see *infra*, 107) and Th. Zahn (see *infra*, 125). Modern editions: Migne *PL* 19, 9–388; *C. Vettii Aquilini Iuvenici Libri evangeliorum IIII*, ed. C. Marold (Lipsiae 1886); *Libri Evangeliorum IV*, edd. A. Knoppitsch and J. Huemer in *CSEL* 24 (Vindobonae/Lipsiae 1891).

<sup>47</sup> J.I. Pontanus, *Originum Francicarum libri VI* (Amsterdam 1616).

<sup>48</sup> See *Bibliotheca Heinsiana, sive, Catalogus librorum quos magno studio & sumptu viveret, collegit vir illustris Nicolaus Heinsius* . . . , 2 vols. (Lugduni 1682).

<sup>49</sup> See H.J. de Jonge, *Daniel Heinsius and the Textus Receptus of the New Testament* (Leiden 1971).

the same function on her behalf. Upon retirement, he moved to an estate at Vianen, a village near Utrecht.<sup>50</sup>

Junius' interest in the copy of the manuscript he obtained from Freher's papers arose from his position as "one of the most important scholars of his age, and known as the founder of the comparative study of Old Germanic languages."<sup>51</sup> Once, when in Amsterdam, Junius compared the copy he had acquired from Freher's *Nachlass* with Vulcanius' original, and added further glosses and emendations to the copy. It accompanied him when he moved to England in 1674. When Junius died there in 1677, the copy passed to the Bodleian Library, where it remains today, catalogued as MS 5125 (MS Junius 13). Vulcanius' original manuscript, which had passed to Nicolaas Heinsius, vanished under unknown circumstances.<sup>52</sup>

The importance of MS Junius 13 is that it is the only surviving witness to the much more ancient manuscript once owned by Vulcanius. Working backwards from MS Junius 13 is a problematic affair for it is, first of all, a copy. Second, it is known to have been emended and glossed by at least three hands (Vulcanius, Freher, Junius).<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, certain characteristics of Vulcanius' now-lost manuscript are discernible through MS Junius 13. Vulcanius' manuscript seems to have had a large lacuna from chaps. 76 to 153. Additionally, it seems to have been damaged or illegible at a number of points. On the whole, its text appears to have been quite similar to that found in Codex Sangallensis. Since its physical layout (two columns per page, with the Latin on the left and the Old High German on the right) is identical with that of Codex Sangallensis, it seems reasonable to presume that the two manuscripts have a genetic relationship or share a common ancestry.

The first edition of MS Junius 13 was prepared by the Swedish scholar and Germanist J.P. Palthen in 1706.<sup>54</sup> Working under

<sup>50</sup> One wonders if Nicolaas Heinsius might have been instrumental in the acquisition of the "Utrecht Harmony" (see *infra*, 238–246) by the Utrecht University Library.

<sup>51</sup> "Junius, Franciscus," in *Winkler Prins Encyclopaedie*, Vol. 11 (Amsterdam/Brussel 1951<sup>6</sup>), 633.

<sup>52</sup> The foregoing summary is drawn from Ganz's Introduction, pp. ix–xi, to the 1993 reprint of Palthen's *Tatiani Alexandrini Harmoniae Evangelicae*.

<sup>53</sup> The relationship of Junius' copy to Vulcanius' manuscript has been studied by J. Rathofer, "MS Junius 13 und die verschollene Tatian HS-B," *BGDS(T)* 95 (1973), 13–125.

<sup>54</sup> J.P. Palthenius [Palthen], *Tatiani Alexandrini. Harmoniae. Evangelicae*

difficult conditions at the Bodleian (Ganz cites a letter asserting that Palthen could use the manuscript only if a “master of Arts or Dr. sit by him”), Palthen made a copy of the manuscript in 1698. His edition, however, has some deviations from the manuscript itself: either emendations on his part, or simply errors (Palthen’s hand is, then, the fourth to intervene between Vulcanius’ manuscript and an edition of a copy of it). In 1728 J.G. Scherz prepared another “edition” of MS Junius 13, which was published as part of J. Schilter’s lexicon of Old High German.<sup>55</sup> Scherz’s publication cannot be regarded as a true edition, however, for it is based on Palthen’s publication, not a new collation of the manuscript itself. The fact that the entire known text of the Old High German Tatian was printed in a lexicon illustrates its importance for Germanists. Prior to the appearance of J.A. Schmeller’s *editio princeps* of Codex Sangallensis in 1841, scholarship’s only acquaintance with the Old High German Tatian was through Palthen’s edition of the closely related MS Junius 13.

The other witness deserving of special note is the Arabic Harmony. Although it would not be published until 1888 (see *infra*, 133–138), Zahn secured two independent copies of portions of its text. One of the copies was in Arabic, and contained the first fourteen<sup>56</sup> lines of the manuscript’s text. It was made by Simon Assemani (1752–1821; Professor of Oriental Languages in Padua), and translated into Latin for Zahn by Ernst Friedrich Carl Rosenmüller (1768–1835; Professor of Oriental Studies at Leipzig, and a leading Arabist). Apparently anticipating the Vatican’s reluctance to permit access to the manuscript, Zahn also asked the well-connected French Orientalist and nobleman Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) to secure a copy if possible. De Sacy, in turn, prevailed upon the Swedish diplomat and Orientalist Jan David Akerblåd (1763–1819). Akerblåd, who worked in both Paris and Rome, obliged and sent Zahn, via de Sacy, a Latin translation of the manuscript’s first eleven<sup>57</sup> lines, as well as “das Ende der

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*antiquissima versio Theotisca* (Gryphiswaldiae 1706; reprinted with an introduction by P. Ganz [ESGP 2]: Amsterdam/Atlanta [Georgia] 1993).

<sup>55</sup> J. Schilter, *Thesaurus antiquitatum teutonicarum ecclesiasticarum, civilium, litterariorum*, 3 vols. (Ulm 1727–1728). Scherz’s contribution is in tome 2, and is titled *Accedit loco appendicis ad t. 1. Tatiani Harmonia IV. evangeliorum theotisce ab anonymo vetere translata*.

<sup>56</sup> More or less; the last three lines are disrupted by lacunae in the manuscript.

<sup>57</sup> I.e., down to the *lacunae* which disrupt the last three lines of the folio.

Handschrift.”<sup>58</sup> In a later publication in 1816 (see below), Zahn also mentions an additional Diatessaronic witness, an Old High German “Göttingen” manuscript.<sup>59</sup>

Although navigating virtually without landmarks, Zahn displayed remarkable sophistication. He noted that although Codex Fuldensis and Codex Sangallensis both began with Luke 1.1–4, the two Latin Leipzig manuscripts began with John 1.1. Printing for the first time portions of the Arabic Harmony (in the form of Akerblåd’s Latin translation),<sup>60</sup> Zahn noted that it also began with John 1.1. He concluded that the Arabic and the Leipzig manuscripts preserved the reading of the Diatessaron, and that Codex Fuldensis and Codex Sangallensis had been corrupted by the interpolation of Luke 1.1–4.<sup>61</sup> Zahn also noted that in many of the witnesses at his disposal, the genealogies were awkwardly inserted into the text and their length varied widely, from 11 to 27 to 61 to as many as 113 lines. Yet in other aspects, the manuscripts generally agreed. Combining this evidence with Theodoret of Cyrrhus’ statement that Tatian omitted the genealogies (*haer. fab. comp.* I.20), Zahn presumed that where he found them in the Diatessaronic manuscripts, they were later interpolations.<sup>62</sup> In a third instance, Zahn cited a marginal gloss in a manuscript of the canonical gospels (MS 72: London, British Library, Harley 5,647; eleventh cent.) which stated that “Tatian” placed the lance thrust from John 19.34 between Matt 27.49 and 50 (the gloss is reproduced *supra*, 58). Zahn concluded that this was a Tatianic reading.<sup>63</sup>

The first question Zahn posed in his title was “Ist Ammon oder Tatian Verfasser der ins Lateinische, Altfrankische und Arabische übersetzten Evangelien-harmonie?” His answer was:

<sup>58</sup> Zahn, “Ist Ammon oder Tatian . . .,” in the note on p. 186.

<sup>59</sup> Probably Göttingen Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Theol. 74; see *infra*, 101–102.

<sup>60</sup> J.C. Zahn, “Ist Ammon oder Tatian . . .,” in the note on p. 186, prints Akerblåd’s Latin translation. Th. Zahn, *Tatians Diatessaron*, 295–96, used J.C. Zahn’s papers (deposited in the Göttingen University Library) to prepare a “critical text” from Rosenmüller’s and Akerblåd’s translations.

<sup>61</sup> J.C. Zahn, “Ist Ammon oder Tatian . . .,” 183–188.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 178–179. In an interesting aside in the note on p. 179, Zahn wondered whether the Arabic Harmony included the genealogies; although he possessed only a few lines of its *incipit* and *explicit*, he suspected it did not. His suspicions were later proven correct, for one recension of the Arabic Harmony (consisting of MSS B O E, and Sbath 1020 and 1280) relegates the genealogies to an appendix.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 189–190.

“Wir wissen es nicht.”<sup>64</sup> He noted that Eusebius, Theodoret, and Victor all opted for Tatian. On the other hand, he observed that an “important” Leipzig manuscript (he did not indicate which one of the three) was not introduced by Victor’s Preface, but by Eusebius’ *Ep. ad Carpianum*, which mentions only Ammonius.<sup>65</sup> The implication, which Zahn left for his reader to draw, was that by replacing Victor’s Preface with the *Ep. ad Carp.*, the scribe of the Leipzig manuscript was indicating that Ammonius, and not Tatian, was the Diatessaron’s composer. Despite this, said Zahn, the tradition of the Patristic writers, the true “harmonistic” structure of the document (contrasted with the presumed “synopsis” structure of Ammonius’ creation), and the fact that Victor’s exemplar lacked an author’s name (the removal of which was understandable only if the “heretic” Tatian were the author) led him to accept the received tradition: like Victor of Capua, Zahn concluded that the Diatessaron’s composer was Tatian.<sup>66</sup>

The second question posed in Zahn’s title, “Was hat Tatian bei seinem bekannten Diatessaron oder Diapente vor sich gehabt und zum Grunde gelegt?” was answered in two parts. First, one had to decide how many sources Tatian used: were there *four* (= “Dia-tessaron”) or *five* (= “Dia-pente”)? Zahn argued that the strange reading of Victor’s Preface, “diapente,” was not a mistake by Victor; rather, it was the reading Victor found in his copy of Eusebius’ *Historia ecclesiastica*. Zahn reasoned that the name “Diatessaron” (indicating use of the four [canonical] gospels) would not have aroused suspicion. But the name “Diapente,” indicating the use of a fifth—and therefore heretical—source would have led to the work’s suppression. Beginning with the observation that since Victor was writing within two hundred years of Eusebius’ death, his copy of Eusebius’ *h.e.* would have had to have been a very early—and, presumed Zahn, accurate—one. Consequently, Zahn concluded that Victor presented Eusebius’ original reading, “Diapente,” which was later modified to “Diatessaron” in order to remove the difficulty of explaining to later orthodox believers that in earlier times there had been other gospels.<sup>67</sup> Zahn implicitly assumed that all references to a “Diatessaron” in other writers

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 166.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 168.

<sup>66</sup> These arguments are spread over *ibid.*, 168–176.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 199–206.

(e.g., Theodoret, bar Salibi, etc.) were the result of their dependence upon these later (and altered) copies of Eusebius' *h.e.*

As problematic as this theory is, Zahn's analysis of the five sources of the Diatessaron was prescient. That Tatian had used the four gospels was clear; the problem was identifying the "fifth source." Citing Epiphanius' equation of the two, Zahn surmised that the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* had served as the Diatessaron's "fifth source."<sup>68</sup> Epiphanius' apparently confusing statement meant "dass Tatian bei seinem Werke das Evangelium der Hebräer zum Grunde gelegt hat."<sup>69</sup> Zahn went on to intuit that the harmonized *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was also the basis of Justin's unnamed but harmonized ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ("memoirs of the apostles").<sup>70</sup> Finally, Zahn suggested that inasmuch as both men were in Rome in the mid-second century, Tatian might have occasionally used Marcion's edition of Luke.<sup>71</sup>

Regarding the Diatessaron itself, Zahn observed that it must have been intended for popular—principally private—use. He suggested that practical grounds commended it to early Christians; this accounted for much of its popularity:

[Das Diatessaron] war in der damaligen Zeit wohlfeiler, bequemer und besser noch als [die vier Evangelien]. Man denke nur wie viel Zeit, Geld und Mühe kostete eine Abschrift der vier Evangelien, und wie wenig eine von unsrer Harmonie?—Wie viel Zeit brauchte man zum Lesen der vier Evangelien, wie wenig im Verhältniss dagegen zu unsrer Harmonie?—Wie mühsam und für manche Christen verwirrend war die Lesung der vier Evan-

<sup>68</sup> There are readings common to the Diatessaron and the Patristic quotations from the "Hebrew gospel"; see *infra*, 257–259.

<sup>69</sup> J.C. Zahn, "Ist Ammon oder Tatian . . .," 207.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 206. Zahn's suspicion of a connexion between Justin's ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων and the Diatessaron would seem well-founded: see W.L. Petersen, "Textual Evidence," 512–534.

<sup>71</sup> This aspect of Tatian's text has been studied, but not systematically. The apparatus of D. Plooi's edition of the Liège Harmony (*The Liège Diatessaron*, VNAW 31.1–8 [Amsterdam 1929–70]) shows numerous instances of agreement with Marcion. Marcion is also mentioned *en passant* in many of Plooi's other writings (see, e.g., the chapter titled "Marcionite Readings" in his *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron* [Leyden 1925], 72–85). C.E. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence* (London 1948), 63; 169–71, provides a list of agreements between Marcion's text and Tatian's. (Today, of course, with more witnesses in hand, Blackman's list is out of date.) H.J. Vogels, "Der Einfluss Marcions und Tatians auf Text und Kanon des NT.," *Synoptische Studien*, Festschrift Alfred Wikenhauser, (München 1953), 278–89, hypothesized that Tatian introduced the Corpus Paulinum to Edessa in Marcion's redaction. See also *infra*, 120, under Harnack.

gelen in der damaligen Zeit, wie bequem dagegen die Lesung unsrer Harmonie?—[...] Unsre [Harmonie] war ein *compendarius liber*, dessen sich die Christen damals sehr gut bedienen konnten, und es war gar nicht zu verwundern, wenn die meisten, sie mochten Tatians Anhänger sein oder nicht, sie hoch, und höher noch schätzten, als die vier Evangelien selbst.<sup>72</sup>

With this speculation, Zahn became the first to infer a *raison d'être* for the Diatessaron's composition and popularity: it was economical, and removed the confusing inconsistencies which troubled believers.

Zahn's second article, published in 1816, makes one appreciate this pioneer even more. Titled "Erläuterung einer bis jetzt unbekannten Variante Luc. VII., 42.43. aus Ulfilas und Tatian,"<sup>73</sup> it begins by showing that the existing editions of Codex Sangallensis (by Palthen and by Schilter) were sometimes in error. For example, Zahn reported that the editions' reading at Chap. 35.4 in the Old High German column ("*tuot in sekila thie ni altent, threso unziganenti in himile*": "you [pl.] make in purses which do not age, a treasure not-failing in heaven") was erroneous, for his study of his "Abschrift" of the Sangallen Codex showed that the reading was clearly "*tuot iu sekila...*" ("you make for you [dat. pl.] purses..."). This was corroborated by the Oxford manuscript, which also read "*iu*." The reading "*in*" was "ein blosser Druckfehler bei Palthen und Schilter."<sup>74</sup> Zahn noted a series of errors in Chap. 60.5 in Palthen's and Schilter's editions, which were also due to setting or copying problems.<sup>75</sup> Zahn also made a shrewd observation about the manuscript he referred to as the "Göttingen Handschrift" (probably Göttingen Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Theol. 74, an eighteenth cent. copy of Chaps. 76–133 of Codex Sangallensis). Due to the fact that it omitted what was *exactly* one line from the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis, and had copied what was *exactly* the preceding line in the Old High

<sup>72</sup> J.C. Zahn, "Ist Ammon oder Tatian . . .," 173.

<sup>73</sup> Published in ASEST, edd. C.A.G. Keil & H.G. Tzschirner, Band III, Theil 2 (Leipzig 1816), 9–27.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 10. In these days of computer typesetting, it must be pointed out that in earlier times type was *hand set*; that is, each letter was placed in the line by hand. Here, the proper letter was chosen, but inadvertently set upside-down.

<sup>75</sup> It is ironic that, in 1973, Johannes Rathofer demonstrated that the first modern scholarly edition of Codex Sangallensis (Eduard Sievers' 1872 edition [the second edition, now the standard, appeared in 1892]) was riddled with the same sort of errors! See *infra*, 301–303.

German column *twice*, Zahn concluded that the "Göttingen" manuscript was a direct copy from Codex Sangallensis' Old High German column. Other errors in copying showed it to be a careless copy, which precluded its use in an edition.<sup>76</sup>

After these preliminaries, Zahn turned to the topic of the article, an examination of Luke 7.42–43. The passage is part of Luke's "parallel" of the other Synoptics' Anointing at Bethany. In the Lucan version, while at dinner at the home of Simon the Pharisee, "a woman who had a bad name in the town" enters, and anoints Jesus' feet with ointment and tears. When Simon thinks to himself that if Jesus were truly a prophet, then he would know what a bad reputation the woman has, Jesus reads Simon's mind, and tells him a story. There are two debtors, one who owes a creditor 500 denarii, and the other who owes the same creditor 50 denarii. When they cannot repay their debt, the creditor forgives both debts. Jesus turns to Simon and, according to the canonical account, asks: τίς οὖν αὐτῶν πλεῖον ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν; ("Who then of them will love him [*i.e.*, the creditor] more?"). The answer Simon gives in the canonical account is: ὑπολαμβάνω ὅτι ὃ τὸ πλεῖον ἐχαρίσατο. ("I suppose [the one] to whom he forgave the more."). Zahn found the question in its usual form in the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis, albeit, with some minor variants:<sup>77</sup> "*quis eum plus diligit?*" (Vulgate: "*quis ergo eum plus diligit* [v.l.: *diligit*]": "Who, therefore, loves him more?"). The Old High German column, however, puzzled Zahn, for it read "*uuedaran minnota her mer?*" ("Which-of-the-two loved<sup>78</sup> he more?"). This meant, "He (*i.e.*, the creditor) loved which of the two debtors more?" It presupposed a Greek text which read: τίνα αὐτῶν πλεῖον ἠγάπησεν; ("Whom [acc.] of them did he love more?"). This Greek version of the question omits the canonical αὐτόν and changes the interrogative from the

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 16: the omission and dittography "sei einer von den vielen Beweisen, dass die Göttinger Abschrift absichtlich von St. Gallen aus fehlerhaft an einigen Stellen gemacht ist, damit sie unbrauchbar sein, und nicht sollte herausgegeben werden können."

<sup>77</sup> Zahn noted that "*ergo*" was interpolated after "*quis*," and "*diligit*" was read in two of the three Leipzig manuscripts and Zacharias Chrysopolitanus in place of "*diligit*."

<sup>78</sup> Cp. E. Sievers, *Tatian, lateinisch und altdeutsch*, BADLD 5 (Paderborn 1892<sup>2</sup>; photomechanical reprint: 1960), 387, under "minnōn"; also used in the Old High German of Codex Sangallensis at Chap. 106.3 (= Mark 10.21), 119.9, etc.



nominative (τίς) to the accusative (τίνα).<sup>79</sup> The answer offered in the Old High German agreed with the canonical tradition: “*ih uuaniu thaz ther, themo her mera forgab*” (“I suppose that [it is] that [one] to whom he forgave the more.”; in the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis: “*aestimo quia is, cui plus donavit*.” [“I suppose that [it is] that one [nom.], to whom he has forgiven the more.”])). Zahn noted, however, that this answer no longer fit the question, as posed in the Old High German column, which required an answer along the lines of “He loved more the one he forgave more.”

Zahn, who had published an edition of Ulfilas’ Gothic version of the Bible,<sup>80</sup> noted that in the Gothic, although Jesus posed his question in the canonical form, Simon’s answer, instead of the canonical Greek, read: “*þana gawenja, þammei managizo fragaf*” (in Zahn’s Latin translation: “*illum aestimo cui plus donavit*”: “Him [acc.], I suppose, to whom he has forgiven the more”). Ulfilas’ version of the answer, said Zahn, presupposed a Greek text which read: αὐτὸν ὑπολαμβάνω, ᾧ τὸ πλεῖν ἐχαρίσατο.

Putting together the two deviating readings, Zahn concluded that the Old High German had preserved one half, and Ulfilas’ Gothic version the other half, of a version of a Greek text which circulated in the middle of the fourth century.<sup>81</sup> Compared with Justin or the Apostolic Fathers, this was not very early; but Zahn pointedly remarked that the reading was at least as old as the canonical reading found in the oldest uncial manuscripts. The presence of half of the reading in a Diatessaronic witness suggested that Tatian had known the same textual tradition as Ulfilas—and that pushed the reading back to the mid-second century.

Although circumspect about which of the two readings was

<sup>79</sup> Portions of this reading are found here and there in the canonical tradition: cf. *The New Testament in Greek, III. The Gospel according to St. Luke*, Vol. 1 (Oxford 1984), 175–76.

<sup>80</sup> *Ulfilas Gothische Bibelübersetzung* (Weissenfels 1805); the volume incorporated preparatory work by F.K. Fuldas.

<sup>81</sup> The Gothic translation is usually dated to the mid-fourth century. If made by Ulfilas (a position which has been challenged: cf. A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament* PETSE 6 [Stockholm 1954], 301–02), then it must have been made before his death in 383. Whoever the translator was, he has been termed a more competent translator of Greek than either Erasmus or Luther (cf. H. Collitz, “Zwei Hapax Legomena der gotischen Bibel,” *Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies*, edd. J.T. Hatfield, W. Leopold, and A.J.F. Zieglschmid [Philadelphia 1930], 71, 76, 82).

preferable, Zahn provided a magisterial exegesis of the newly discovered variant, paralleling its sentiment with other teachings of Jesus. In the story, Mary (the notorious sinner and, according to the Diatessaron, sister of Lazarus) and Simon could be placed in the roles of the debtors: Jesus loved the greater sinner/debtor (Mary) more than the lesser sinner/debtor (Simon). Although Zahn did not remark on it, one should note that the variant is consistent with Jesus' teaching elsewhere in Luke's gospel (cf. Luke 5.32, 14.13, and 15.1–7). His discovery and analysis of this variant remained largely unremarked until the twentieth century, when newly discovered Diatessaronic witnesses would shed light on it.<sup>82</sup>

Nearly two hundred years later, Zahn's studies remain a landmark. His work shows an exceptionally acute mind, far ahead of his time in his approach, his sources, and his insights. He was the first to investigate thoroughly the question of authorship; his treatment was so comprehensive that the only evidence to come to light since—the discovery of Encratite readings in witnesses to the Diatessaron (a feature consistent with Tatian's known Encratism)—has corroborated his decision in favour of Tatian. Zahn was also the first to note that when compared with the sequence found in other Diatessaronic witnesses (such as the two Latin Leipzig manuscripts and the bits of the Arabic Harmony available to him), the pericopes in Codex Fuldensis had been rearranged. His hypothesis that the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was Tatian's "fifth source" agrees with Grotius' judgement, although he displays no acquaintance with the Dutchman's work. Zahn's arguments in support of a "fifth source" are weak, primarily because they are rhetorical. But his conjectures about Tatian's sources were well-informed and—as we shall see—quite probably correct, although some reformation is required to satisfy our present, clearer understanding of the second-century gospel text. His work on Codex Sangallensis was revolutionary, and anticipates work done 150 years later by Rathofer. He was acutely aware of the significance of the Diatessaron for Biblical criticism; he hoped his introduction and edition of Codex Sangallensis would lead to a general recognition of that value.<sup>83</sup> In view of Zahn's fluency

<sup>82</sup> See *infra*, 265–269, where Walter Henss's 1967 monograph *Das Verhältnis zwischen Diatessaron, christlicher Gnosis und "Western Text"* is discussed.

<sup>83</sup> J.C. Zahn, "Erläuterung" in *ASEST*, edd. Keil & Tzschirner, Band III, Theil 2 (Leipzig 1816), 10: "Der Werth der Tatianischen Evangelien-Harmonie

with matters Diatessaronic, it is surprising that later scholarship cites him so rarely.

J.A. SCHMELLER

THE *HELIAND*<sup>84</sup>

E. WINDISCH

CODEx CASSELLANUS

C.W.M. GREIN

Just as ironic as the fact that many of the witnesses introduced by J.C. Zahn were not pursued is the fact that the *Heliand* ("Saviour"), one of the first Diatessaronic witnesses identified by scholars, should in recent decades suddenly have become one of the most disputed. The *Heliand* is an epic poem which tells the story of Jesus' life. Composed in Old Saxon, probably in the area of Werden, it dates from the first half of the ninth century, probably between 822 and 840.<sup>85</sup> The gospels were the anonymous<sup>86</sup> poet's principal source when composing the

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für die biblische Kritik . . . wird gewiss allgemein anerkannt werden, wenn meine Ausgabe dieser Harmonie erschienen sein wird."

<sup>84</sup> The standard reference edition is O. Behaghel, *Heliand und Genesis*, ADTB 4 (Tübingen 1984<sup>9</sup>), which contains the Old Saxon text and a German translation. A useful but inexact English translation is available: M. Scott, *The Heliand*, Univ. of North Carolina Studies in Germanic Languages and Literature 52 (Chapel Hill [North Carolina] 1966).

<sup>85</sup> On the *Heliand*'s provenance and date, see: W. Krogmann, *Die Heimatfrage des Heliand im Lichte des Wortschatzes* (Seestadt Wismar 1937); R. Drögeret, *Werden und der Heliand* (Essen 1951), 48–50; H.L. Cox, *Woordgeographie en intern-linguistische structuren* (Utrecht 1970). The range of 822 and 840 is tentative, and fixed by the *Heliand*'s composer's use of Rabanus Maurus' *Commentary on Matthew* (which was composed after 822) and the report of the sixteenth century humanist M. Flacius Illyricus (in his *Catalogus testium veritatis*, composed in 1562) that King Louis the Pious (who died in 840) commissioned an epic poem (unnamed) of Jesus' life—a description which fits the *Heliand* quite well.

<sup>86</sup> J. fon Weringha, *Heliand and Diatessaron*, SG 5 (Assen 1965), p. 10, n. 51, has suggested that the Frisian poet Bernlêf composed the *Heliand*. Recently discovered evidence lends weight to his conjecture: R. Veenbaas, "Bernlef en de Heliand," in *Frysk & Vrije Universiteit (1949–1989)*, edd. A.M.J. Riemersma, T. Riemersma, and W.W. Visser (Amsterdam 1989), 171–92, has argued that the name "Bernlêf" is contained in the 36th line of the poem, commencing with the 6th letter: "*liudo barno loſon lëra Cristes*" ("the children love the teaching of Christ") (p. 182). In this early medieval period, the number six was considered one of perfection, and was used by Rabanus Maurus to hide an acrostic containing his name in his poem (a common practice) *De Laudibus sanctae Crucis*. There the acrostic is hidden in the preface, which consists of 36 hexameters, each containing 36 letters; the acrostic is found by taking every sixth letter after the first letter: "Magnentius Hrabanus Maurus hoc opus fecit"). The *Heliand* also has a preface of 36 lines, increasing the likelihood that what Veenbaas discovered is not a random pattern of letters.

5983 rhymed lines which make up the poem. Readers are still enchanted by the poet's skill in adapting Biblical language to medieval argot: Jesus becomes "the best of all barons," Gabriel is "the Heaven-King's herald," Satan is "the greatest of scoundrels," and the Jews are ruled by "helm-wearers from Rome." The *Heliand* exists in two complete manuscripts (Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 25, Sim. III, 4, a; and London: British Library, Cotton. Caligula A.VII), and in three sets of fragments (one set in Berlin; one in the Vatican; and one now in Munich, after being discovered in 1979 at Straubing<sup>87</sup>). As one of the oldest monuments of Old High German<sup>88</sup> (of which Old Saxon is considered a dialect), it has long been of interest to Germanists. Appropriately enough, a Germanist was the first to identify the Diatessaron as one of the poem's sources.

The first edition of the *Heliand* was published in two parts by J.A. Schmeller.<sup>89</sup> The first, containing only the text, appeared in 1830, and was dedicated to Jacob Grimm; the second, an Old Saxon lexicon and grammar based on the *Heliand*, appeared in 1840. In a brief *Prooemium* to the 1840 volume, Schmeller stated that Tatian's harmony, in the form of Codex Fuldensis, was the poet's source:

*Quod dictorum factorumque evangelicorum seriem attinet, autorem [sic] tritam illam veteribus inde a tertii post Chr. seculi initiis Ammonii (vulgo Tatiani) Alexandrini Harmoniam circa Matthaeum maxime versantem, anno 546 α Victore Episcopo Capuae latine editam prae oculis habuisse, ex utriusque operis collatione facile nobis persuademus, cum filum narrationis idem ferme videatur paucis tantum inversis, aliis quidem sive levius attactis, sive plane praetermissis.*<sup>90</sup>

In as far as the order of the words and acts of the Gospels is concerned, we can easily persuade ourselves by the collation of both works that our author has had under his eyes that har-

<sup>87</sup> See under the *Heliand* in Appendix I (*infra*, 488–489).

<sup>88</sup> See, e.g., the treatment given by J.K. Bostock, *A Handbook on Old High German Literature* (Oxford 1955), 141–56, who calls the *Heliand* and the Genesis fragments "the most important documents in existence of Old Saxon poetry" (142); M. O'C. Walshe, *Medieval German Literature* (London 1962), 17–20, ranks the *Heliand* among the oldest works of Old High German literature. Cp. G. Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (München 1918), I, 150–71; and W. Golther, *Die deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter, 800 bis 1500* (Stuttgart 1912), 25–30.

<sup>89</sup> J.A. Schmeller, *Heliand oder die altsächsische Evangelien-Harmonie*. In two parts: *Erste Lieferung: Text* (Monachii, Stuttgartiae, Tubingae 1830); *Zweite Lieferung: Heliand: Wörterbuch und Grammatik nebst Einleitung und zwei Facsimiles* (Monachii, Stuttgartiae, Tubingae 1840).

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II (*Zweite Lieferung: Heliand...*), p. xi.

mony much used by the ancients from the beginning of the third century after Christ, that is, the harmony of Ammonius of Alexandria (commonly: Tatian), which is largely built around Matthew and which was edited in Latin by Victor bishop of Capua in 546 CE, because the thread of the story is almost identical, with only a few inversions, while other things are slightly contaminated or just left out.

Schmeller did not support his claim with evidence: the *Heliand's* dependence upon Codex Fuldensis—and, therefore, the Diatessaron—was self-evident.

The first detailed study of this dependence was conducted by another Germanist, E. Windisch, in *Der Heliand und seine Quellen* (1868).<sup>91</sup> The core of the study was a twenty-page chapter titled "Tatian's Evangelienharmonie." Windisch cited and concurred with the conclusion of Schmeller, and offered tables in which he compared the sequence of blocks of text in the *Heliand* with Codex Fuldensis. Windisch identified additional sources used by the *Heliand's* composer (principally medieval commentators, such as Bede), and remarked on the poet's technique of citation (sometimes quite literal; at other times, free). Windisch mentioned in passing two other harmonized "Lives of Jesus," Otfrid's *Krist* and Juvenius' *Historiae Evangelicae libri IV*, but made no attempt to link them with the Diatessaron.

The most thorough treatment of the *Heliand's* sources, and the one which presaged later discoveries, was C.W.M. Grein's 1869 study, *Die Quellen des Heliand. Nebst einem Anhang: Tatians Evangelienharmonie herausgegeben nach dem Codex Cassellanus*.<sup>92</sup> The appendix of his study contained the first edition of Codex Cassellanus, a ninth-century Latin gospel harmony manuscript (Kassel: Landesbibliothek, MS Theol. 31). Codex Cassellanus is closely related to Codex Fuldensis which, *generally speaking*, may be called its archetype. But, as Grein's research would show, while Codex Cassellanus usually follows Codex Fuldensis, it also contains small but significant deviations.

Initially, Grein had set out to discover

ob und wie weit der Dichter des Heliand wirklich die Evangelienharmonie des Tatian (Ammonius ?) und zwar in der lateinischen Uebersetzung des Bischofs Victor von Capua benutzt

<sup>91</sup> Leipzig. The chapter on the Diatessaron occupies pp. 25–45.

<sup>92</sup> Cassel 1869.

oder ob er den Stoff zu seinen Epos selbständig unmittelbar aus den vier Evangelien zusammengestellt habe.<sup>93</sup>

His method was to excise all the gospel citations from the *Heliand*, translate the citations from Old Saxon into Latin (thus reversing what the *Heliand*'s author had done), and then compare the result with the Latin of Codex Fuldensis and Codex Cassellanus. His analysis found that (1) there were many passages in Codex Fuldensis which were *not* used in the *Heliand*; (2) the *Heliand* sometimes rearranged the material from the Latin harmony tradition; (3) the poet had freely adapted Biblical materials; (4) there were verses in the *Heliand* which were *not* in Codex Fuldensis. While none of these suggested dependence, his final point convinced him that the *Heliand* was dependent upon the Diatessaron: he found that (5) "im Grosszen und Ganzen doch die Reihenfolge und die Zusammensetzung der einzelnen Abschnitte des Heliand wesentlichen dieselbe ist wie bei Tatian." This was especially apparent in places where the identical, finely-interwoven "mosaic-like arrangement" was found.<sup>94</sup> With that, Grein provided the definitive proof of the *Heliand*'s dependence upon the Diatessaronic tradition. The *Heliand*'s composer's sources had included a Latin gospel harmony whose text was akin to that known in Codex Fuldensis and the very similar Codex Cassellanus.

For the future of Diatessaronic studies, however, Grein's most significant contribution was to stipulate the precise recension of Latin gospel harmony tradition known to the *Heliand*'s composer. The crucial piece of evidence was the *Heliand*'s reading at line 5931 (the equivalent of John 20.16/17), namely, "*uuelda ina...gripan*" ("wanted/longed to hold Him"). While the read-

<sup>93</sup> Grein, *Quellen*, 1.

<sup>94</sup> Grein, *Quellen*, 60: "mosaikartig zusammengesetzt." He cites 25 such passages: Codex Fuldensis chap. 14 = lines 959-1011 in the *Heliand*; c. 20 = lines 1189-1202; c. 23 = lines 1245-63 and 1268-97; c. 45 = 1838-1915 and 1930-94; c. 55 = 2296-2340; c. 74 = 2622-29; c. 81 = 2820-85 and 2895-2903; c. 108 = 3257-3305; c. 114 = 3518-42; c. 117 = 3543-90; c. 139-140 = 4201-17 (the combination of the two anointing accounts); c. 146 = 4273-88; c. 155 = 4459-86 and 4490-97; c. 157 = 4574-77 and 4580-4936; c. 158-59 = 4636-66, 4670-75, and 4678-4706; c. 163 = 4737-4812; c. 164 = 4812-28, 4833-86, and 4887-4923; c. 166 = 4971-82 and 4985-5011; c. 167 = 5060-87; c. 168 = 5087-5113 and 5116-26; c. 169 = 5126-73; c. 170 = 5176-5251, 5301-03, 5309, and 5314-88; c. 173 = 5566-5637, 5639-73, 5676-80, and 5688-95; c. 174 = 5719-55; c. 176 = 5787-5833 and 5837-79.

ing is known within the canonical tradition (it is found, with minor variants, in Greek MSS  $\aleph^1$   $\Theta$   $\Psi$  13 346 1093 1195\* 1230 1820 2145, Vulgate MSS D E *gat*, and, among the Eastern Versions, Syr<sup>s.h</sup> Geo<sup>Op.Tb.Sin</sup>), it is *not* found in Codex Fuldensis. Codex Cassellanus, however, in one of its many minor deviations from the text of Codex Fuldensis, offers the reading: it interpolated "*occurrit, ut tangeret eum*" ("she ran, in order to touch him") between John 20.16/17.<sup>95</sup> The difference between the two manuscripts suggested that the Diatessaron had existed in at least two recensions in Latin. One—without the interpolation—was preserved in Codex Fuldensis; the other—with the interpolation—was preserved in Codex Cassellanus.

Since Grein had already established that the *Heliand* was dependent upon a harmonized Latin gospel tradition, he discounted the possibility that the *Heliand's* composer had taken the reading from the separate gospel tradition. Instead, he concluded that the *Heliand's* composer had taken it from a source he was already using, namely, a Latin gospel harmony whose text was similar to that found in Codex Cassellanus.<sup>96</sup>

Grein's work is noteworthy for two reasons. First, his method—isolating all the gospel citations and then comparing them with other Diatessaronic witnesses—was the most sophisticated and rigorous form of analysis yet employed. Rather than citing just a reading or two, he conducted a comprehensive textual investigation. His conclusion that the *Heliand* was dependent upon a Latin gospel harmony ultimately attributable to Tatian therefore engenders confidence.

Second, Grein's discovery that the *Heliand* possessed a variant reading<sup>97</sup> and a sequence which conformed more closely to Codex Cassellanus than to Codex Fuldensis laid the groundwork for future research into the Western harmonized tradition. Although he did not draw any conclusions from his discovery, it nevertheless proved that there were differences

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<sup>95</sup> Grein, *Quellen*, 49. This reading has been studied by Tj. Baarda, "Jesus and Mary (John 20, 16f.) in the Second Epistle on Virginity ascribed to Clement," in *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments, Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Heinrich Greeven*, ed. W. Schrage, BZNW 47 (Berlin 1986), 11–34, esp. 27–32.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 61, 128.

<sup>97</sup> The variant at John 20.16/17 noted by Grein appears to be the only variant where Codex Cassellanus agrees with the *Heliand* against Codex Fuldensis; there are, however, numerous readings where Codex Fuldensis, Codex Cassellanus, and the *Heliand* all agree with each other, but against the Vulgate.

among the Latin harmony manuscripts. They were not all clones of Codex Fuldensis.

Although Grein's work elicited comment among Germanists, it was not noticed by the world of Diatessaronic scholarship, probably because he was an Old Saxonist, not a *Patristiker* or New Testament textual critic. The shared phenomena which Grein observed in the *Heliand* and Codex Cassellanus (*i.e.*, identical variant readings—indeed, the same variant reading at John 20.16/17—and sequences of harmonization) would soon be found in other Diatessaronic witnesses as well. The implications for the transmission history of the Western Diatessaronic tradition would be revolutionary.

#### OSKAR SCHADE

In 1872 this German lexicographer began publication of his *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*. In its preface, Schade remarked that "Ein anderes nicht unwichtiges Resultat hat die wiederholte Arbeit am Wörterbuche eingebracht für die althochdeutsche Übersetzung des Tatian," namely, Codex Sangallensis.<sup>98</sup> As noted previously, its Old High German column is the most extensive and second-oldest gospel text in German; quite naturally it was of immense importance to lexicographers. In studying the Old High German and Latin columns of Codex Sangallensis to determine Old High German vocabulary, grammar, and syntax, Schade noted numerous disagreements between the two columns. Even stranger was the fact that when the Old High German parted company with its neighbouring Latin column (which, recall, was presumed dependent upon Codex Fuldensis, and, hence, the Vulgate), it often agreed with *Vetus Latina* manuscripts.

Citing unpublished data collected by his student, H. Wengoborski,<sup>99</sup> Schade asserted that in

mehr als 100 stellen war es ausser Zweifel gestellt, dass die Vorlage des althochdeutschen Übersetzers nicht der in der Handschrift daneben stehnde [*sic*] lateinische Text gewesen sein konnte,

<sup>98</sup> O. Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*, I (Halle 1872), p. xviii.

<sup>99</sup> Wengoborski was from Lyck, and wrote the paper for a "Preisfrage" at the University of Königsberg; although never published, it is possible that the manuscript might still reside in that University's library.



auch nicht der codex Fuldensis, sondern ein anderer Text, der viele Lesarten der alten Itala hatte.<sup>100</sup>

Schade provided only one specific example, at Matt 13.33. In this verse, the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis read “*gibirgit in mēlewe thrin satilûn*” (“she hid in meal three measures”; a dative). This presumed a Latin base which read: “*abscondit in farina satis tribus*,” an ablative, or “*in farinam*,” an accusative. But Codex Sangallensis’ Latin column read: “*abscondit in farinae satis tribus*” (“she hid in three measures of meal”; a genitive). Now, although this Latin column of Codex Sangallensis agrees not only with Codex Fuldensis, but also with Old Latin codices *aur* [f] l π and the Vulgate, it is clear that none of these could have generated the reading of the manuscript’s Old High German column. But Schade noted that Vetus Latina MSS *a b c d ff<sup>2</sup> h q* read “*abscondit in farinam mensuris tribus*” (“she hid in meal three measures”; an accusative), and MSS *ff<sup>1</sup> g<sup>1</sup> k e* read an ablative: “*abscondit in farina satis tribus*”. Here in the Old Latin was the reading which lay behind the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis—and it was not the reading of Codex Fuldensis or the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis.<sup>101</sup> Since the time of Schade, scholarship has logged many other examples, among which are:

(1) at Matt 5.33, the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis reads “*domino*” (“Lord”), while the Old High German column reads “*gote*” (“god”). The Old High German column agrees with Vetus Latina MS *c* (“*Deo*”), along with other Diatessaronic witnesses which we will meet later: the Liège and Stuttgart Harmonies in Middle Dutch (“*gode*”), and a Middle High German Harmony (Munich: Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 532);<sup>102</sup>

(2) at Matt 17.10, the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis reads “*discipuli*” (“disciples”), while the Old High German column reads “*sina iungeron*” (“his disciples”), in agreement with Vetus Latina MSS *f ff<sup>2</sup> q δ*, Vulgate MS R, two Latin harmonies in Munich (Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 23 977 and Clm. 10 025) (“*discipuli eius*”), the Curetonian Syriac (Syr<sup>c</sup>), the Peshitta (Syr<sup>p</sup>), and Greek Codex Bezae (D);<sup>103</sup>

(3) at Matt 21.17, the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis reads

<sup>100</sup> Schade, *Altdeutsches*, p. xix.

<sup>101</sup> This reading is also logged by A. Baumstark and J. Rathofer, *Die Vorlage des althochdeutschen Tatian*, NDS 12 (Graz 1964), 58.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

"*in Bethaniam*" ("in Bethany"), while the Old High German column reads "*in stat thiū Bethania heizit*" ("in that village that is called Bethany"), in agreement with the Middle Dutch Liège and Stuttgart Harmonies ("*in en dorp dat hett bethanisa*": "in a village that is called Bethanisa"), a Middle High German harmony (Munich Cgm. 532), and the Arabic gospel translation of Isaac of Velasquez.<sup>104</sup>

Like Grein before him, Schade observed discrepancies between the Vulgate's allies (such as Codex Fuldensis or the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis) and a vernacular harmony (in this case, the Old High German). But unlike Grein, Schade was able to stipulate the textual character of the source from which the Old High German harmony had been translated: he was the first to assert that it had been *Vetus Latina* (Old Latin). His conclusion—that the "Vorlage" of the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis was neither its neighboring Latin column, nor Codex Fuldensis, but some other, unknown codex whose text had been *Vetus Latina* (not Vulgate) in character, but whose sequence was nevertheless virtually identical with Codex Fuldensis' sequence—was also a first. Although it did not receive the attention it deserved, this deduction, based on empirical evidence, is one of the most important discoveries in the history of Diatessaronic studies. Today it constitutes the basis for all current research into the Western witnesses.

It must be pointed out that Schade's conclusion was an extension of J.C. Zahn's observation that Codex Fuldensis had been corrupted by the interpolation of Luke 1.1–4 at its beginning, while many other Western harmonies still began with John 1.1 (as did the Arabic Harmony). Schade's work was also an extension of Grein's observation that the *Heliand's* text was closer to that of Codex Cassellanus than Codex Fuldensis, which implied that although based on Codex Fuldensis, Codex Cassellanus was privy to another textual tradition as well. Schade, however, appears unaware of these earlier discoveries, probably because he was a Germanist, while Zahn was a pastor with an interest in New Testament studies, and Grein was an Old Saxonist.

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<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

## EDUARD SIEVERS

It is one of the ironies of scholarship that Schade's name rarely occurs in subsequent literature. The reason is that his views were dismissed by the famous Germanist Eduard Sievers, who published an edition of Codex Sangallensis in 1872 (the second edition of 1892 is the standard for citation).<sup>105</sup> Even though his arguments were purely rhetorical, Siever's opinions regarding the origins of Codex Sangallensis and its text-type (he called it Vulgate) were received as authoritative:

Mit dem Codex Fuldensis, der Stammhandschrift aller erhaltenen lateinischen Tatiancodices, berührt sich wiederum die St. Galler Handschrift aufs innigste. Die wenigen Abweichungen sind geringfügig und fast bedeutungslos. Der deutsche Text aber folgt wieder dem lateinischen im Wesentlichen [*sic*] genau, zum Teil sogar in sklavisch undeutscher Weise, je nach der Geschicklichkeit des jeweiligen Uebersetzers. Es ist also nur natürlich, anzunehmen dass der deutsche Text wirklich aus dem lateinischen Texte geflossen sei, der ihm zur Seite steht und der seinerseits mit den Texten aller andern Tatiancodices schon deswegen übereinstimmt, weil diese eben alle den aus der Vulgata mosaikartig zusammengesetzten Text des Fuldensis bzw. des Victor von Capua widerholen.<sup>106</sup>

Sievers began with the *idée fixe* that Codex Fuldensis was the "Stammhandschrift" of *all* of the *known* Latin gospel harmonies. From this assumption he proceeded to pronounce all variants in Codex Sangallensis' Latin column "geringfügig und fast bedeutungslos." As for the Old High German column, Sievers asserted that it "slavishly" followed its neighbouring Latin column. His evidence? It was "nur natürlich," since the two columns were side by side. Sievers mentioned Schade's conclusion in a single sentence and rejected it with another rhetorical argument: "Das [Schade's lost "Old Latin" Tatian codex] könnte dann kaum ein Tatiancodex gewesen sein, weil eben Tatiancodices auf Grund eines Italatextes nicht existieren."<sup>107</sup> Indeed, they do *not* exist. But *one* reasonable way to account for the Vetus Latina readings in the Old High German column was to do what Schade had done: assume that *at one time* a Vetus Latina harmony *had existed*. Sievers,

<sup>105</sup> E. Sievers, ed., *Tatian, Lateinisch und altdeutsch*, BADLD 5 (Paderborn 1892<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>106</sup> Sievers, pp. xviii–xix.

<sup>107</sup> Sievers, p. xix.

however, opted for an alternative<sup>108</sup> explanation of the Vetus Latina readings. They were the result of the “freedom” the translator exercised in the course of his activity. It was impossible to accept Schade’s position, said Sievers, for then “blieben die technischen Verschiedenheiten der Uebersetzungskunst, die sich in verschiedenen Teilen der Harmonie deutlich zeigen, ganz unverständlich.”<sup>109</sup> Despite the fact that Schade stated there were over one hundred places where the “variant” readings in the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis agreed with the Vetus Latina, and had adduced one, Sievers regarded these agreements as the result of chance, the product of “Uebersetzungskunst.”

For half a century Sievers’ judgement—although contradicted by *empirical* evidence—was the accepted wisdom regarding the Western vernacular harmonies. His position is still held by a few scholars.<sup>110</sup>

EPHREM SYRUS’ COMMENTARY ON  
THE CONCORDANT GOSPEL  
(ARMENIAN VERSION)<sup>111</sup>

Ephrem the Syrian is the most important personage in the history of early Syrian Christianity. A tireless defender of orthodoxy, Ephrem penned metrical sermons and hymns as well as prose works in which he attacked Bardaisanites, Marcionites, and Manichaeans. He was probably born about 306, and died in 373. Moving from Nisibis to Edessa in 363, Ephrem stood at the centre of Syrian Christianity. His metrical writings mark the acme of Syrian hymnography, and appear to have been the inspiration for the Greek *kontakion*, the complex hymnic form which is the jewel of Byzantine poetry.<sup>112</sup> In addition to

<sup>108</sup> It is interesting that Sievers does not even opt for influence from the Vetus Latina (*i.e.*, separate gospel) manuscripts on Codex Sangallensis (clearly a possibility!), but—perhaps under the influence of Romanticism?—opts for the “art” of a “creative” translator.

<sup>109</sup> Sievers, p. xix.

<sup>110</sup> See *infra*, under “Critics of Quispel,” 281–292.

<sup>111</sup> Editio princeps: ՄԵԼԻՆՈՒԹԻՆԻ ԱԼԵՍԱՐԱՆԻ ՀԱՄԵՐԱՐԲԱՆ զՈՐ ԱՐԱՐԵԱԼ Է ՏԵԱՆԸ ԵՓՐԵՄԻ ԽՈՐԻՆ ՍՈՐԵԼՅ (Venice 1836); Vol. 2 of ՍՐԵՄԻ ԵՓՐԵՄԻ ՄԱՍԵՆԱԳՐՈՒԹԻՆԵՐ, Latin translation: *Evangelii concordantis expositio*, translated by I.B. Aucher, revised and with notes by G. Moesinger (Venetiis 1876). The standard modern edition is that of L. Leloir, *Saint Ephrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, version arménienne*, CSCO 137 (text) and 145 (Latin translation) (Louvain 1953, 1954).

<sup>112</sup> See W.L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos*

citing the gospels in his hymns (his literary output is said to have exceeded 3,000,000 lines of text<sup>113</sup>), Ephrem also wrote a *Commentary on the Concordant Gospel*, that is, the Diatessaron.<sup>114</sup> Louis Leloir properly suggests it was written in his Edessene period,<sup>115</sup> and correctly calls it “la plus importante des oeuvres exégétiques d’Éphrem.”<sup>116</sup> The *Commentary* is one of the leading witnesses to the text of the Diatessaron; it is also important as evidence for the Diatessaron’s stature among orthodox Christians in Edessa after the middle of the fourth century.

For those unaware of the early work by J.C. Zahn, Grein, and Schade, Diatessaronic studies seem to commence with the publication of a Latin translation of the Armenian version of Ephrem’s *Commentary*. Originally made by J.-B. Aucher and apparently completed by 1841, it was intended to complement his edition of the Armenian text (then known through a single MS, “A”), which had been published in 1836.<sup>117</sup> However, while that edition was *sous presse*, a second Armenian manuscript (MS “B”) was discovered. Aucher delayed publication of his translation, probably hoping to incorporate readings from the new manuscript. After his death in 1854, the still-unpublished translation was entrusted to Prof. G. Moesinger of Salzburg, whose revised translation, incorporating readings from MS B, appeared in 1876.<sup>118</sup>

Both Armenian manuscripts of the *Commentary* are, curiously enough, dated 1195. MS B, written in the hand of Nerses Lampronensis himself, appears to have been subject to more

the *Melodist*, CSCO 475 [Subsidia 74] (Louvain 1985), 1–19; 169–197.

<sup>113</sup> So Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, III.16 (Migne PG 67, 1088). On Ephrem’s biography, see A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922), 31–53; also J.H. Hill, *A Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of S. Ephraem the Syrian* (Edinburgh 1896), 1–7.

<sup>114</sup> Cp. *supra*, 37–39 on the conjectured title of the Syriac and the translation of the Armenian title of Ephrem’s *Commentary*.

<sup>115</sup> L. Leloir, *Éphrem de Nisibe, Commentaire de l’Évangile concordant ou Diatessaron*, SC 121 (Paris 1966), 25.

<sup>116</sup> L. Leloir, *Doctrines et méthodes d’Éphrem d’après les oeuvres éditées*, CSCO 220 [Subsidia 18] (Louvain 1961), 40.

<sup>117</sup> See *supra*, p. 114, n. 111.

<sup>118</sup> For the history of publication, see H. Hill, *A Dissertation*, 4–5. Aucher’s edition of 1836 was known to scholarship, but access to its Armenian text was limited to the handful of scholars competent in that language. While his Latin translation of 1876 made the *Commentary* accessible to scholars in general, it still attracted little attention. For example, J.B. Lightfoot, *Essays on the Work entitled Supernatural Religion* [London 1889], 287–88, remarks that although the 1876 Aucher/Moesinger translation had been published when his essay “Tatian’s Diatessaron” appeared in the May, 1877 *Contemporary Review*, “it was not known in England till some years after.”

extensive Vulgatization than MS A.<sup>119</sup> The attribution of the work to Ephrem was confirmed by two facts. First, there were agreements in textual variants, exegesis, and style with the known Syriac works of Ephrem (hymns and sermons) as published by the cousins Assemani.<sup>120</sup> Second, several later Syriac authors state that Ephrem wrote a commentary on the Diatessaron.<sup>121</sup> In the preface to his translation, Moesinger concluded that the *Commentary* was indeed composed upon the text of the Diatessaron because of (1) the harmonizations found in the lemmata, (2) their deviation from both the Peshitta and Curetonian Syriac, (3) the fact that the text being commented upon began with John 1.1 (agreeing with Dionysius bar Salibi's description of the Diatessaron), and apparently (4) omitted the genealogies (agreeing with Theodoret of Cyrrhus' description of the Diatessaron).<sup>122</sup> Scholarship correctly concluded that it possessed a document which came from a man (or the school of a man) who had firsthand knowledge of the Diatessaron, and who had used it in the fourth century in Syriac. The superiority of such a witness to Codex Fuldensis (a sixth-century, almost totally Vulgatized Latin manuscript) was self-evident.

Ephrem's *Commentary* remains the premier witness to the text of the Diatessaron. A Syriac manuscript of the *Commentary* was discovered in the early 1950s, and purchased by Sir Chester Beatty in 1957. Subsequently, additional Syriac folios and fragments have been found.<sup>123</sup> Unlike the Armenian manuscripts, the Syriac manuscript is not complete. Nevertheless, it serves two crucial functions by, first, providing portions of the Diatessaron's text (the lemmata and quotations in the *Commentary*) in the original Syriac, and, second, permitting one to

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<sup>119</sup> So V.F. Büchner, "Zu einer Stelle der armenischen Übersetzung von Ephrem Syrus' Diatessaron-Kommentar," *HA* 41 (1927), 685–88; idem, "Some Remarks on the Tradition of the Armenian Translation of Ephrem Syrus' Commentary on the Diatessaron," *BBC* 5 (1928), 34–36. The most recent editor, L. Leloir, agrees: *Saint Ephrem, Commentaire . . . , version arménienne*, CSCO 137 [Armen. 1], pp. vii–viii. The manuscripts are described *infra*, 451. On "Vulgatization," see *infra*, 127–128.

<sup>120</sup> *Sancti Patris Nostri Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia quae exstant Graece, Syriace, Latine*, edd. J.S. Assemani, P. Mobarek and S.E. Assemani, 6 vols. (Romae 1737–46). The subsequent appearance of Th. Lamy's more critical edition, *Sancti Ephraem Syri, Hymni et Sermones*, 4 vols. (Mechliniae 1882–1902), only confirmed and strengthened the conclusions drawn on the basis of the earlier edition.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. *supra*, 52, 57, 59, 63.

<sup>122</sup> *Evangelii concordantis*, pp. vi–x.

<sup>123</sup> The Syriac version is discussed *infra*, 314–318.

check the accuracy of the Armenian translation. Comparison shows that the Armenian is, on the whole, a quite accurate—but not perfectly literal—rendering of the Syriac original.<sup>124</sup>

The value of the *Commentary* is, however, mitigated by its genre. Like any commentary, not every passage in the work commented upon—in this case, the Diatessaron—is cited. Hence, the argument that a given pericope was not in the Diatessaron *because* it is not in the *Commentary* is a *non sequitur*.<sup>125</sup> Another limitation is the fact that the *Commentary* contains both allusions and quotations; sometimes it is impossible to be certain which lies before one. Even when it is evident that the passage is a genuine quotation, one must still delimit it from the surrounding commentary material. This can be problematic. Finally, although the *Commentary* is our most reliable and one of the earliest (by date of authorship) Diatessaronic witnesses, one must be cautious about accepting all its readings as genuinely Diatessaronic. When corroborated by another Diatessaronic witness, a reading in the *Commentary* may be Diatessaronic; however, when a reading *cannot* be verified in other Diatessaronic sources, caution must be exercised, for textual dissimilarities between the Armenian and Syriac versions prove that the *Commentary* has undergone revision.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, while the reading might be Diatessaronic, it might also be a non-Diatessaronic variant which has crept into the *Commentary*. These *caveats*, however, emerged only gradually from the crucible of academic study and debate.

ADOLF VON HARNACK

Among the first to offer an appraisal of the value of Ephrem's Armenian *Commentary* was a young professor in Giessen named

<sup>124</sup> So L. Leloir, *Éphrem de Nisibe, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant ou Diatessaron*, SC 121 (Paris 1966), 28–29, who has edited both. He points out, however, that each has been transmitted independently from a very early date.

<sup>125</sup> Such arguments have been made by many scholars: see the passages cited *supra*, 81–82.

<sup>126</sup> Certain passages occur in one version, but not in the other. Depending on how one views them, they are either omissions or interpolations. For a list of the disagreements, see L. Leloir, "Divergences entre l'original syriaque et la version arménienne du commentaire d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, Vol. II, première partie, StT 232 (Città del Vaticano 1964), 303–31; for a discussion and examples, see W.L. Petersen, "Some Remarks on the Integrity of Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron," *StPatr* 20 (Louvain 1989), 197–202; cf. *infra*, 222.

Harnack. On 26 February 1881, he published a thirty-four page review of the Aucher/Moesinger translation.<sup>127</sup> It is noteworthy for its grasp of the unique window the Diatessaron opens on the second-century gospels and primitive Christianity. A year later he devoted a section in his *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des 2. Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter*<sup>128</sup> to Tatian, the *Oratio*, and the Diatessaron.

Citing the observation of Dionysius bar Salibi that the Diatessaron began with John 1.1, Harnack noted that the *Commentary* began its gospel citations with the same verse.<sup>129</sup> He drew a further comparison between Theodoret of Cyrrhus' statement that the Diatessaron lacked the genealogies and the fact that these were also omitted in the *Commentary*.<sup>130</sup> We have already cautioned that an argument based upon what is *lacking* from the *Commentary* is, as an argument *e silentio*, inherently suspect; nevertheless, the omission is generally acknowledged to have been a feature of the Diatessaron. From these two pieces of evidence, Harnack concluded that the Armenian version of the *Commentary* presented "die Reihenfolge und die Verarbeitung der evangelischen Perikopen." This allowed one "auf den griechischen Tatian einfach zurückzuführen."<sup>131</sup> Supporting a Greek original, Harnack adduced the following arguments: (1) all of the known works of Tatian are in Greek; (2) in none of these does he display a knowledge of Syriac; (3) a Greek recension of the Diatessaron must have existed, to account for the gloss in Greek canonical MS 72 (the interpolation of the lance thrust [from John 19.34] at Matt 27.49/50, *before* Jesus' death);<sup>132</sup> (4) had the Diatessaron been written in Syriac, Eusebius would have remarked on the fact;<sup>133</sup> (5) Tatian gave the work a Greek name, from which Harnack inferred that the composition itself was in Greek.<sup>134</sup> Nevertheless, Harnack acknowledged that the Diatessaron had been translated into Syriac at a very early date: "sie wird vielleicht sogar früher gemacht worden sein als die der vollständigen Evange-

<sup>127</sup> "Tatian's Diatessaron und Marcion's Commentar zum Evangelium bei Ephraem Syrus," *ZKG* 4 (1881), 471–505.

<sup>128</sup> TU 1.1–2 (Leipzig 1882). The section on Tatian is pp. 196–232.

<sup>129</sup> Harnack, "Tatian's Diatessaron," 472, 476; Dionysius bar Salibi's citation is reproduced *supra*, 59.

<sup>130</sup> Theodoret's statement is reproduced *supra*, 41–42.

<sup>131</sup> Harnack, 475.

<sup>132</sup> The gloss was presented *supra*, 58.

<sup>133</sup> Harnack, "Tatian's Diatessaron," 494.

<sup>134</sup> A. Harnack, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten*, 214–15.



lienschriften."<sup>135</sup> With this, Harnack appears to be the first to suggest that the form in which the gospels made their debut in Syriac was a Diatessaron. He suggested that Tatian himself might have taken the Diatessaron East with him after his expulsion from the Roman church.<sup>136</sup>

Fixing a date and location for the composition of the Diatessaron is difficult, and Harnack could only offer estimates. Since the Western Fathers knew the *Oratio* but not the Diatessaron, he reasoned that the Diatessaron was later than the *Oratio*. And since the *Oratio* was regarded as "orthodox" by Irenaeus, it could not be placed too late in Tatian's life (*viz.*, after his lapse into heresy). Nevertheless, Harnack felt that the *Oratio* was written after Tatian left Rome. If the Diatessaron were written after the *Oratio*, then the Diatessaron must also have been written outside Rome, "im Orient." But if the Diatessaron were authored after Tatian's lapse into "gnosticism," then it should show gnostic tendencies. Since it did not, Harnack concluded that it was written between the *Oratio* and Tatian's fall into heresy: between *c.* 155 and *c.* 175.<sup>137</sup>

Harnack went on to describe certain features of the Diatessaron as best he could discern them through the medium of the *Commentary*. First, he concluded that the Diatessaron was "eine völlig In-Eins-Bildung der vier kanonischen Evangelien." Harnack was the first writer to call attention to the consummate skill of the harmonization: the single narrative was so subtly constructed from the sources that the sutures were virtually undetectable. The entire text of all four gospels was not incorporated into the harmony, said Harnack; the Diatessaron was, rather, an epitome, "ein verhältnismässig kurzes Buch." Second, he noticed the omission of the ascension. Third, although all four canonical gospels were incorporated, the chronology followed the Synoptics: Jesus' ministry lasted only one year. Fourth, Harnack pointed out that Theodoret of Cyrrhus said the Diatessaron omitted passages which made Jesus a descendant of David;<sup>138</sup> when Harnack investigated these passages in the *Commentary*, he found the vast majority of them omitted or modified.<sup>139</sup> Similarly, pas-

<sup>135</sup> Harnack, "Tatian's Diatessaron," 494.

<sup>136</sup> Harnack, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten*, p. 226, n. 289.

<sup>137</sup> Harnack, "Tatian's Diatessaron," 492-94.

<sup>138</sup> Reproduced *supra*, 41-42.

<sup>139</sup> He noted the omission from the *Commentary* of: Matt 9.27; 12.23; 22.42f.; Luke 1.27; 1.69; 2.4; John 7.42 (and parallels). Matt 1.20; 15.22; Luke 2.11

sages depicting Jesus as the Saviour of Israel were, with one exception (at Matt 10.6), absent. Furthermore, five verses omitted the word "Israel."<sup>140</sup> Harnack concluded that although not anti-Jewish or anti-nomian to the extent of Marcion, Tatian nevertheless excised certain passages which linked Jesus with Judaism—an observation which finds currency today.<sup>141</sup> Fifth, although he did not use them to create any textual theory, Harnack noted certain textual affinities between the text of the *Commentary* and particular witnesses to the New Testament gospel text. He also observed that Ephrem, independent from his Diatessaronic quotations in the *Commentary*, sometimes quoted Marcion's version of a text.<sup>142</sup> Harnack disputed Moesinger's observation that the *Commentary*'s gospel text was closer to the Curetonian Syriac (Syr<sup>c</sup>) than the later Peshitta (Syr<sup>p</sup>),<sup>143</sup> pointing out that the disagreements between the *Commentary* and Syr<sup>c</sup> were "keine geringe"; as an example, he noted that Syr<sup>c</sup> included the genealogies.<sup>144</sup> Although Harnack recognized the need for an investigation into the relationship of the *Commentary*'s text with, on the one hand, the Syriac versions and, on the other hand, the Old Latin versions and Codex Fuldensis, he made no attempt to conduct one.

Today, many of the positions Harnack took are discounted. Some of his arguments—such as citing the presence of the genealogies in Syr<sup>c</sup> as grounds for rejecting a close textual relationship between it and the *Commentary*—betray the naïveté of a discipline still young. His conclusion that the Diatessaron antedates the Vetus Syra is, however, accepted.

Harnack's chief contribution was to bring the Diatessaron

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are all cited *without* "David." Luke 1.27 and 1.32 are, however, given *with* "David."

<sup>140</sup> Matt 10.23, 15.24; Luke 2.32, 34; John 1.49.

<sup>141</sup> Suspicions of anti-Jewish sentiments in the Diatessaron have been voiced by H.J. Vogels, *Handbuch der neutestamentlichen Textkritik* (Münster 1923), 200–01; J.R. Harris, "Was the Diatessaron Anti-Judaic," *HThR* 18 (1925) 103–09; A. Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, PETSE 6 (Stockholm 1954), 18–19.

<sup>142</sup> Harnack, "Tatian's Diatessaron," 499–505.

<sup>143</sup> G. Moesinger, *Evangelii concordantis*, p. ix: "Denique textus Evangelii, quem s. Ephraemus in hoc opere explicat, communiter a textu versionis Syriacae, quam Peschito vocant, differunt et cum textu evangelii Syriaci consonat, quod Curetonus edidit, et versione Peschito antiquius recte asserit." ("Finally, the text of the Gospel which St. Ephrem explains in this work, differs in common from the text of the Syriac version called Peshitto, and agrees with the text of the Syriac gospel which Cureton edited, and which he correctly claims is older than the Peshitto version.")

<sup>144</sup> Harnack, "Tatian's Diatessaron," 488.

to the forefront of early church and gospel research. "Durch Zusammenstellung dieser drei Zeugen [*viz.*, the Diatessaron and the gospel citations of Justin and Marcion] wird eine Einsicht in den Text der synoptischen Evangelien, wie er zwischen den Jahren 130 und 170 gelesen wurde, eröffnet werden."<sup>145</sup> Harnack's observation remains as true today as it was a century ago, when he became the first to grasp the Diatessaron's importance for recovering the earliest gospel text.

THEODOR ZAHN

APHRAHAT

MUNICH, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, MSS  
CLM. 10 025 AND CGM. 532

LEIPZIG, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK,  
COD. GERM. 34 M.S.

The influence of Theodor Zahn upon Diatessaronic studies was immense during his lifetime, and remains so today. His contributions were numerous, his investigations detailed and nuanced. Diatessaronic studies provided the perfect area in which a scholar of Zahn's vast erudition might exercise his powers.

His first contribution was in a short article in 1877, which noted that

... Aphraates in den Jahren 337 und 344 aus diesem Diatessaron seine zahlreichen und in mancher Hinsicht so auffälligen Evangelienzitate gewiss auch seine ganze Harmonistik und evangelische Chronologie hat.<sup>146</sup>

As evidence, Zahn cited Aphrahat's statement that "the gospel of our Saviour" began with: "In the beginning was the word" (*Dem.* I.10).<sup>147</sup> With this, Zahn became the first scholar to adduce Aphrahat as a witness to the Diatessaron.

In 1881 (the same year as Harnack's review of the Aucher/Moesinger translation of the Armenian of Ephrem's *Commentary*), Zahn launched his *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neuteamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur* with a vol-

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 492.

<sup>146</sup> Th. Zahn, review of G. Phillips' *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle...*, in *GGA* sans num. (1877), 183-84.

<sup>147</sup> The citation is reproduced *supra*, 45-46.

ume titled *Tatian's Diatessaron*.<sup>148</sup> Although a century old, it remains one of the best studies of the Diatessaron. Almost four hundred pages in length, Zahn's study had obviously been in preparation for some years prior to publication. About 100 pages were devoted to a reconstruction of the Diatessaron's text, based on the gospel citations from the newly-published Latin translation of the Armenian version of Ephrem's *Commentary*, supplemented by Zahn's notes, which contained all the Patristic and manuscript parallels he could muster; many connoisseurs regard this reconstruction as unsurpassed.<sup>149</sup>

Since the *Commentary* was the principal Diatessaronic witness in his day, Zahn concentrated his analysis on its text. He grouped its readings into five categories: (1) 28 passages where the *Commentary* agreed with William Cureton's Vetus Syra manuscript (Syr<sup>c</sup>) against all other witnesses; (2) 14 passages where the *Commentary* agreed with Syr<sup>c</sup> and Western (here not meant text-critically, but simply geographically: Latin, Greek, African) sources, but against the Peshitta; (3) 14 (of the many) passages where the *Commentary* agreed with Syr<sup>c</sup> against Syr<sup>p</sup> (Zahn himself admitted difficulty in distinguishing these readings from those in category #1; here he tried to place only readings which he deemed translational variants; in #1 he tried to place real textual variants); (4) 13 instances where the *Commentary* and the Peshitta (Syr<sup>p</sup>) agreed against Syr<sup>c</sup>; and (5) 52 places where the *Commentary*'s text was against both Syr<sup>c</sup> and Syr<sup>p</sup>, thus showing independence from them, and sometimes (but not in all cases) showing agreement with the Greek.<sup>150</sup>

This was a confusing matrix, especially in Zahn's time, when many discoveries (e.g., Syr<sup>s</sup>; the NT papyri) still lay in the future. Working with the evidence he amassed, Zahn concluded two things: first, that the Diatessaron had a close relationship with the Syriac versions, especially with Cureton's manuscript of the Vetus Syra, Syr<sup>c</sup>;<sup>151</sup> second, that the compiler of the Diatessaron had—independent of both Syriac versions (Syr<sup>c,p</sup>)—

<sup>148</sup> FGKN 1 (Erlangen 1881).

<sup>149</sup> Tj. Baarda is of this opinion; see his "A Staff Only, Not a Stick. Disharmony of the Gospels and the Harmony of Tatian (Matthew 10.9f; Mark 6.8f; Luke 9.3 & 10.4)," *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, ed. J.-M. Savin, *BETHL* 86 (Louvain 1989), 312–13.

<sup>150</sup> Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 225–32.

<sup>151</sup> Examples are Matt 4.15, where the Greek and the Peshitta read "the Jordan," but the *Commentary* and Syr<sup>c</sup> read "the Jordan river." At Matt 1.25, the Greek and the Peshitta read: "did not know her," while Ephrem's *Commentary* and Syr<sup>c</sup> read: "lived in purity with her."

knowledge of the Greek gospels, as demonstrated by the 52 readings in his category #5.<sup>152</sup> Zahn saw two possibilities to explain these data. Either the compiler of the Diatessaron used the Syriac versions, from which he took over their readings, or the Diatessaron was, as Harnack opined, older than the Curetonian version. In this latter case, common readings originated in the Diatessaron, whence they spread to the Syriac versions. In choosing between these two possibilities, Zahn acknowledged the tentativeness of his decision, and the difficulties he had faced in reaching it. But given the similarities between Syr<sup>c</sup> and the *Commentary*'s text, and the relationship these implied, Zahn felt compelled to conclude that the Diatessaron must be later than the Vetus Syra. His reasoning was "dass niemals auf Grund einer Evangelienharmonie eine vollständige Evangelienübersetzung entstanden ist. Es liegt in der Natur der Sache."<sup>153</sup> In order to recreate the separate gospels, one would have to undertake the enormous task of dissecting the harmony into its component gospels, and then restore each of the resulting four piles of pericopes to its proper order. Even then, since the Diatessaron did not contain every verse of each gospel, the creator of the Vetus Syra would still have to resort to other sources to reconstitute the separate gospels. In short, the labour would have far outweighed the reward. Zahn surmised it was more likely that the Diatessaron stood chronologically and textually between the Curetonian Syriac and the Peshitta. As evidence, he pointed to the degree of (what would later be known as) "Vulgatization" to which each had been subjected: the Curetonian Syriac seemed, to Zahn, the most distant from the text found in Greek manuscripts; therefore, it was earlier than the Peshitta. The Peshitta was the closest to the Greek; consequently, it was later than the Curetonian Syriac. As the readings in Zahn's category #5 (agreements between the *Commentary* and non-Syriac manuscripts) showed, the Diatessaron evidenced more contact with the (geographically) Western traditions than Curetonianus, yet less than the Peshitta. This indicated, in Zahn's opinion, the direction of migration of readings common to Syr<sup>c</sup> and the *Commentary*: they had come from the former into the latter.

<sup>152</sup> Examples are: John 9.7: interpolate "your face" after "wash" with the Egyptian versions, and the similar variant "oculos tuos," in the Vetus Latina MS *e*, part of the *afra* group; John 11.14, where the *Commentary* and Codex Bezae (D) are the only witnesses to interpolate "our friend" after "Lazarus."

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 233.

Had the movement been in the opposite direction, then, reasoned Zahn, the text of the *Commentary* would have had fewer readings in common with the (geographically) Western manuscripts. (Later, Zahn modified this position, and gave priority to the Diatessaron: see *infra*, 133, and 139–140.)

Zahn's solution of the matter of priority also settled the question of the original language of the Diatessaron. Since it had used readings from Curetonianus, the Diatessaron must have been "von Haus aus ein syrisches Buch."<sup>154</sup> According to Zahn's scenario, the compiler had employed both the Curetonian Syriac as well as the Greek gospels when creating the harmony. The consequence of such a scenario was, of course, composition of the Diatessaron in a region where the Curetonian Syriac version was available. Zahn chose Mesopotamia, and suggested a date *c.* 172.<sup>155</sup> By opting for Syriac as the Diatessaron's original language and suggesting that it was dependent upon the separate Syriac gospels, Zahn challenged two of Harnack's positions.

Anticipating work which he would publish in 1894, Zahn included a chapter on "Nachbildungen in anderen Sprachen." He studied the translations (by Akerblåd, and also by Rosenmüller) of the *incipit* of the Arabic Harmony printed by J.C. Zahn, and concluded that the Arabic was "keine wörtliche Uebersetzung des syrischen Diatessaron."<sup>156</sup>

Another first was Zahn's treatment of Codex Fuldensis. Of course he pointed out its by-then-well-known relationship to the Diatessaron, and provided an extended analysis of agreements in readings and sequence.<sup>157</sup> Latin Codex Fuldensis, suggested Zahn, was probably dependent upon a Greek intermediary translation from the Syriac original, but he later went on to speculate—and this is significant—that "es gibt auch keine ausreichenden Gründe zu der Annahme, dass die Vorlage des lateinischen Harmonisten eine griechische gewesen sei."<sup>158</sup> In this offhanded and indirect manner, Zahn became the first to suggest that the Latin *Vorlage* of Codex Fuldensis might have

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 238; "das Diatessaron . . . existirte von Haus aus nur in syrischer Sprache" (329). Cp. his "Kleine Beiträge zu Tatian's Diatessaron," printed at the end of FGNK 2 (*Der Evangeliencommentar des Theophilus von Antiochien*) (Erlangen 1883), esp. 292–99, where he gives additional evidence and answers critics.

<sup>155</sup> Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 291.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 298.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 298–313.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 311; cp. *ibid.*, 300 for the likelihood of a Greek intermediary.

been a direct translation from the Syriac. Zahn buttressed his hypothesis of a direct Syriac-to-Latin translation by citing instances from the fifth and sixth centuries where such translations had apparently occurred (*e.g.*, Gennadius of Marseille).<sup>159</sup> Half a century later, Daniël Plooij would resurrect this neglected theory, using evidence from a source unknown in Zahn's time, the Liège Harmony.

Continuing his survey of witnesses in other languages, Zahn observed that a German (*sic!* presumably he meant Old Saxon or Old High German) translation of Codex Fuldensis must have been among the sources of the *Heliand*.<sup>160</sup> Zahn cited other medieval gospel harmonies (of the fourth century Spanish cleric Juvenius; and an anonymous work, translated by the humanist Ottmar Nachtigall [Luscinius] in 1523<sup>161</sup>)—both mentioned earlier by J.C. Zahn—but opined (without, apparently, any careful study) that these were not related to the Diatessaron. Finally, in an appendix, he considered the single manuscript of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary known in his time (Vatican, Syr. 19, now known as MS "A"), but he made no effort to relate it to the Diatessaron directly; instead, he sought

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 311–13. Zahn pointed to Gennadius of Marseille's *De viris illustribus*, written in Latin between 461 and 469. Gennadius is the only Western author, Latin or Greek, to mention the *Demonstrations* of Aphrahat (Gennadius confuses him with Jacob of Nisibis), which were composed in Syriac. Gennadius lists in *Latin* the titles of the individual *Demonstrations*, and laments that they have not yet been translated. Gennadius also speaks of Syriac works by two students of Ephrem's, by Jacob of Nisibis, and by Isaac of Antioch with such familiarity that Zahn (312–13) concluded he must have seen the Syriac originals, or had someone make direct Syriac-to-Latin translations/summaries for him. Zahn also cited (311, esp. n. 2) the example of Junilius Africanus (*fl.* 550), who, while serving in the court of Justinian in Constantinople, apparently took extensive notes in *Latin* of a lecture delivered in *Syriac* by the Nestorian Paul of Nisibis on the Epistle to the Romans, which he later published in Latin. Finally, Zahn pointed to Syrian influence in Rome itself, where bishop Agapetus († 536) founded a theological school patterned on those of Nisibis and Alexandria.

Syrian influence in the Latin West (with the concomitant possibility of a direct Syriac-Latin translation of the Diatessaron) can be traced to much earlier periods, as well. A. Vööbus (*Early Versions*, 4, 6) notes that Anicet, bishop of Rome from 154 to 165, was a Syrian (cp. *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris 1886), I, 134: "*Anicetus, natione Syrus, ex patre Johanne, de vico Humisa, sedit ann. XI m. IIII d. III*": "Anicet, born in Syria, son of John, from the village of Emesa, ruled for 11 years, 4 months and 3 days"). During the same period, Irenaeus, Justin, and Tatian all arrived in the West from the East.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 299.

<sup>161</sup> *Evangelicae historiae narratio* (Augsburg 1523).

to locate it in the history of the Syrian textual tradition he had developed, a history which, of course, included the Diatessaron.

Zahn's penultimate contribution to Diatessaronic studies was an 1894 article titled "Zur Geschichte von Tatians Diatessaron im Abendland."<sup>162</sup> It is important for two reasons. First, Zahn presented three new witnesses to the Diatessaron. With characteristic thoroughness, he pointed out that a thirteenth-century Latin manuscript (Munich: Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10 025) contained not only Diatessaronic readings, but also had a Diatessaronic sequence. Another manuscript, this time in Middle High German (Munich: Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 532; fourteenth cent.), did the same. That the text of the (harmonized) Passion and Resurrection accounts in Munich Cgm. 532 was older than the manuscript itself was shown by the variants it shared with the harmonized Passion account in another new witness, Leipzig Universitätsbibliothek Cod. germ. 34 M.S., dating from 1343.<sup>163</sup> This Leipzig manuscript once belonged to Matthias of Beheim, and is sometimes known as the "Gospel Book of Matthias von Beheim." Zahn's analysis focused on the two Munich manuscripts. He was struck by the fact that these two Western (geographically speaking) harmonies often followed the order of the Arabic Harmony (which had been published in the interval, in 1888) and Ephrem, but *not* Codex Fuldensis. They also contained readings *absent* from Codex Fuldensis, but *present* in the Arabic Harmony and Ephrem. Although the two manuscripts were not identical, the evidence admitted only one conclusion: "dass F[uldensis] nicht die einzige und nicht die ursprüngliche Gestalt des lateinischen Tatian sei."<sup>164</sup> Zahn concluded that the ancestor of the two Munich manuscripts could not be Codex Fuldensis; rather, the Munich manuscripts

<sup>162</sup> NKZ 5 (1894), 85–120.

<sup>163</sup> Catalogue: *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig, IV. Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften, I. Die theologischen Handschriften*, ed. R. Helssig, Vol. 4 (Leipzig 1926), 35–36; the pertinent section is on ff. 224<sup>v</sup>–234<sup>r</sup>, containing a "Synopsis der Leidengeschichte nach Tatian" (36). Edition: R. Bechstein, *Des Matthias von Beheim Evangelienbuch in mitteldeutscher Sprache. 1343* (Leipzig 1867). A. Baumstark mentions the manuscript in his "Der Cambridger Text des mittelniederländischen *Leven van Jezus*," *OrChr* 35 [= III.13] (1938), 109, and in his "Die Himmeltgartener Bruchstücke eines niederdeutschen 'Diatessaron'-Textes des 13. Jahrhunderts," *OrChr* 33 [= III.11] (1936), 81; he occasionally cites its readings. This must be the third "Leipzig" manuscript mentioned by J.C. Zahn in 1814.

<sup>164</sup> "Zur Geschichte," 115.



and Codex Fuldensis represented “zwei voneinander unabhängige Bearbeitungen eines verloren gegangenen lateinischen Urtatian.”<sup>165</sup> This hypothesis of a lost Latin “Urtatian” was, of course, implicit in the earlier work of J.C. Zahn and Grein, and the empirical evidence Th. Zahn now adduced replicated Schade’s findings.

Now that the idea of a lost Latin “Urtatian” has been broached, a point has been reached where an excursus on the process of “Vulgatization” and its importance for Diatessaronic studies—especially in relation to Codex Fuldensis—can be fully appreciated. The reader will recall that shortly before 546, bishop Victor of Capua stumbled upon a harmonized codex, almost certainly in Latin. He directed that a copy of this ancient, now-lost codex be made; that copy is our present Codex Fuldensis. Somewhere in the history of its transmission—the Protestant Th. Zahn blamed Victor;<sup>166</sup> the Catholic H.J. Vogels absolved the bishop of Capua,<sup>167</sup> claiming that Victor’s scribes accurately copied the manuscript which came into his hands, and that the corruption occurred earlier in its transmission—readings from the by-then-standard Vulgate were, in the vast majority of cases, substituted for the original “Diatessaronic” readings. In the jargon of Diatessaronic studies, this process is known as “Vulgatization,” regardless of the language in which it occurs. In the case of Codex Fuldensis, the charge of Vulgatization is not speculation, for it can be demonstrated by comparing the *capitularia* of the Codex—the “Table of Contents,” as it were—with the contents of the Codex. They do not agree. Th. Zahn was the first to note this fact.<sup>168</sup> Examples are: the *capitulare* for Chap. 10 reads “*ubi herodes interfecit pueros*,” while the text of Codex Fuldensis at Matt 2.16 reads: “*occidit pueros*.” The reading “*interfecit*” in the *capitulare* agrees with Vetus Latina manuscripts *d* and *k*; “*occidit*” is the Vulgate reading. The *capitulare* for Chap. 25 reads: “*vos estis lux huius mundi*,” while the text of Codex Fuldensis at Matt 5.14 reads: “*vos estis lux mundi*.” The interpolation of “*huius*” in the *capitulare* agrees with Vulgate MS D (which occasionally has readings in com-

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>166</sup> Th. Zahn, *Tatian’s Diatessaron*, 3–4.

<sup>167</sup> H.J. Vogels, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland*, NTA 8.1 (Münster 1919), 6. Vogels was probably correct; Victor’s Preface states that the manuscript from which Codex Fuldensis was copied began with Luke 1.1—indicating that it had already been Vulgatized.

<sup>168</sup> *Tatian’s Diatessaron*, 300–03.

mon with Diatessaronic witnesses<sup>169</sup>) and Vetus Latina MSS *a b c g<sup>1</sup> h q*; the other Vulgate MSS omit "*huius*." At Chap. 101 the *capitularia* reads "*ubi iesus imposuit manum infantibus*," while at Matt 19.13 the text of Codex Fuldensis reads "*tunc oblatis ei parvuli ut manus eis inponeret*." The singular, "*manum*," is found at Matt 19.13 in Syr<sup>s.c.p</sup> and ff<sup>2</sup>; the singular also occurs in Syr<sup>s</sup> at the parallel passage in Mark 10.13; "*infantibus*" is the reading of *a c e ff<sup>1</sup> g<sup>1</sup> h r<sup>1</sup>*. "*Manus*" (plural) and "*parvuli*" are Vulgate readings.<sup>170</sup> These and other examples mean that, in the case of Codex Fuldensis, Vulgatization is a demonstrable fact: the Vetus Latina readings of the *capitularia* have been stripped from the text itself, and replaced by Vulgate readings. In 1881 Th. Zahn drew the obvious conclusion:

Die Differenzen zwischen Index und Text beweisen, dass der Text in der Zwischenzeit zwischen Entstehung der Harmonie und Anfertigung derjenigen Handschrift, welche Victor fand und abschreiben liess, einige wenn nicht zahlreiche und durchgreifende, so doch bedeutsame Aenderungen erfahren hatte.<sup>171</sup>

Earlier, J.C. Zahn had noted that while Codex Fuldensis' *capitularia* began with John 1.1,<sup>172</sup> the text of the Codex began with Luke 1.1–4. This difference established that the *sequence*<sup>173</sup> of Codex Fuldensis had been tampered with as well.<sup>174</sup> The term "Vulgatization" has now come to include not only the substitution of "standard" readings for the original Diatessaronic readings, but also rearrangement of Diatessaron's original sequence of harmonization, an example being the in-

<sup>169</sup> This manuscript should not be confused with Greek MS D (Codex Bezae); other agreements between Vulgate D and the Diatessaronic tradition are at Luke 1.38 (add "*sum*" after "*ego*") and at John 20.16 (add "*et occurrit ut tangeret eum*"). Cp. my *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus*, 121–23 and 148–51 or Tj. Baarda's "Jesus and Mary," for the full range of Diatessaronic witnesses for these readings.

<sup>170</sup> The examples are drawn from H.J. Vogels, *Beiträge*, 10–12, and are only 3 of the 22 he provides. Another collection of variants is found in F.C. Burkitt, "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Dutch Harmonies," *JThS* 25 (1924), 125.

<sup>171</sup> Zahn, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 310.

<sup>172</sup> "I. In principio uerbum. deus apud deum. per quem facta sunt omnia," (Codex Fuldensis [ed. E. Ranke], 21).

<sup>173</sup> It must be pointed out that a gospel harmony contains two variables: (1) the individual reading and (2) the sequence of harmonization. Either may be preserved independently from the other, and either may be used to demonstrate relationships among witnesses.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. *supra*, 98; on the Diatessaron commencing with John 1.1, see *supra*, 45.

terpolation of Luke 1.1–4 at the beginning of Codex Fuldensis.

Comparison with other Diatessaronic witnesses indicates that while the sequence of Codex Fuldensis' archetype has survived fairly intact, individual readings rarely have, except in the *capitularia*.

In his analysis of the corruption of Codex Fuldensis, Th. Zahn laid two cornerstones of modern Diatessaronic studies. The first was his identification and description of the phenomenon of Vulgatization. The second was implicit in the disagreement between the text and sequence of Codex Fuldensis and its *capitularia*: at one time an *unvulgarized* or *Old Latin* (i.e., *Vetus Latina*, or "pre-Vulgate") gospel harmony existed in the West. The *capitularia* bear witness to a now-lost document whose readings and sequence were closer to the Diatessaron's than are Codex Fuldensis'. Codex Fuldensis is a "degenerate," Vulgarized recension, which has grown away from the Diatessaron's text and sequence. Codex Fuldensis' lost archetype contained a more primitive form of the Diatessaron than does Codex Fuldensis.

Here we end our consideration of Zahn's contribution to Diatessaronic studies. Although Zahn's conclusion that the *Vetus Syra* preceded the Diatessaron was soon to be challenged (and he would soon reverse himself on the matter), he is remembered for his thorough investigation of the Diatessaron's text and for the textual evidence he adduced to support his conclusions. He correctly detected the close relationship between the Diatessaron and the *Vetus Syra*, something which Harnack had deprecated, and his claim that the Diatessaron's original language was Syriac has been confirmed by later, independent investigations. He also introduced important new witnesses: Aphrahat's gospel citations, Monacensis Clm. 10 025, and Monacensis Cgm. 532. He also mentioned (but did not investigate) the gospel text used by Magister de Hussinetz (= Jan Hus) in his *Historia gestorum Christi* as a possible Diatessaronic witness.<sup>175</sup> Finally, the fact that Zahn's solution (which was anticipated by J.C. Zahn and Grein, and actually articulated by Schade) of the textual ancestry of the Western Harmonies remains the operative hypothesis today, demonstrates the acuteness of his perception.

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<sup>175</sup> Th. Zahn, "Evangelienharmonie," *RE*, V, 659. Anton Baumstark investigated the text in a preliminary fashion in the 1930s (see *infra*, 237).

FRIEDRICH BAETHGEN

THE CURETONIAN SYRIAC (SYR<sup>c</sup>)<sup>176</sup>

For clarity of thought, brevity of expression, and soundness of evidence, few works equal the analysis of the Syriac tradition Baethgen penned to accompany his Greek reverse translation of Syr<sup>c</sup>: *Evangelienfragmente. Der griechische Text des Cureton'schen Syrs* (1885).<sup>177</sup> Today the reverse translation is generally judged a failure; but his efforts to locate the Curetonian manuscript within the history of the Syriac versions remains definitive over a century later. The evidence Baethgen encountered convinced him that Zahn was wrong in concluding that the Diatessaron lay—textually and chronologically—between the Curetonian Syriac, which preceded it, and the Peshitta, which followed it. Rather, said Baethgen, the Diatessaron must have *preceded* the Curetonian manuscript, which was, in fact, dependent upon the Diatessaron. He concluded that

... das ursprüngliche Evangelium in der syrischen Kirche die Harmonie Tatian's war, und ... der erste Übersetzer der getrennten Evangelien (Sc [= Syr<sup>c</sup>]) sich bei seiner Arbeit, soweit es ging, möglichst eng an diese Harmonie anschloss.<sup>178</sup>

At first, said Baethgen, he had resisted the conclusion, but eventually he followed his evidence, for it admitted no other solution. He repeatedly found readings in Syr<sup>c</sup> which could only have been borrowed from the Diatessaron, and not vice-versa. He recognized that this finding was “von der grössten Wichtigkeit” for the history of the New Testament canon and for the antiquity and value of Syr<sup>c</sup>.

Two lines of attack were used to make his case. First, Baethgen addressed the arguments of Zahn and, point by point, in an eminently even-handed manner, exposed the flaw in each. For example, Zahn had argued that a harmony would be the *result* of a translation of separate gospels, not the *basis* for a translation of the individual gospels: “es liegt in der Natur

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<sup>176</sup> Editio princeps: *Remains of a very ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac* . . . , ed. W. Cureton (London 1858). It was reedited and augmented with readings from the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript (Syr<sup>s</sup>) by F.C. Burkitt: *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1904). Recently, a missing folio of Syr<sup>c</sup> was discovered: D.L. McConaughy, “A Recently Discovered Folio of the Old Syriac (Sy<sup>c</sup>) Text of Luke 16,13–17,1,” *Bib.* 68 (1987), 85–88.

<sup>177</sup> Leipzig 1885.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 59–60.

der Sache," Zahn had said. Against this, Baethgen pointed to the numerous instances where Syr<sup>c</sup> offered harmonistic readings which were unparalleled in the Greek manuscript tradition—upon which (according to Zahn) Syr<sup>c</sup> was supposedly dependent. Then he put the question: Were not such harmonizations exactly the sort of *Nachlass* one would expect to find in Syr<sup>c</sup> if it were based upon the Diatessaron, instead of vice-versa?

Another piece of Zahn's evidence had been the 52 instances where the Diatessaron's text, as recovered in Ephrem's *Commentary*, differed from Syr<sup>c</sup> and the Peshitta. But, as Baethgen pointedly demanded, "wie kann T[atian] eine Mittelstellung zwischen Sc und P[eshitta] einnehmen, wenn er von beiden unabhängig ist?" Thus, with nothing more than a simple question, Baethgen obviated 36 of the 52 readings Zahn assembled. That left 16 readings. Of these, 7 were attested only by D (Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis), whose connexion with the Syrian tradition was beginning to be perceived by scholars. Other readings were paralleled in the Greek by D and some other Greek codices; and so on. Under the scrutiny of Baethgen, all 52 of Zahn's "Annäherung" of the Diatessaron in the direction of the Greek evaporated.

Baethgen was a good enough scholar to recognize that decimating the evidence of an opponent does not validate one's own thesis. Therefore, after negating Zahn's points, he opened a second line of attack by presenting the positive evidence which had convinced him of the priority of the Diatessaron.

Die Gründe für meine Behauptung sind 1) die überraschend grosse Zahl von harmonisirenden Lesarten, welche sich bei Sc finden und welche sich als Überreste aus der Harmonie zu erkennen geben. 2) Die zahlreichen Verkürzungen bei Sc, welche ebenso zu erklären sind. 3) Die specifisch alexandrinischen Lesarten bei Sc, welche für dessen Abfassung auf ein späteres Alter als das 2. Jahrhundert hinweisen. 4) Die grosse Freiheit in der Übersetzung des Sc, welche sich mehrfach als Paraphrase charakterisirt und als ein Residuum von Tatian's Epanorthose zu erkennen giebt. 5) Der dogmatische Charakter von Sc.<sup>179</sup>

Each of these Baethgen supported with numerous examples; a look at only a few will indicate the flavour of Baethgen's work. First, the survival of harmonistic readings in Syr<sup>c</sup>: in Matt

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 72–73.

4.1–11, no fewer than eight harmonistic readings occur, of which five are found only in Tatian and Syr<sup>c</sup> (a sixth is found in Tatian, Syr<sup>c</sup>, and the Peshitta). Examples are: at Matt 4.1, the interpolation of ἁγίον after πνεύματος from Luke 4.1; at Matt 4.9, ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ is interpolated from Luke 4.7.<sup>180</sup> Baethgen cautioned that not all harmonizations in Syr<sup>c</sup> need be from the Diatessaron; many were undoubtedly the result of scribal habits. However, the sheer number (in this example, five in eleven verses) of such harmonizations *occurring only in Tatian and Syr<sup>c</sup>* in such small compass drove one to conclude that a relationship must exist, in which priority had to be given to the harmony. Second, regarding the matter of omissions and abbreviations found in Syr<sup>c</sup>: Baethgen found some 270 singular readings in Syr<sup>c</sup>, of which over a half were omissions or abbreviations. An example is Matt 13.33, where Syr<sup>c</sup> omits “he told them.” Such abbreviations were exactly what one would expect to find in a harmony—from which they had been passed to Syr<sup>c</sup>. If one were to theorize the reverse—namely, that the abbreviations had originated in Syr<sup>c</sup>, and then been passed to the harmony—to what motive would one attribute this extraordinary urge to abbreviate, an urge unmatched in *any other* version of the separate gospels?

Third, Baethgen noted that Syr<sup>c</sup> contains distinctively Alexandrian readings, indicating influence from a textual family which originated *later* than the second century and which was, therefore, more recent than the Diatessaron. An example is Luke 9.2, where B (Codex Vaticanus) and Syr<sup>c</sup> omit “the sick” against all other witnesses.<sup>181</sup>

The fourth point, the free “metaphrasis” evident in Syr<sup>c</sup>, Baethgen interpreted as another legacy from the Diatessaron; the reason is self-explanatory. He provided examples.

Fifth and finally, certain dogmatic characteristics also present in Syr<sup>c</sup> were clearly attributable to Tatian and his Encratism; they were absent from the Greek manuscript tradition (upon which Zahn presumed Syr<sup>c</sup> to be dependent), and could not have arisen spontaneously in Syr<sup>c</sup> (especially when it is admitted that Tatian was an Encratite, and the readings are also present in the Diatessaron): an example is Matt 1.21, where σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ is translated as “he shall save the world”

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., p. 73, n. 3.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 79. Syr<sup>c</sup> also omits the phrase; but, of course, it had not yet been discovered when Baethgen wrote.

(ܝܫܘܥ) from its sins.”<sup>182</sup> Another example is Matt 1.16, where the Greek “Joseph the husband of Mary” is rendered by Syr<sup>c</sup> as “Joseph, to whom was betrothed the virgin Mary.”<sup>183</sup> With that, he rested his case for the priority of the Diatessaron.

Baethgen’s arguments are noteworthy for their rigid adherence to textual evidence. Although Harnack had suggested that the Diatessaron was the first gospel translation into Syriac, his arguments were circumstantial and, as such, only opinions. At least Th. Zahn had adduced textual examples; but, as can be seen from Baethgen’s critique of the evidence, Zahn had not been critical enough of it.

Although the distinction of being the first to suggest that the Diatessaron was the oldest version of the gospels in Syriac goes to Harnack, the textual evidence which proved the point was Baethgen’s.

PAUL DE LAGARDE

THE ARABIC HARMONY

AUGUSTINUS CIASCA

THE “UFFENBACH” HARMONY, HAMBURG  
COD. THEOL. 1066

Existence of an Arabic Harmony was first revealed in 1719 by J.S. Assemani, in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*,<sup>184</sup> who referenced Vatican arab. 14, a twelfth or thirteenth century manuscript, now generally known as MS “A.” J.C. Zahn had obtained copies of the manuscript’s *incipit* and *explicit*; these had been reproduced by Th. Zahn.

Paul de Lagarde (the pseudonym of Paul Anton Bötticher), professor at Göttingen and a leading Orientalist, was interested in the question of the Diatessaron and had long suspected its influence on Syriac literature. One of his many anticipations was the preface of his edition of the *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace* (1854), in which he observed that its gospel citations were taken from a harmony.<sup>185</sup> But until an Oriental witness to the Diatessaron’s text was discovered, he could

<sup>182</sup> *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ed. F.C. Burkitt (Cambridge 1904), I, 4–5.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> (Rome 1719), I, 619.

<sup>185</sup> P. de Lagarde, *Didascalia apostolorum syriace* (Lipsiae 1854), pp. iii–vii; see also his *Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Lipsiae/Londinii 1862), p. vii: “*Legit enim ille ni fallor harmoniam e quatuor evangelii concinnatam*” (“he [the author of the *Constitutions*] read—if I am not mistaken—a harmony composed from four gospels”). It is surprising that no scholar has pursued this

not prove his case. De Lagarde corresponded with the Prefect of the Vatican Library, a Fr. Bollig, who provided him (presumably in a letter dated 6 January 1882, which dealt with other issues related to the Diatessaron) with a copy of the Arabic text of the last chapter of Vatican arab. 14 (MS "A"). De Lagarde published this as part of an 1882 review of Th. Zahn's *Tatian's Diatessaron*.<sup>186</sup> While J.C. Zahn had published eleven lines from the Harmony in a Latin translation in 1814, this was the first publication of a portion of the Harmony's Arabic text. In this same review, de Lagarde reported that Göttingen Universitätsbibliothek Cod. theol. 74 was an Old High German harmony, which "aus Konrads von Uffenbach Nachlasse erworben ist."<sup>187</sup> This is probably the "Göttingen" manuscript referenced by J.C. Zahn.<sup>188</sup>

When in Rome prior to 1885, de Lagarde had attempted to gain permission to study Vatican arab. 14, but—as had been his experience with certain other Vatican materials—it was denied by the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. While the preeminent—but Protestant—de Lagarde was kept at bay, an unknown young Augustinian monk, Augustinus Ciasca, had been busy studying the manuscript. In 1883 Ciasca had published a dissertation in which he described the manuscript and gave a brief introduction to Tatian and the *testimonia* concerning him, a Latin translation of chapters 48 and 49 (the arrest and trial of Jesus), and a table listing the harmony's arrangement of gospel pericopes.<sup>189</sup> At Easter, 1885, de Lagarde was in Rome, and once again was denied access to the manuscript. When

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remark. See also de Lagarde's listing of his premonitions in his review of Th. Zahn's *Tatian's Diatessaron*, in *GGA* sans num. (1882), 321–34, esp. 321–22.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 332–33. The text is the *recto* and *verso* of folio 123 of MS "A," or Chapter 55 (Matt 28.16–John 21.25); in Marmardji's edition, pp. 528–31.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 322–23. However, the *Verzeichniss der Handschriften im Preussischen Staate* for Göttingen states the manuscript was donated by C.W. Büttner in 1772, and indicates no connexion with von Uffenbach. Furthermore, the Uffenbach collection in the Göttingen Universitätsbibliothek contains no gospel manuscripts, and the catalogue's index connects no Göttingen manuscript matching this description with Konrad van Uffenbach. I can only conclude that de Lagarde somehow confused this manuscript (Göttingen, Theol. 74) with Hamburg, Staats-Universitätsbibliothek Cod. theol. 1066, which was owned by von Uffenbach. Cp. Appendix I: *A Catalogue of Diatessaronic Witnesses* (*infra*, 486).

<sup>188</sup> See *supra*, 101–102.

<sup>189</sup> Ciasca's study, "De Tatiani Diatessaron Arabica Versione" was published in J.B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi* (Parisiis 1883), Vol. 4, 465–87.



Ciasca learned of de Lagarde's attempts to study the manuscript, he intervened on de Lagarde's behalf, and generously placed his working copy of the manuscript at de Lagarde's disposal. On 6 February 1886, using this copy of the inaccessible manuscript, de Lagarde published seven pages of Arabic containing the text of the harmony's first three chapters.<sup>190</sup> On the basis of Ciasca's copy, de Lagarde estimated that *if* he could gain access to the manuscript itself, at least two years would be needed to prepare an edition; Ciasca, on the other hand, was well underway with one (it appeared in 1888). Another obstacle de Lagarde faced was the lack of Arabic type in Göttingen.<sup>191</sup> With bittersweet resignation, he was forced to leave preparation of the first edition of the Arabic Harmony to Ciasca.

The text of Ciasca's edition (1888) was based on two manuscripts: "A" (mentioned above) and "B" (Vatican Borg. arab. 250; fourteenth century); it was accompanied by a Latin translation.<sup>192</sup> The Arabic Harmony provided scholarship with its first complete Eastern witness, which could be used to complement and verify the Armenian version of Ephrem's *Commentary*. Although MS A lacked folios 17 and 118, and folios 1 through 7 were poorly preserved, MS B was complete; consequently, Ciasca was able to offer an edition of the harmony which was complete from first to last verse. This was an immense improvement over Ephrem's *Commentary* which, because of its genre, cited only portions of the Diatessaron's text.

Since Ciasca's edition appeared, ten other manuscripts or fragments of the Arabic Harmony have been found.<sup>193</sup> Their designation, location, and dates are:

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<sup>190</sup> "Kleine Mittheilungen," in *NGWG* 4 (1886), 121–168; the report on the Arabic Harmony covers pp. 150–58; see 150–51 for de Lagarde's description of his attempts to gain access to the manuscript, and Ciasca's intervention.

<sup>191</sup> In a situation depressingly familiar to scholars today, de Lagarde notes that he had just prevailed upon the University to purchase Ethiopic type, and did not feel he could—after such a short interval—submit a request for the expensive Arabic type as well.

<sup>192</sup> *Tatiani Evangeliorum harmoniae arabice* (Roma 1888; reprinted: Roma 1930).

<sup>193</sup> For descriptions of MSS E, O, and Sbath 1020, see P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford 1959<sup>2</sup>), 297–301, who offers additional bibliography and many learned observations; see also S. Euringer, *Die Überlieferung der Arabischen Übersetzung des Diatessarons*, BSt 17, 2 (Freiburg 1912); and G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, Vol. 1 (StT 118) (Città del Vaticano 1944), 154.

MS E	Cairo	Coptic Patriarchate, MS 202	1795
MS O	Oxford	Bodleian, MS Arab. e 163	1806
MS 1020 <sup>194</sup>	Aleppo	Bibliothèque Paul Sbath	1797
MS 1280 <sup>195</sup>	Aleppo	Bibliothèque Paul Sbath	XVIII
MS 429 <sup>196</sup>	"Beirut Fragments"	Jesuit Library	1332

In a cryptic aside, Graf also mentions "5 Hss im Privatbesitz," but provides no further information.<sup>197</sup>

With seven full or partial manuscripts in hand (MSS A B E O, the two Sbath MSS, and the Beirut Fragments), it is possible to plot a stemma of the tradition. It was transmitted in two recensions.<sup>198</sup> The first consists of MS A and the Beirut Fragments. Transmitted without naming the translator in its colophon, this recension places the genealogies among the annunciation-birth-infancy account, more or less as they are found in the canonical gospels.<sup>199</sup> Transitions from one gospel to another are designated by the first *two* letters of the evangelists' names: Matthew = MT, Mark = MR, Luke = LW, and John = YW. The second recension consists of MSS B O E, Sbath 1020, and Sbath 1280. B, E, Sbath 1020, and Sbath 1280 all contain the same preface, which names 'Abū'l-Faraġ 'Abdū'llāh ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib († 1043) as the man who translated the work from Syriac. This recension consigns the genealogies to an appendix. The evangelists are designated by only *one*

<sup>194</sup> P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de Manuscrits Paul Sbath*, vol. 2 (Cairo 1928), 135–36: "Ce précieux ms. comprend le Diatessaron intitulé . . . 277 pages . . . transcrit en 1512 des Martyrs (1797)."

<sup>195</sup> P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de Manuscrits Paul Sbath*, vol. 3 (Cairo 1934), 92: "le Diatessaron . . . 376 pages . . . XVIII siècle." This MS has not been studied by scholarship. Sbath also reports (in vol. 2 of his catalogue, pp. 141–43) on another MS (Sbath 1029; XVI cent.), which is also a gospel harmony, but apparently not related to the Diatessaron.

<sup>196</sup> Edited by G. Graf (pp. 63–71) in S. Euringer, *Die Überlieferung der Arabischen Übersetzung des Diatessarons, mit einer Textbeilage: Die Beiruter Fragmente herausgegeben und Übersetzt von Georg Graf*, BST 17.2 (Freiburg 1912).

<sup>197</sup> Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, Vol. I, 154.

<sup>198</sup> This observation was first made by A.F.L. Beeston, "The Arabic Version of Tatian's Diatessaron," *JRAS* 1939, 608–610; see also C. Peters, "Neue Funde und Forschung zum Diatessaronproblem," *Bib.* 23 (1942), 74.

<sup>199</sup> The Beirut Fragments consist of only three folios from the end of the Harmony, including the colophon. The colophon agrees with MS A. Also, in MSS B O E and Sbath 1020, the genealogies are placed in an "appendix" at the end of the manuscripts, with the colophons. Since the genealogies are absent from this position in the Beirut Fragments, it is presumed that they occupied the same position as in MS A, where the genealogies are part of the nativity/infancy account.

particular letter (Matthew = M, Mark =  $\bar{R}$ , Luke = Q, and John = H). Both recensions are unique among Diatessaronic witnesses in that they name Tatian as the work's composer, and give its title: Diatessaron.

Ciasca's edition is now dated, for the two manuscripts he used to create his text (A and B) belong to two different recensions of the harmony. While his technique—he generally follows MS A, noting MS B's deviations, and fills MS A's lacunae with B's text—is standard procedure in the circumstances, the result is a text which mixes two recensions, a text which never existed. His Latin translation has also been judged deficient,<sup>200</sup> for rather than providing a literal translation of the Arabic, he often adopted the Vulgate reading (*N.B.*: a modern example of "Vulgatization"), and eliminated Syriasms in the text. Hence, his edition presents neither an accurate text of a real witness, nor a reliable translation. Those who rely upon the English translations of Hill,<sup>201</sup> Hogg,<sup>202</sup> or the German translation of Preuschen<sup>203</sup> should be alerted to the fact that these are based on Ciasca's text.

In 1935, a new edition of the Arabic Harmony was published by A.-S. Marmardji.<sup>204</sup> He used MS E as his base, and supplemented it with readings from MSS A and B; he appears unaware of the existence of the Beirut Fragments. Although this edition is the standard today, once again the text and translation are not reliable.<sup>205</sup> A new edition is a desideratum.

The Arabic Harmony has proven a mixed blessing for Diatessaronic studies. In general, it preserves the same sequence of harmonization as found in Ephrem's *Commentary* and the *capitularia* and text of Codex Fuldensis. On the other hand, its text has been heavily Vulgatized by being brought into conformity with the Syriac Peshitta.<sup>206</sup> Tjitze Baarda conducted a

<sup>200</sup> Cf. the list of errors adduced by A. Hjelt, *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron*, FGNK 7 (Leipzig 1903), 62.

<sup>201</sup> J. Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ ever Compiled from the Four Gospels being the Diatessaron of Tatian*... (Edinburgh 1894), 39–264 (reprinted separately: Edinburgh 1910).

<sup>202</sup> H. Hogg, "Tatian's Diatessaron," *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 10 (additional volume), ed. A. Menzies (Grand Rapids, 1969<sup>5</sup>), 63–129.

<sup>203</sup> E. Preuschen, *Tatians Diatessaron aus dem Arabischen übersetzt* (Heidelberg 1926).

<sup>204</sup> *Diatessaron de Tatien* (Beyrouth 1935).

<sup>205</sup> See the remarks of A. Baumstark, review of A.-S. Marmardji, *Diatessaron de Tatien*, in *OrChr* 33 (= III.11) (1936), 235–244.

<sup>206</sup> On the Arabic Harmony's textual characteristics, see: A.J.B. Higgins, "The Arabic Version of Tatian's Diatessaron," *JThS* 45 (1944), 187–99; idem,

thorough investigation of the tradition and translation of the Arabic Harmony, and concluded that the information in the preface of the MSS B, E, and Sbath MSS 1020 and 1280 is probably correct: it was translated by Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib from a Syriac manuscript. He also affirmed the tradition transmitted in the colophon of MS B, which states that the manuscript Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib worked from was copied by the distinguished Syrian lexicographer Isā ibn 'Alī (*fl.* 890).<sup>207</sup> Syriasms in the text of the Arabic Harmony confirm this. It would seem, then, that the Vulgatization<sup>208</sup> occurred somewhere in the Syriac *Vorlage*, prior to its translation into Arabic. Nevertheless, Diatessaronic variants have survived. Of greater importance, however, is the Arabic Harmony's sequence, which seems to have remained relatively intact. Along with Ephrem's *Commentary*, it is an important point of reference when evaluating the sequence of other witnesses.

The Vulgatization to which the Arabic Harmony was subjected has given it a reputation among scholars as a source of little or no value for readings. This view has recently been contested—correctly so—by Baarda (see below, 310–313), who remarks:

... the Arabic harmony text, as so often, appears to be of high value for the reconstruction of the original Syriac Diatessaron. Only a careful examination of the details of its text can bring out the "relics" of the lost Diatessaron. . . . The neglect and disregard which was so often the share of the Arabic harmony is unwarranted.<sup>209</sup>

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"Tatian's Diatessaron," *JMUEOS* 24 (1942–5; published 1947), 28–32; P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford 1958<sup>2</sup>) 297–313; A. Baumstark, review of A.-S. Marmardji, *Diatessaron de Tatien*, in *OrChr* 33 (= III.11) (1936), 235–244; and Marmardji's own introduction, *Diatessaron de Tatien*, pp. i–ciii.

<sup>207</sup> Tj. Baarda, "The Author of the Arabic Diatessaron," *Miscellanea Neotestamentica*, I, edd. T. Baarda, A.F.J. Klijn, W.C. van Unnik, *NT.S* 47 (Leiden 1978), 61–103 (also in his *Early Transmission of Words of Jesus* [Amsterdam 1983], 207–49).

<sup>208</sup> Tj. Baarda, "'The Flying Jesus.' Luke 4:29–30 in the Syriac Diatessaron," *VigChr* 40 (1986), 313–41, has presented an interesting instance of Vulgatization in our present manuscripts of the Arabic Harmony.

<sup>209</sup> Tj. Baarda, "To the Roots of the Syriac Diatessaron Tradition (TA 25:1–3)," *NT* 28 (1986), 25. Cf. his "An Archaic Element in the Arabic Diatessaron? (TA 46:18 = John xv 2)," *NT* 17 (1975), 151–55, esp. 152 (also in his *Early Transmission of Words of Jesus*, 173–77, esp. 174), which warns against generalizations about the Arabic Harmony.

## THEODOR ZAHN'S REAPPRAISAL OF 1888

Recall that in his 1881 study, Theodor Zahn had placed the Diatessaron chronologically and textually between what he considered to be the earlier Curetonian Syriac and the later Peshitta. Baethgen's 1885 study had produced compelling reasons for rejecting Zahn's chronology. In 1888, Zahn published the first volume of his *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, in which he reassessed the issues surrounding the Diatessaron.<sup>210</sup>

Zahn reiterated his support for a Syriac original and Tatian's (modest) use of a "fifth source."<sup>211</sup> He produced additional evidence to support the likelihood that the Latin Diatessaron was a direct Syriac to Latin translation,<sup>212</sup> and, to rebut those who cited the Diatessaron's Greek title as evidence for a Greek original, Zahn cited numerous Latin and other non-Greek works which nevertheless bore Greek titles.<sup>213</sup> For the first time, he speculated that our manuscripts of Ephrem's *Commentary*, may actually be "nur das Collegienheft eines Schülers Ephraims," a position which anticipates findings of the 1960s–1980s.<sup>214</sup> Most significantly, Zahn acknowledged that Baethgen's arguments for the priority of the Diatessaron over the Curetonian Syriac were convincing. He cited three points in favour of Baethgen. First, tradition spoke for the priority of the Diatessaron: all of the earliest references to "the gospel" reference the Diatessaron, just as the earliest citations from "the gospel(s)" seem to come from a Diatessaron. Second, the oldest Syriac separate gospels (Syr<sup>c</sup> in Zahn's time), "unterscheidet sich von jedem anderen griechischen, lateinischen oder syrischen Text durch die grosse Zahl der Fälle, in welchen die Texte der verschiedenen Eev.

<sup>210</sup> Th. Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, I.1 (Erlangen 1888), 387–423.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 393: "Nach Ephraims Commentar zu urtheilen, enthielt das Diatessaron kaum soviel Apokryphes als der Codex Cantabrigiensis der Eev. und der AG[= Apostelgeschichte]."

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 415–18. In addition to the evidence he cited in 1881 (see *supra*, p. 125, n. 159), Zahn noted that Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Francorum* X.26) described the appointment of a Syrian businessman as bishop of Paris about 590; the new bishop promptly set about installing his fellow Syrians as clerics in the diocese. Gregory also reported that Syriac, Latin, and Hebrew were being used in 585 in the city of Orléans (*Hist. Francorum* VIII.1). Other evidence Zahn mentioned includes Ambrose of Milan's practice (c. 386) of having hymns sung in their original "Oriental" setting (Zahn cites Augustine, *Conf.* IV.7; see esp. Zahn, p. 417, n. 1).

<sup>213</sup> Ibid., 418–20; among other examples, Zahn cites Tertullian's Latin *Scorpiace* (Σκορπιακή).

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 390; see *infra*, pp. 117, n. 126; 222.

mit einander vermengt sind."<sup>215</sup> This could only mean that the Diatessaron antedated Syr<sup>c</sup>. Third, the presence in Syr<sup>c</sup> of "Alexandrian" readings and readings which were not found before Origen meant that Syr<sup>c</sup> had to have originated after the creation of the "Alexandrian" text and Origen—that is, long after the time of Tatian. Harnack, Baethgen, and Th. Zahn all concurred: "Das Diatessaron ist das älteste Ev. der syrischen Christen."<sup>216</sup>

Later scholars who have studied the material have come to the same conclusion. In 1904, F.C. Burkitt wrote:

The Diatessaron is the earliest form of the Gospel in Syriac. . . . The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* . . . was the earliest rendering of the Four separate Gospels into Syriac, but the translator was familiar with the Diatessaron and often adopted its phraseology. . . . In text, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, so far as it is a direct translation from the Greek, reproduces for us the Greek text current in Antioch at the end of the 2nd century, a text of great critical value which is often very slenderly represented in extant Greek MSS. But the use of the Diatessaron by the translator has often introduced readings which really belong to the text current in the Western lands. Moreover both S and C, our two MSS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, contain readings which have been assimilated to the Diatessaron by transcribers.<sup>217</sup>

In 1972, Matthew Black concurred, stating, "it is clear that the Old Syriac has taken over not only individual readings of the Syriac Diatessaron but turns of phrase, original locutions, even whole sentences."<sup>218</sup> This view prevails today.

FREDERICK HENRY CHASE

At this point we must introduce a concept which has become intimately connected with Diatessaronic studies, namely, the so-called "Western Text."<sup>219</sup> The term was first coined by

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., 405.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., 408.

<sup>217</sup> *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ed. F.C. Burkitt, Vol. II, 5–6. See also his Chapter IV, titled "The Diatessaron and the Old Syriac" (173–212), and the section titled "S C and the Diatessaron" (220–23).

<sup>218</sup> M. Black, "The Syriac Versional Tradition," *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland, ANTT 5 (Berlin 1972), 127.

<sup>219</sup> Studies of this subject are numerous; helpful summaries and additional bibliography are to be found in the two volumes of A.F.J. Klijn, *A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts*, Vol. 1

Semler,<sup>220</sup> to designate the type of New Testament text found in the Latin manuscripts and the Fathers, thus geographically "Western." Later the term was redefined by Griesbach, who recognized its Eastern origins.<sup>221</sup> He used the term to designate the text type found in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D), the Latin versions and some Peshitta manuscripts. The inclusion of Syriac manuscripts obviously strained the original geographically-based designation. Further analysis, especially of newly discovered texts, led to grouping Codex Bezae (D), the Vetus Latina, the Vetus Syra, and the text of the earliest Fathers (Justin, Marcion, Irenaeus, Cyprian, Tertullian, etc.) together as the "Western Text." Because of its Semitic flavour and its use by the earliest Fathers, the "Western Text" is assigned a very early date, certainly before the middle of the second century.<sup>222</sup> And, as some of the examples already presented have made clear, there are strong, sometimes unique textual agree-

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(Utrecht 1949), Vol. 2, NT.S 21 (Leiden 1969); F.G. Kenyon, *The Text of the Greek Bible*, revised and augmented by A.W. Adams (London 1975<sup>3</sup>), 223–44, *et passim*; and B.M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (Oxford 1968<sup>2</sup>; 1992<sup>3</sup>), 213–14, 132–33, *et passim*.

<sup>220</sup> I.S. Semler, *Ioh. Iac. Wetstenii libelli ad crisin atque interpretationem Novi Testamenti* (Halae Magdeburgicae 1766), 4–5: "... graeca recensio duplex; alia in Aegypto atque in prouinciis sub occidente, alia in oriente, per Syriam, Antiochiam et graecas prouincias. . . ." ("the Greek recension is two-fold; one in Egypt and in the Western provinces, the other in the East, throughout Syria, Antioch, and the Greek provinces. . ."); see also his *Apparatus ad liberalem Novi Testamenti interpretationem* (Halae Magdeburgicae 1767), 45–46: "*Diuersa graeca recensio, quae olim locum habuit, pro prouinciarum diuersitate fere obtinuit; Alexandrinam facile distinguere licet, Aegyptiacis scriptoribus, et Origenis discipulis fere communem; ad Syros, Coptas, Aethiops etiam vulgatam; alia per Orientem, (Antiochiae atque inde Constantinopoli etc.) valebat; alia per Occidentem. Inde, cum Origenis et Pelagii odium creuisset, ecclesiastica quaedam et mixta recensio sensim orta est, e plurium prouinciarum codicibus; qua adhuc uti solemus.*" ("The varied Greek recension, which once had a place, existed roughly in proportion to the diversity of the provinces: you may easily discern the Alexandrian, for it is almost used in common by the Egyptian writers and the pupils of Origen; it is also widely used by the Syrians, Copts, and Ethiopians; but another [recension] flourished through the Orient (in Antioch and from there in Constantinople, etc.); and another through the West. Then when the hatred of Origen and Pelagius had grown, a certain ecclesiastical and mixed recension gradually arose from the manuscripts of several provinces, which we are still accustomed to use.")

<sup>221</sup> J.J. Griesbach, *Commentarius criticus in textum graecum Novi Testamenti* (Jenae 1811), Vol. II, p. xxxv: "*in occidente tamen praecipuum eius sedes erat, ibique diutissime in usu mansit*" ("Nevertheless, its home was particularly in the West, where it remained in use for a very long time").

<sup>222</sup> Cp. the quotations from Burkitt, Kenyon, and Westcott and Hort (*supra*, 11–12). Recall also B.F. Westcott's assertion that the combination of the oldest Syriac and Latin texts outweighs the combination of B–N (see *supra*, 21).

ments between the Diatessaron and the principle constituents of the "Western Text": with Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D), with the Vetus Latina, with the Vetus Syra, and with the earliest Fathers, such as Justin. Diatessaronic studies became acutely interested in the "Western Text," and students of the "Western Text" tried to determine how it was related to the Diatessaron.

Two early important studies of the "Western Text" are *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae* (1893),<sup>223</sup> and *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels* (1895),<sup>224</sup> both by F.H. Chase. Using Ephrem's *Commentary*, Ciasca's edition of the Arabic Harmony, and the Curetonian Syriac as the basis for the Syrian tradition, Chase sought to investigate the extent and nature of their connexion with the "Western Text," especially with Codex Bezae. He noted that at Luke 22.12, Codex Bezae reads οἶκον ("house") in place of the normal Greek μέγα ("large"). This he attributed to confusion in the Syriac between ܠܕܝܬ ("large") and ܠܕܝܬܐ ("of a house").<sup>225</sup> At Mark 12.14, the standard Greek κῆνσον ("tribute/tax") is replaced in Codex Bezae (and Θ and 565) by ἐπικεφάλαιον ("head tax"), and in *k* of the Old Latin *Afra* family by "*capitularium*". This can be traced back to Syriac, which commonly uses ܠܝܬܐ ܕܪܥܝܐ ("head tax") for the Greek κῆνσον and, in fact, Syr<sup>s[c].p</sup> all read ܠܝܬܐ ܕܪܥܝܐ in Mark 12.14.<sup>226</sup> Many such examples<sup>227</sup> led Chase to a programmatic conclusion. The birthplace of the "Western Text" was in the East—probably Antioch—where traditions from Asia Minor and Syria coalesced. This was demonstrated by the fact that both Justin, who arrived in Rome from the East, and Marcion, whose origins lay in Pontus, used the "Western Text." Antiochene origin, said Chase, also accounted for the Syriasms in the "Western Text." The influence of the "Western Text" upon the Latin versions could be traced to a primitive "workshop of manuscripts" in the region, said Chase. Had it produced several Latin translations, or a Greek-Latin bilingual, and had it also produced several Syriac translations, or a Greek-Syriac bilingual, then, said Chase, such a "workshop" could

<sup>223</sup> London 1893.

<sup>224</sup> London 1895.

<sup>225</sup> F.H. Chase, *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels* (London 1895), 56.

<sup>226</sup> F.H. Chase, *The Old Syriac Element*, p. 144, n. 1; see also his *Syro-Latin Text*, p. 18, n. 2.

<sup>227</sup> Some of the readings cited in the preceding pages fit the Syriac-Bezae-Old Latin pattern: cf. *e.g.*, 131.



account for the geographic and linguistic diversity of manuscripts (Vetus Latina manuscripts in the West, and Vetus Syra manuscripts in the East) linked by common readings.<sup>228</sup> For this reason, Chase proposed that the “Western Text” should be renamed the “Syro-Latin Text,” reflecting its origin and influence. (Eberhard Nestle embraced this suggestion,<sup>229</sup> but the nomenclature inexplicably remains unchanged.) The presence of Syriasms in Codex Bezae’s Greek led Chase to conclude that it was either copied from the Greek of a Syriac-Greek bilingual, or copied by a bilingual scribe who had a copy of the Syriac gospels close at hand, sometimes before his eyes, always in his memory.

Turning his attention to the relationship between the Diatessaron and Codex Bezae, Chase noted many agreements:

(1) At John 11.14, Codex Bezae reads: Λάζαρος ὁ φίλος ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν. The interpolation of ὁ φίλος ἡμῶν is found only in Bezae (D and d), Vetus Latina MS p, and the Armenian version of Ephrem’s *Commentary* (XVII.3). (Later the same interpolation would be found in the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony.)

(2) At Matt 24.31f., Codex Bezae reads: ἀπὸ ἁκρῶν οὐρανῶν ἕως ἁκρῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχομένων δὲ τούτων γεινεσθαι ἀναβλέψατε καὶ ἐπάρατε τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν. διότι ἐγγίζει ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ὑμῶν ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς συκῆς κ.τ.λ. The underlined text is interpolated from Luke 21.28. The identical harmonization is found in Vetus Latina MSS b c d h q r<sup>1</sup> (with minor variations): “*a summis caelorum usque ad terminos eorum. Cum coeperint autem haec fieri, respicite et levate capita vestra quoniam adpropiat [sic] redemptio vestra. A fici autem arbore . . .*”<sup>230</sup> The same harmonization is found in the Arabic Harmony: “*de l’extrémité du ciel à son (autre) extrémité. Et lorsque cela [se montrera] aura commencé à être, ayez courage et relevez vos têtes; car votre délivrance est proche. Apprenez [le modèle] la parabole du figuier; . . .*”<sup>231</sup>

(3) At Luke 24.1, Codex Bezae reads: ἤρχοντο ἐπεὶ τὸ μνημα φαίρουσαι ἃ ἡτοίμασαν καὶ τινες σὺν αὐταῖς ἐλογίζοντο δὲ ἐν ἑαυταῖς τίς ἄρα ἀποκυλίσει τὸν λίθον ἐλθούσαι κ.τ.λ. The underlined text is an interpolation from Mark 16.3. The same interpolation is found in one other Greek MS, 0124 (sixth cent.,

<sup>228</sup> F.H. Chase, *The Syriac Element*, 138–48; also his *Syro-Latin Text*, 138–42.

<sup>229</sup> E. Nestle, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament* (London 1901; translated from the second German edition), 218: “And as this name ‘Western,’ the inappropriateness of which has long been recognized, becomes on this supposition more inappropriate still, I am inclined to recommend freer adoption of the nomenclature familiarized by the work of Chase, I mean that of ‘Syro-Latin.’”

<sup>230</sup> *Itala, I. Matthäus-evangelium*, ed. A. Jülicher, Vol. 1 (Berlin 1938), 177.

<sup>231</sup> *Diatessaron de Tatien*, ed. A.-S. Marmardji (Beyrouth 1935), 403.

bilingual [Coptic]); it is also found in the Vetus Latina MS *c* (and, with minor variants, in the Latin column of Codex Bezae, *d*): “*venerunt ad monumentum diluculo ferentes quaecumque paraverant. Cogitabant autem inter se, quisnam esset, qui revolveret lapidem*”;<sup>232</sup> the Sahidic also offers the interpolation. As a harmonization, it is also found in the Arabic Harmony: “*Elles apportèrent avec elles les aromates qu’elles avaient préparés. Et elles se dirent entre elles: ‘Qui nous [écartera] roulera la pierre de la porte du sépulcre?’*”<sup>233</sup>

Tens of readings like these led Chase to conclude that the Diatessaron and Codex Bezae (along with the Vetus Syra and the Vetus Latina) had imbibed from this same textual tradition.

Whether the precise contours of Chase’s explanation (specifically, the “workshop” in “Antioch”) are correct is not our concern. Rather, his work is noteworthy as the first significant study of one of the greatest puzzles of the New Testament’s evolution, the genesis of the “Western Text.” By basing his conclusions on the combination of Greek, Latin, and Syriac *textual* evidence, Chase defined the issues and sources for a field of study which still flourishes.<sup>234</sup> After Chase’s work, the “Western Text” and the Diatessaron would be inextricably linked: the study of either would mean the study of both.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON

THE LIÈGE HARMONY

THE CAMBRIDGE HARMONY

CLEMENT OF LLANTHONY’S *CONCORDIA*  
*QUATUOR EVANGELISTARUM*

Although it would not experience a full-scale study until the 1920s, the introduction of the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony as a witness to the Diatessaron was a milestone, for in its text many of the threads laid out by J.C. Zahn, Grein, Schade, Th. Zahn, Baethgen, and Chase would be found woven together.

The Liège Harmony, MS no. 437 in the Liège (Belgium) University Library, had been edited twice before it came to the attention of students of the Diatessaron.<sup>235</sup> As the oldest extant Dutch gospel translation—whose style has been called “an oasis in the

<sup>232</sup> *Italia, III. Lucas-evangelium*, ed. A. Jülicher (Berlin 1954), 270.

<sup>233</sup> *Diatessaron de Tatien* (ed. Marmardji), 505.

<sup>234</sup> E.g., D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge 1991); see also the bidecennial reviews by A.F.J. Klijn, *A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts*, 2 vols.: Vol. 1 (Utrecht 1949); Vol. 2, NT.S 21 (Leiden 1969).

<sup>235</sup> First by G.J. Meijer, *Het Leven van Jezus* (Groningen 1835); then by J. Bergsma, *De Levens van Jezus in het Middelnederlandsch* (Leiden 1895–98).

desert of poor or mediocre" medieval translations, and "the best translation before Luther"—it was of great interest to Neerlandici.<sup>236</sup> The manuscript is assigned a date in the late thirteenth century (c. 1280), and is written in Limburgs (Limburg), a dialect of Middle Dutch. It contains a preface in which the anonymous "compiler" claims the harmony is his own creation, a new translation from Latin. While this may be true of the *translation* from Latin into Dutch, it cannot be said of the *document* which was translated, for it contains both a Diatessaronic sequence as well as Diatessaronic variants. Furthermore, it is clear that the Liège manuscript itself is not the "autograph" translation, for it shares a common error with a contemporary literary work, Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* (composed in 1271).<sup>237</sup> This error shows that both Van Maerlant and the Liège manuscript stem from a still-older (but now lost) Middle Dutch archetype.

The first report of the connexion between the Liège Harmony and the Diatessaron was given in 1894 by J. Armitage Robinson.<sup>238</sup> The story is odd, for the discovery began not with the Liège Harmony itself, but with another Middle Dutch manuscript allied with but now judged inferior to it, namely, the Cambridge Harmony. Moreover, the crucial discovery of the importance of the Liège manuscript—although reported by Robinson—was not made by him, but by Prof. Edward Atkinson, Master of Clare College, Cambridge.<sup>239</sup>

In a brief two-column note in *The Academy*, dated 20 February 1894, Robinson remarked on a Dutch gospel harmony in the Cambridge University Library (Dd. xii.25), now known to scholarship as the Cambridge Harmony. Making use of the just-published article of Th. Zahn,<sup>240</sup> Robinson noted that although the Cambridge

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<sup>236</sup> C.C. de Bruin, *Middel nederlandse Vertalingen van het Nieuwe Testament* (Groningen 1934), 68: "Duitse onderzoekers die terloops hebben gehandeld over de voortreffelijke vertaalkunst van dit L[even]. v[an]. J[esu]., zagen L[iège] en S[tuttgart] als een oase in de woestijn van slechte of middelmatige Duitse bijbelvertalingen der Middeleeuwen en beschouwden het als een der beste overzettingen vóór Luther."

<sup>237</sup> On the *Rijmbijbel*, see *infra*, 324f. Both the Liège Harmony and Van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* read "*poorters*" ("citizen's") where they should read "*potters*" ("potter's") in Matt 27.7.

<sup>238</sup> J.A. Robinson, "Tatian's Diatessaron and a Dutch Harmony," *The Academy* 45 ([24 March] 1894), 249–50.

<sup>239</sup> I am obliged to the present Master of Clare College, Prof. R.C.O. Matthews, for providing the name of his predecessor; Robinson fails to name the colleague who supplied him with what surely must be one of the more brilliant tips in the history of textual studies.

<sup>240</sup> "Zur Geschichte von Tatians Diatessaron im Abendland," *NKZ* 5 (1894), 85–120.

manuscript “has nothing to do with [Zahn’s] Latin Harmony [Munich Clm. 10 025], it tallies exactly with his German one [Munich Cgm. 532].”<sup>241</sup> Robinson opined that the Dutch harmony might be an earlier representative of this same family of manuscripts, for—in addition to the agreements with the German harmony—two readings in the German harmony, which Zahn suspected of being later corruptions, were, indeed, *absent* from the Cambridge Harmony.

In a “P.S.” dated 8 March 1894 to *The Academy* article, Robinson alerted the world to the importance of the Liège Harmony for Diatessaronic studies:

Since I wrote the above, my attention has been called by the Master of Clare College to another Dutch Harmony, published by G.J. Meijer in 1835 [= the Liège Harmony], under the title “Het Leven van Jezu” [*sic*]. This has very much in common with the MS. of which I have spoken [*i.e.*, the Cambridge Harmony]. It appears to me to be an independent translation of the same Latin Harmony . . .<sup>242</sup>

In support of his contention that this new Dutch harmony, published by Meijer, was part of the Tatian tradition, Robinson offered two readings, and adduced parallels from Ephrem’s *Commentary* and Aphrahat.<sup>243</sup>

Through this brief postscript, Robinson opened the door to a new group of Diatessaronic witnesses, the Middle Dutch family, and pin-pointed the premier Western witness to the Diatessaron, the Liège Harmony. Both the Cambridge and the Liège Harmonies were mentioned by H.J. Vogels in his *Beiträge* (1919),<sup>244</sup> but not investigated. That task was left to a Dutch scholar, Daniël Plooi, who in 1923 published his first monograph on the Liège Harmony. His work permanently altered the course of Diatessaronic studies, and will be dealt with later, under Plooi’s name.<sup>245</sup>

In this same postscript, Robinson named—but did not produce any readings from—a Latin gospel harmony composed by Clement of Llanthony (also known as Clement of Gloucester). A.F. Pollard

<sup>241</sup> Robinson, 249. Regarding Zahn’s manuscripts, see *supra*, 126.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, 250.

<sup>243</sup> At Luke 1.27, Liège and Ephrem’s *Commentary* both interpolate: “they were both of the house of David”; at Mark 10.21, Liège and Aphrahat both read “He looked on him with love,” instead of the canonical “be-holding him with love.”

<sup>244</sup> Vogels, *Beiträge* 124.

<sup>245</sup> See *infra*, 170–178; 189–195.

described him as “one of the most popular theological writers of the middle ages.” A contemporary of Thomas à Becket and Richard the Lionhearted, he was considered one of the most illustrious men of his age.<sup>246</sup> Before his death *c.* 1190, Clement composed a *Concordia quatuor evangelistarum*. Although it survives in numerous manuscripts, and although it appears to have been translated into English by John Wycliffe (or one of his intimates) shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century, an edition of Clement’s harmony is still lacking.

Robinson mentioned two manuscripts, one in the Cambridge University Library (Dd. i.17), the other in the Pembroke College Library (Cambridge). Robinson said it was “probable” that Clement’s harmony was “based on this older [*i.e.*, pre-Codex Fuldensis] Latin Tatian.” Clement of Llanthony’s harmony was also mentioned by H.J. Vogels in his *Beiträge* as a harmony related to the Diatessaron. To date, however, the sole study is a brief treatment by J. Rendel Harris, which did not adduce textual evidence in support of its relation to the Diatessaron.<sup>247</sup>

#### THE SINAITIC SYRIAC (SYR<sup>S</sup>)

#### THE PALESTINIAN SYRIAC LECTIONARY (SYR<sup>PAL</sup>)

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, two editions important for Diatessaronic studies appeared. The first was the 1894 publication of the Sinaitic Palimpsest, also known as Syrus Sinaiticus (Syr<sup>S</sup>).<sup>248</sup> This second manuscript of the Vetus Syra recension of the Syriac gospels complemented Cureton’s earlier discovery, Syr<sup>C</sup>. A late fourth- or early fifth-century manuscript, Sinaiticus afforded a second fix on the earliest separate gospels in Syriac. The exact relationship between the Syr<sup>S</sup> and Syr<sup>C</sup> is not clear, but they are usually thought to represent separate translations into the Syriac, or at least independent

<sup>246</sup> So Osbert of Clare: see the article by A.F.P. (A.F. Pollard?), “Clement of Llanthony,” in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 22 (“Supplement”), ed. S. Lee, published in three parts (Oxford 1901), here pt. 2, pp. 33–34; reprinted in a single volume (Oxford 1909), 458–59.

<sup>247</sup> J.R. Harris, “The Gospel Harmony of Clement of Llanthony,” *JBL* 43 (1924), 349–62. See *infra*, 163 and 469.

<sup>248</sup> Editio princeps: *The Four Gospels in Syriac transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, edd. R.L. Bensley, J.R. Harris, F.C. Burkitt (Cambridge 1894). Its readings were incorporated in the apparatus of an edition of the two Old Syriac manuscripts (Syr<sup>S-C</sup>) by F.C. Burkitt: *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1904). The discoverer of the manuscript, Agnes Smith Lewis, reedited Syr<sup>S</sup> in 1910: *The Old Syriac Gospels, or Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (London).

revisions of a common ancestor.<sup>249</sup> (The situation is analogous to the divergent manuscripts of the *Vetus Latina*, discussed *infra*, 306.)

The textual evidence from the Sinaitic Syriac was quickly evaluated by Diatessaronic experts: would this new manuscript of the separate Syriac gospels alter the priority accorded the Diatessaron? Th. Zahn is representative of scholarship on the point. The same phenomena of harmonization and agreement with Diatessaronic witnesses found in Curetonianus also occurred in Sinaiticus, although to a lesser degree.<sup>250</sup> Consequently, the new manuscript, like Curetonianus, supported the priority of the Diatessaron. Zahn speaks of the new Sinai palimpsest as having an “innigen Zusammenhang mit dem *noch älteren Diatessaron*.”<sup>251</sup> Elsewhere, referencing both manuscripts of the *Vetus Syra*, he observes that “bei den Syrern das ‘Evangelium der Gemischten’ (T[atian]) *das Erste*, das ‘Evangelium der Getrennten’ *das Zweite* war.”<sup>252</sup>

The second important publication was the 1899 edition of the three manuscripts of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary (Syr<sup>pal</sup> [sometimes referred to in early studies as the “Jerusalem” Syriac, or Syr<sup>j</sup>]) by the adventuring twin sisters, Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson.<sup>253</sup> Written in Palestinian Syriac (“Western Aramaic”), one of these manuscripts, known as MS “A” (Vatican: Syr. 19; dated 1030) had been known for some time,<sup>254</sup> and had been edited in 1861–64.<sup>255</sup> But the remaining two manuscripts, known respec-

<sup>249</sup> See P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford 1959<sup>2</sup>), 285–93, for the history of scholarship; and M. Black, “The Syriac Versional Tradition,” *Die alten Übersetzungen des neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland, ANTT 5 (Berlin 1972), 120–159, for the most recent evidence.

<sup>250</sup> This was initially disputed by F.C. Burkitt, “The Sinai Palimpsest of the Old Syriac Gospels,” *The Guardian*, 31 October 1894. However, by the time he published his edition of the two manuscripts (*Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2 vols. [Cambridge 1904]), he had reversed his position, and agreed with Zahn that the Diatessaron was the oldest Syriac gospel text.

<sup>251</sup> Th. Zahn, “Neue Fragmente von Tatian’s Diatessaron,” *ThLBl* 16 (1895), col. 497, italics added. See also Zahn’s “Die syrische Evangelienübersetzung vom Sinai,” *ThLBl* 16 (1894), (Part I of the article) 1–5; (Part II) 17–21.

<sup>252</sup> Th. Zahn, “Neue Quellenforschungen zum Diatessaron, I,” *ThLBl* 17 (1896), col. 4, italics added.

<sup>253</sup> *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, edd. A.S. Lewis and M.D. Gibson (London 1899).

<sup>254</sup> It was first described by S.E. and J.S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, Pars I, tome 2 (Rome 1758), 70–103.

<sup>255</sup> *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum ex codice Vaticano Palestino deprompsit . . .*, ed. F.M. Erizzo, 2 vols. (Verona 1861, 1864). On the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, see the relevant sections in A. Vööbus, *Early Versions*, or B. Metzger, *Early Versions*.

tively as MSS “B” and “C” (both at St. Catherine’s Monastery, Mt. Sinai; “B” is dated 1104, and “C” to 1118), were discovered in 1892 and 1893. The manuscripts were for liturgical use; their tradition may well date back to the period 300–600. They display occasional agreements with  $\aleph$ , Origen’s text, Streeter’s “Caesarean” text, and even the Byzantine text. But the manuscripts also contain numerous readings from the earlier Syriac versions, notably the Peshitta, the Vetus Syra, and the Diatessaron.<sup>256</sup> As such, they constitute one more point of reference for fixing the Diatessaron’s text.

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The period surveyed in this chapter saw the introduction of many major Diatessaronic witnesses: Codex Fuldensis and Codex Sangallensis, Aphrahat, Ephrem’s *Commentary*, and the first reports of the Arabic Harmony and the Middle Dutch Harmonies. Additionally, sources which would permit locating the Diatessaron within the Syrian gospel tradition were edited: the two manuscripts of the Vetus Syra, as well as the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary. Some fundamental issues were also settled: that it was Tatian and not Ammonius who was the Diatessaron’s composer; that extra-canonical gospels (or proto-canonical versions of the gospels which deviated from the present manuscript tradition of the gospels) were—either directly or indirectly—among the Diatessaron’s sources; that the Diatessaron was intimately connected with that textual tradition represented in Codex Bezae (D), and known as the “Western Text”; that the Diatessaron antedated the oldest-known Syriac gospel manuscripts; that in the West, an unvulgarized (but now lost) Latin ancestor of Codex Fuldensis had existed. These conclusions—so slowly and painfully reached—are the foundation upon which Diatessaronic studies are built.

In a larger context, the scholarly world was appraised of the Diatessaron’s importance for text-critical studies, and of the wide influence of the Diatessaron on other literary works, such as the gospel citations of Aphrahat and Ephrem, and on the medieval vernacular harmonies in the West. At the same time, other ques-

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<sup>256</sup> M. Black has studied the manuscripts: “The Palestinian Syriac Gospels and the Diatessaron,” *OrChr* 36 [= III.14] (1939), 101–11. In “The Syriac Versional Tradition,” *Die alten Übersetzungen des neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland, ANTT 5 (Berlin 1972), 120–59, Black remarks that “The influence of the Diatessaron on the Lectionary is unmistakable” (142).

tions remained open. It was unclear whether the original language of the Diatessaron had been Greek, Latin, or Syriac; whether it had been composed in the West or in the East; how its influence spread so widely, into the canonical manuscript tradition in Latin, Syriac, and Greek, and into the earliest Fathers both East and West. The next two generations of scholars would strive to answer them.

During this period, the problems of scholarly specialization became manifest: Th. Zahn's apparent ignorance of the work of Grein and Schade; Schade's ignorance of the work of J.C. Zahn and Grein; etc. Similarly, the problems of method began to acquire shape: did one use rhetorical arguments and suppositions as to what "must" or "could not" be the case? Harnack had done so—correctly, as it turned out—when he suggested that the Diatessaron antedated the *Vetus Syra*. Sievers had also done so—incorrectly, as it turned out—when he argued that *Codex Sangallensis*' Old High German column was dependent upon the accompanying Latin column. Sievers had once again used the same type of argument to dismiss Schade's textual evidence, and argue instead that *Codex Fuldensis* must be the "*Stammhandschrift aller erhaltenen lateinischen Tatiancodices*"—despite evidence to the contrary. But even when readings were adduced, they sometimes proved vulnerable: recall Baethgen's evisceration of Th. Zahn's textual evidence. What were the "rules of evidence"? What would lead to firmer ground?



## CHAPTER FOUR

### A HISTORY OF DIATESSARONIC STUDIES AND A DESCRIPTION OF DIATESSARONIC WITNESSES: FROM 1900 TO THE 1930s

The appearance of Th. Zahn's *opus magnum*, the publication of a Latin translation of the Armenian version of Ephrem's *Commentary*, and the discovery the Sinaitic manuscript of the *Vetus Syra*—all chronicled in the preceding chapter—provided Diatessaronic studies with the tools necessary for advancing the discipline. The ground-work laid by the pioneers in the nineteenth century bore fruit in the twentieth. Developments—which included the discovery of new witnesses and the confirmation of new theories—came with breathtaking speed. The “Golden Age” of Diatessaronic studies was dawning.

#### ARTHUR HJELT

In 1903 the Finnish scholar Arthur Hjelt published *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron besonders in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis*,<sup>1</sup> the principal aim of which was to challenge the position Th. Zahn and Baethgen had accorded the Diatessaron as the oldest gospel in Syriac. Hjelt argued that while the Diatessaron circulated in Syriac before the creation of the text found in Syr<sup>c</sup>, the same could not be said of the newly-published Sinaitic Syriac (Syr<sup>s</sup>). Its text was, said Hjelt, older than the Diatessaron. As he saw it, the Diatessaron lay chronologically *between* Syr<sup>s</sup>, which antedated the Diatessaron, and Syr<sup>c</sup>, which was more recent than the Diatessaron. Hjelt's evidence need not detain us here, for it has been examined, and found wanting. Virtually all scholars since the turn of the century have found in favour of the Diatessaron as the oldest known gospel in Syriac; *both* manuscripts of the *Vetus Syra* show evidence of influence from the Diatessaron and, consequently, are more recent than the Diatessaron.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> FGNT 7.1 (Leipzig 1903).

<sup>2</sup> Hjelt's evidence has been examined—and rejected—by Burkitt, Vogels, Plooij, Vööbus, and Black (see *supra*, 148).

While Hjelt's attempt to revise the accepted sequence of early Syriac gospels did not succeed, his monograph is valuable for presenting an extensive list of *testimonia* concerning the Diatessaron, ranging from Eusebius's first report to the colophons in the manuscripts of the Arabic Harmony.<sup>3</sup> In chronicling these reports, he made trenchant observations on the Diatessaronic tradition in the various witnesses. He remarked, for example, that between 850 and 1000 there must have been a revision of the Diatessaron's text, for many of the Diatessaronic variants found in the *Commentary* of Isho'dad of Merv (written in the 800s) were absent from the manuscripts of the Arabic Harmony (the earliest of which dates from the twelfth or thirteenth cent).<sup>4</sup> In another instance, he noted the considerable number of instances in which the gospel quotations in Ephrem's *Commentary* (Armenian version) agreed with the Peshitta. This led him to wonder

... ob diese Citate [in Ephrem] wirklich die ursprüngliche Textgestalt des Diatessaron aufbewahrt haben.<sup>5</sup> Wäre es nicht möglich, dass der armenische Uebersetzer bei seiner Uebertragung den Text nach der armenischen Vulgata, welche mit Sp [= the Peshitta] nächst verwandt ist, geändert habe, oder dass das von Ephraim benutzte Diatessaron-Exemplar durch eine nachträgliche Revision mit Sp konformiert worden sei?<sup>6</sup>

Without answering this pregnant question, Hjelt became one more in a growing list of scholars to wonder whether a witness had been Vulgatized, or, as Th. Zahn had done in the case of Codex Fuldensis, to demonstrate it.

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<sup>3</sup> Hjelt, *Die altsyrischen Evangelienübersetzung*, 16–70.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>5</sup> Hjelt's skepticism was well-founded, as it turned out. Cp. our comments *supra*, p. 117, n. 126, and *infra*, 253–254.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

FRANCIS CRAWFORD BURKITT

EPHREM'S GOSPEL QUOTATIONS

THE *DOCTRINA ADDAI*<sup>7</sup>THE SYRIAC *DOCTRINA*  
*APOSTOLORUM*<sup>8</sup>THE *BOOK OF THE MARTYRS*<sup>9</sup>THE SYRIAC TRANSLATION OF  
EUSEBIUS' *THEOPHANIA*<sup>10</sup>

The name of the Cambridge scholar F.C. Burkitt is intimately linked with Syriac studies. Quite naturally, his interests included the Diatessaron. In a brief monograph titled *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*,<sup>11</sup> Burkitt used the newly discovered Sinaitic Syriac manuscript and the extant editions of Ephrem's works<sup>12</sup> to study his gospel citations. Each reference was excised, printed in Syriac, and then compared with the Greek and other traditions. The care and analytical precision with which Burkitt worked is abundantly clear in this volume. Although operating without many of the witnesses today considered essential, he saw that although Ephrem shared readings with the Vetus Syra, at many points his citations deviated from all known Syriac tetraevangelions (Ephrem, according to Burkitt, demonstrates

<sup>7</sup> Editio princeps: *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle* . . . , ed. G. Phillips (London 1876). Phillips' text has been reprinted with a new English translation and introduction by G. Howard: *The Teaching of Addai, Texts and Translations* 16, Early Christian Literature Series 4 (Chico [California] 1981).

<sup>8</sup> Editio princeps: P. de Lagarde, *Reliquiae iuris ecclesiarum antiquissimae syriacae* (Leipzig 1856), 33–44. De Lagarde's edition was based on a ninth cent. MS; Wm. Cureton produced a superior edition on the basis of a fifth or sixth century MS: *Ancient Syriac Documents Relative to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the Neighbouring Countries* (London 1864; reprinted: Amsterdam 1967), 166–73 (text), 24–35 (English translation).

<sup>9</sup> Edition: P. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, Vol. 2 (Paris 1891), 57–396.

<sup>10</sup> Edition: S. Lee, *Eusebius of Caesarea on the Theophania or Divine Manifestation of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, Syriac text (London 1842); translation (Cambridge 1843).

<sup>11</sup> TaS VII.2 (Cambridge 1901; reprinted: Nendeln 1967).

<sup>12</sup> The editions were: (1) the "Roman edition" (which Burkitt calls "one of the most confusing and misleading works ever published" [ibid., p. 4]: *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia* . . . , edd. J.S. Assemani, S.E. Assemani, and P. Mobarak, 6 vols. (Romae 1732–46); (2) "Overbeck's edition": *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni, Balaei Aliorumque Opera Selecta* . . . , ed. J.J. Overbeck (Oxford 1865); (3) "Bickell's edition": *Carmina Nisibena*, ed. G. Bickell (Leipzig 1866); (4) "Lamy's edition": *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones* . . . , ed. T.J. Lamy, 3 vols. (Louvain 1882–89); and (5) Moesinger's translation of Ephrem's *Commentary* (see *supra*, 114–117).

no acquaintance with the Peshitta). Often these divergences agreed with known Diatessaronic witnesses, such as Aphrahat or the Arabic Harmony. Burkitt concluded that when composing his extensive corpus of prose and poetry, Ephrem had employed a Diatessaron.<sup>13</sup>

Burkitt's study of Ephrem's gospel citations was preliminary to the crowning achievement of his career, publication of his edition of the Vetus Syra version: the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (1904).<sup>14</sup> The text of Ephrem's *Commentary*, as well as Aphrahat's gospel quotations and other significant parallels from early Syriac literature were cited in the apparatus. Volume 2 ("Introduction and Notes") of *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is a masterful survey of the history of the gospel text in Syriac. As prelude to the appearance of the Vetus Syra, Burkitt reviewed early Syriac literature, attempting in each case to stipulate the form of gospel text known to the author. Among the sources he examined were several which appeared to have been citing a Diatessaron. In addition to mentioning the Diatessaron by name (see *supra*, 38–39), the *Doctrina Addai* contained several gospel citations. Its quotation of Luke 23.48 included the interpolation of the phrase "desolation of Jerusalem," an interpolation not found in the Vetus Syra, but present in Ephrem's *Commentary* and Vetus Latina Codex Sangermanensis (*g*<sup>1</sup>).<sup>15</sup> This and other similar readings betrayed use of a Diatessaron.

Another work which cited the Diatessaron was the Syriac *Doctrina Apostolorum*, extant in two manuscripts and probably composed in the fourth century.<sup>16</sup> Gospel quotations in the preface of the *Book of Martyrs* (it recounts the sufferings of Christians under Shapur II of Persia in the late fourth century), compiled in the early fifth century by Mârûthâ, bishop of Maipercat (Martyropolis), also appeared to reflect use of a Diatessaron. Again using his criterion of dissimilarity, Burkitt noted that these frequently differed from the Vetus Syra, but agreed with quotations in Aphrahat and Ephrem's *Commentary*. Of one lengthy cross-gospel harmonization (Luke 21.14, Matt 10.20, Luke 21.12, 13), found in almost identical form in Aphrahat, Burkitt observed

<sup>13</sup> Burkitt, *S. Ephraim's Quotations*, 2, 56–58.

<sup>14</sup> 2 vols. (Cambridge).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 154; the section on the *Doctrina Addai* covers 152–55. On this variant, see *infra*, 414–420.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 107–08 (variants in its text "imply the use of the Diatessaron" [108]); the older of the two manuscripts dates from the fifth or sixth century.

that "We can hardly doubt that it was also found in the Diatessaron."<sup>17</sup>

Burkitt also examined translation literature, focussing special attention on the Syriac version of Eusebius' *Theophania*. His reason for doing so was that one of the Syriac manuscripts of the work (the "Nitrian" MS [London: British Library, Or. Add. 12,150]) was copied in February, 411, and was itself a copy of a copy. Burkitt's conclusion was, however, cautious. He found "no certain signs of acquaintance with the Peshitta or the Diatessaron on the part of the translator of the *Theophania*." Three decades later, the *Theophania* was reexamined by Anton Baumstark, who found Diatessaronic variants in its text.<sup>18</sup> However, Baumstark's student, Curt Peters, also examined the *Theophania*, and concluded that its gospel citations were dependent upon a Vetus Syra type of text.<sup>19</sup>

These early contributions of Burkitt, both in studies and in tools, helped lay the foundation of the discipline. Later in this chapter we shall return to him, this time as a critic of the theories of Daniël Plooij (see *infra*, 178–187).

#### HERMANN VON SODEN

Although often (and justly) criticized, the edition of the New Testament published by von Soden between 1902 and 1913 remains one of the most useful tools for the study of the gospels. Von Soden employed a small army of assistants to collate New Testament manuscripts, versions and Patristic citations; it was the most complete survey yet conducted. On the basis of this investigation, von Soden divided the Greek manuscript tradition into three families: **I** (= Jerusalem), **H** (= Hesychius), and **K** (= Koine).<sup>20</sup> He also concluded that "der Text von Tatian's Diatessaron in der Textgeschichte der Evv [= Evangelien] eine bedeutsame Rolle gespielt hat."<sup>21</sup> In point of fact, "Tatian's Diatessaron ist im Grund die einzige Quelle für alle irgend bedeutsameren Abwandlungen des Evtexes."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 158; see also 160.

<sup>18</sup> See *infra*, 223–224.

<sup>19</sup> See *infra*, p. 223, n. 38.

<sup>20</sup> An excellent treatment of von Soden's system and the **I-H-K** families is found in F.G. Kenyon, *The Text of the Greek Bible*, 3rd edition revised and augmented by A.W. Adams (London 1975<sup>3</sup>), 191–197.

<sup>21</sup> H.F. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neue Testaments . . .* (Berlin 1902–13); Teil I, Abt. II (1907), 1632.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 1633.

In general, von Soden adopted the positions of Zahn: the Diatessaron preceded the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vetus Syra*. He dissented, however, on the matter of original language. According to von Soden, the Diatessaron had been composed in Greek, in the West. The occasional agreements among the Greek, Latin, and Syriac textual traditions reflected influence from a Greek Diatessaron. Such influence on the Greek or Latin manuscript tradition by a Syriac Diatessaron, or by Syriac gospels—themselves under Diatessaronic influence—was “unmöglich.” Tatian himself translated the Diatessaron into Syriac in the East, where it became the standard “gospel” of the Syrian church.<sup>23</sup> The harmonizations in the *Vetus Latina* reflected the influence of a Latin Diatessaron on the early Latin text, just as the harmonizations in the *Vetus Syra* reflected the influence of a Syriac Diatessaron. The singular agreements among the *Vetus Syra*, the *Vetus Latina* and the manuscripts of the Greek “Western Text” were all traceable to “*einzigste Quelle*,” the Diatessaron. Published in Greek, Latin, and Syriac, it muddled the textual waters of each language. That this was the direction of influence (and not the reverse, *i.e.*, Old Syriac/Old Latin → Diatessaron) was established for von Soden by two facts. First, the Encratite readings in the *Vetus Syra* must have come from the Encratite Tatian, and not the reverse.<sup>24</sup> Second, according to von Soden’s reckoning, harmonistic readings were greatest in Matthew (he counted 216), and decreased thereafter (204 in Mark; 107 in Luke). This pattern could not be explained if the harmonizations were simply the random efforts of scribes to reconcile the gospels; in that case the number of harmonizations per gospel (adjusted for the gospel’s length) would have been roughly equivalent. Rather, said von Soden, the fact that Matthew contained the most harmonizations showed that they were the result of the influence of a harmony, whose “Grundstock” had been Matthew. These harmonizations remained in the ears and eyes of scribes, consciously and unconsciously guiding them when they made copies of Matthew.<sup>25</sup>

What sort of a text had Tatian used when compiling his Diatessaron? Von Soden’s answer was an **I-H-K** text (*i.e.*, the earliest, purest form of the text, before its corruption into the three respective recensions); he said that “*die einzelnen Evv* Tatian

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 1583.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 1585.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 1584.

in einer älteren Textgestalt vorlagen, als wir sie in **I-H-K** besitzen.”<sup>26</sup> How, then, had Diatessaronic readings crept into the text of Fathers contemporary with Tatian, who were writing before the individual **I**, **H**, and **K** recensions, and who, like Tatian, should have had access to the “immaculate” **I-H-K** text? Von Soden made the astonishing suggestion that Fathers such as Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Origen all used Diatessarons *in addition to* their **I-H-K** text.<sup>27</sup> All deviations from the **I-H-K** text in the early Fathers were due to use of the Diatessaron.

Von Soden’s treatment of the Diatessaron was idiosyncratic. On the one hand, he recognized its importance; on the other hand, he saw it as the source of all textual corruption. In this, he certainly overestimated the impact of the Diatessaron. He failed to allow for normal scribal harmonization, and refused to entertain the possibility that the gospels themselves might have had a Semitic flavour. Furthermore, the assertion that the early Fathers all used Diatessarons in conjunction with the pure **I-H-K** text is quite fantastic. While stray readings which agree with the Diatessaron crop up in many of these Fathers, *none* mentions the Diatessaron; indeed, Irenaeus is a strong proponent of a four-gospel canon. Is it likely that he would have used a Diatessaron? An alternate explanation exists for these occasional agreements: Clement, Irenaeus, Tatian, Origen—all of the second- and early third-century writers had to use the text known to them in their epoch. It is inevitable that occasional agreements should appear; the lack of distinctive Diatessaronic harmonizations in the Fathers, however, indicates that they were not using a Diatessaron.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 1633.

<sup>27</sup> Regarding Irenaeus: “Bei diesen wenigen sonstigen Abweichungen von I-H-K, dessen Text also auch Irenäus vorlag, kann es keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass die verhältnismässig grosse Zahl von Paralleleinflüssen, die Irenäus mit Tatian’s Harmonie teilt, nicht zufällige Begegnung sind, sondern Beeinflussung durch die letztere” (H. von Soden, *Die Schriften*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 1617).

On Tertullian: “Mindestens kann also Tert[ullian] das Diatessaron nicht hoch gewürdigt haben. Er hielt sich an die Originalschriften. Dennoch finden sich Citate, deren Zusammentreffen mit T[at]ian kaum Zufall sein kann” (ibid., 1613–14). “Nur selten hat er [Tertullian] sich von Tatian’s Diatessaron beeinflussen lassen” (ibid., 1614).

As for Clement: “Von grösstem Interesse ist nun aber, dass Klemens unverkennbar neben den getrennten Evv auch Tatian’s Diatessaron benutzt hat” (ibid., 1597).

Only with Origen is he more equivocal, suggesting that while there is Diatessaronic influence evident in Origen’s gospel citations, it did not come from direct contact, but through intermediaries (ibid., 1609–10).

The dictum “what explains everything explains nothing” is eminently applicable to von Soden. While his collations of gospel manuscripts were an indispensable service to scholarship, his description of the role of the Diatessaron seems naïve when compared with the analyses of J.C. Zahn, Th. Zahn, and Baethgen.

HEINRICH JOSEPH VOGELS

NUMEROUS LATIN AND MIDDLE HIGH  
GERMAN HARMONY MANUSCRIPTS

CLEMENT OF LLANTHONY'S GOSPEL  
HARMONY

Working independently and along different lines, Vogels arrived at conclusions which were, on one point at least, similar to those of von Soden. Although much more nuanced than von Soden, Vogels also held that “das Bindeglied zwischen Vetus Latina und Vetus Syra ist Tatians Diatessaron.”<sup>28</sup>

Vogels' expertise lay in the Latin versions, and his early research focused on harmonizations in the Vetus Latina,<sup>29</sup> especially in bilingual Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D and d). In 1910 Vogels published his first study of import for Diatessaronic research: *Die Harmonistik im Evangelientext des Codex Cantabrigiensis*.<sup>30</sup> His thesis was that the text of Codex Bezae had been strongly influenced by a gospel harmony, specifically, the Diatessaron.<sup>31</sup> Vogels acknowledged his debt to Chase and Th. Zahn, but he considered Zahn's explanation of the similarities between the Vetus Latina and Codex Bezae inadequate. Zahn, you will recall, had argued that Tatian, during his stay in Rome, had come to know the early “Roman” text—the text “standard” in that city and found in the citations of Justin, Marcion and, subsequently (in a more fragmentary form), in the Vetus Latina and D. Tatian transported this “Western Text” back to the East when he left Rome. When he composed his Diatessaron, he quite naturally availed himself of this text—hence, the Diatessaron's agreements with the Vetus Latina and Justin. According to Zahn, then, the “Western Text” antedated

<sup>28</sup> *Beiträge*, 78.

<sup>29</sup> In addition to Vogels' studies discussed below, see also his study of another Vetus Latina MS, *e: Evangelium Palatinum. Studien zur ältesten Geschichte der lateinischen Evangelienübersetzung*, NTA 11 (Münster 1926).

<sup>30</sup> *TU 36.1A* (Leipzig 1910).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.



Tatian, and had been current in the West while Tatian was in Rome.

Vogels now proposed the inverse: did not the “Western Text” time and again show *harmonistic elements*?<sup>32</sup> The presence of such readings in the “Western Text” had been demonstrated by Chase and von Soden. Given the presence of such readings, was it not awkward to argue that the Diatessaron *used* a separate-gospel text *already* riddled with harmonizations? Was it not more likely that these harmonizations in D and the Vetus Latina were the *result* of D and the Vetus Latina having been influenced *by* the Diatessaron? If Baethgen’s discovery of harmonistic readings in the Curetonian Syriac was sufficient to establish that Syr<sup>c</sup> was dependent upon, influenced by, and later than the Diatessaron, then, *mutatis mutandis*, said Vogels, the same should obtain in the case of the Graeco-Latin witnesses.<sup>33</sup>

In *Die Harmonistik*, Vogels offered his evidence in the form of over seventy pages of collations, containing over 1,500 variants. Each notes a conflation of parallel passages in Codex Bezae. An example will suffice. While the standard Greek reads ὁχλον ὅτι at Matt 15.32 and Mark 8.2 (Luke lacks a parallel), Codex Bezae reads ὁχλον τουτου ὅτι in both Matt 15.32 and Mark 8.2.<sup>34</sup> Especially important for Vogels were orthographic variants which were consistent across parallel passages, an example being at Matt 12.30 and Luke 11.23, where in place of the normal Latin “*dispergit*” one finds in *d* the spelling “*dispargit*.”<sup>35</sup> Vogels felt this carrying over of a variant from one gospel to another must be the result of a harmony’s influence on Codex Bezae. He concluded that

ein griechisches Diatessaron existiert hat, von dem Origenes und Eusebius nichts wussten, ebenso gut darf auch ein lateinisches Diatessaron nicht darum unmöglich sein, weil Leute wie Hieronymus und Augustinus nie davon gehört haben.<sup>36</sup>

It is worthwhile pausing to consider the weak links in Vogels’ argument, as presented thus far. First, he failed to allow for the common scribal phenomenon of harmonization. For example, in the first case presented above (Matt 15.32/Mark 8.2), why could

<sup>32</sup> See the examples provided by Chase, cited *supra*, 143–144.

<sup>33</sup> Vogels, *Die Harmonistik*, 3–7.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

the interpolation of τοῦτον not have existed in one of the gospels, say Matthew, from which a scribe (no Diatessaron necessary) inserted it into Mark? Although Vogels' efforts dredged up a large number of variants, he was singularly uncritical of them. Second, he failed to allow for "local" phenomena, such as the orthography of a particular area. The spelling given above, *dispargit*, may reflect nothing more than a scribe's consistency, or be no more remarkable than an Englishman spelling "colour" with a "u," and an American without the "u." There is no doubt but that there *are* significant and singular harmonizations in Codex Bezae, but in Vogels' 1910 work, the needle lay buried in a haystack of his own creation. Despite this, he felt the evidence sufficient to support the claim that the Diatessaron was the earliest edition of the Gospels in Latin. He put it thus:

Wenn man bedenkt, dass fast die ganze Vetus Latina durch den lateinischen Tatian beeinflusst worden ist, liegt es nahe, zu vermuten, dass diese Harmonie den ersten Versuch darstellt, das Evangelium in das römische Gewand zu kleiden.<sup>37</sup>

A year later, Vogels published a companion study, *Die altsyrischen Evangelien in ihrem Verhältnis zu Tatians Diatessaron* (1911).<sup>38</sup> In his earlier work Vogels had argued that the Vetus Latina was dependent upon and had been influenced by the Diatessaron, yet nowhere had he adduced parallels *with* the Diatessaron—a most curious way to proceed! In this volume, Vogels filled that void by, once again, providing extensive collations from Codex Bezae (D), but this time paralleling them with the readings from the two manuscripts of the Vetus Syra, Tatian (represented by Ephrem's *Commentary* [Armenian version] and the Arabic Harmony), and other manuscripts in the Greek and Latin families, as well as the versions. As could be expected from what we already know from the work of Th. Zahn and Chase, Vogels found significant singular agreements between D and the Vetus Syra, as well as with the Diatessaron and the Vetus Latina. Once again, however, his failure to exercise self-criticism manifested itself. His collations were complete, but in their completeness was much that was irrelevant to his case. For example, confusion between the singular and the plural

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>38</sup> *BSI(F)* 16 (Freiburg 1911).

was common in Syriac since the two forms are often orthographically identical, save for the *ṣyā mē*. Hence, one may question the value of a reading such as τοῖς ὄχλοις in all the Syriac versions (Syr<sup>s.c.p.</sup>) and D at Luke 9.16, against the received Greek reading τῷ ὄχλῳ.<sup>39</sup> Vogels argued that the Bezan reading was a harmonization with Matt 14.19;<sup>40</sup> but this is hardly self-evident, and other explanations are at least as probable.

The by-now-well-established connexion between the Vetus Latina and the Vetus Syra led Vogels to propose a solution to the problem of the "Western Text" which was similar to von Soden's explanation of non-I-H-K readings in the earliest Fathers. Vogels simply adopted the scheme of influence accepted for the East (Diatessaron → Vetus Syra → Peshitta) and transposed it to the West (Diatessaron → Vetus Latina → Vulgate). The genesis of the "Western Text" lay in the Diatessaron, said Vogels. This explained the observed relationship between two wings of the "Western Text": Codex Bezae and its Greek allies, and the Vetus Syra.

Die Verwandtschaft zwischen D und der Vetus Syra beruht nicht etwa darauf, dass dem Übersetzer des Evangelion da-Mepharresche ein sog. *Western-Text* vorlag, auf Grund dessen er seine Arbeit unternommen hätte, sondern erklärt sich nur durch die Beeinflussung beider durch das (griechische und syrische) Diatessaron.<sup>41</sup>

Vogels concluded that Tatian composed the Diatessaron in Greek in Rome, then made a "ziemlich wortgetreue" Syriac translation which he introduced into the Syrian East after his departure from Rome.<sup>42</sup> In a single blow, he felt he had not only solved the "Rätsel"<sup>43</sup> of the "Western Text," but also explained the relationship between the Vetus Syra and the Vetus Latina.

Scholarship, however, is excruciatingly slow to change, and

<sup>39</sup> A. Smith Lewis, one of the discoverers of the Sinaitic palimpsest, pointed this out in a brief critique of Vogels' work: *Zu H.J. Vogels Schrift Die altsyrischen Evangelien in ihrem Verhältnis zu Tatians Diatessaron* (Leipzig 1913), 4. This small reply—only 12 pages in length—offers numerous helpful observations on Syriac grammar and syntax which, if ignored, can mislead researchers.

<sup>40</sup> Vogels, *Die altsyrischen Evangelien*, 121.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 144

<sup>42</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>43</sup> The word is from Wm. Bousset's review of H. von Soden's *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* in *ThL* (1908), 676, in which he critically examines von Soden's analysis of the Diatessaron and offers his own insightful analysis of the relationship of the "Western Text" to the Diatessaron and the early gospel text.

often impervious to new data: we have already seen the same discoveries “discovered” more than once, and will see them “discovered” still more times.<sup>44</sup> Critics found Vogels’ suggestion that the Diatessaron had been the first Latin gospel text especially curious for, as far as the average scholar knew, Codex Fuldensis (recall Sievers’ pronouncement that it was the “Stammhandschrift” of *all* the Latin and vernacular harmonies) was the only remnant of a Diatessaron in the West—and even its text had been purged of Diatessaronic readings by the sixth century (when Victor had ordered it copied). Vogels answered his critics in a 1919 publication that is his most enduring and mature contribution to Diatessaronic research: the *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland*.<sup>45</sup> Using his extraordinary knowledge of the Latin tradition, he produced collations to establish that all of the following manuscripts of gospel harmonies had a genetic, textual relationship with the Diatessaron—as preserved in Western *and* Eastern witnesses:

Location	Library	Registration	Date	Language
Berlin	Staatsbibliothek	Phillipps 1707	XIII	Latin
Berlin	Staatsbibliothek	Ms. theol. fol. 7	XV	Latin
Cambridge	University Library	Ms. Dd. xii.25	XIII/XIV	Middle Dutch
Kassel	Landesbibliothek	Ms. theol. fol. 31	c. 830	Latin
Leipzig	Universitätsbib.	Cod. lat. 192	XIII	Latin
Leipzig	Universitätsbib.	Cod. lat. 193	XIII	Latin
Liège	Universiteits Bib.	Ms. 437	c. 1280	Middle Dutch
Munich	Staatsbibliothek	Clm. 23 346	IX	Latin
Munich	Staatsbibliothek	Clm. 10 025	XIII	Latin
Munich	Staatsbibliothek	Clm. 7 946	XIV	Latin
Munich	Staatsbibliothek	Clm. 23 977	1394	Latin
Munich	Staatsbibliothek	Clm. 721	c. 1440	Latin
Munich	Staatsbibliothek	Clm. 5 599	XV	Latin
Munich	Staatsbibliothek	Cgm. 532	1367	Bayrisch/ Österreichisch
Paris	Bib. Mazarin	No. 693	XIII	Latin
Reims	Bib. de Reims	Ms. A.35	IX	Latin
Rome	Vatican	Cod. Reg. lat. 47	—	Latin
Rome	Vatican	Cod. Vat. 7654	XIV	Tuscan
Sankt Gallen	Stiftsbibliothek	Ms. 56	IX	Latin/Old German

<sup>44</sup> Perhaps the most obvious example has been the realization that an “Old Latin” gospel harmony, not Codex Fuldensis, lies behind many of the Western vernacular harmonies. First hinted at by J.C. Zahn and Grein, it was “(re)discovered” by Schade and Th. Zahn. Later in this chapter, we will find it “(re)discovered” again by Vogels and Plooij.

<sup>45</sup> NTA 8.1 (Münster 1919).

He also introduced into evidence three manuscripts<sup>46</sup> of Clement of Llanthony's Latin gospel harmony. Complete collations were presented of Munich MSS Clm. 10 025 and Clm. 23 977 (their sequences of harmonization were also examined); partial collations were presented of Sankt Gallen 56, Kassel 31, Munich Clm. 23 346 and Clm. 7 946, Leipzig 192 and 193; examples were drawn from Reims A.35, Liège 437, Cambridge Dd xii.25, and Berlin Phillipps 1707.

Remembering that J. Armitage Robinson had noted four Diatessaronic readings in the Liège and Cambridge Middle Dutch manuscripts, and that we have already seen an example from Grein's edition of Codex Cassellanus, it will be beneficial to consider a few examples from Vogels' collations, for these are what led him to his conclusions. At Matt 28.7 the Arabic Harmony, Leipzig 192 and 193, and Munich Clm. 7 946 all interpolate "*et Petro*" after "*eius*." At John 3.36, Greek canonical MS 1241, Reims A.35, Leipzig 192 and 193, Berlin Phillip. 1707, and Munich Clm. 7 946 all interpolate "*dei*" after "*filio*." At Matt 13.46, Leipzig 193 and Syr<sup>sc</sup> interpolate "*bona*" after "*una*." Within the Greek and Latin manuscript tradition, the first reading is without parallel; the second is found in only one manuscript (Greek minuscule MS 4 [Paris, Bib. Nat., Gr. 84]; thirteenth cent.); the third is found only in Vetus Latina MS *h* (fourth or fifth cent.). Hundreds more such readings—usually confined to Diatessaronic witnesses—convinced Vogels that all of these European harmonies, both Latin and vernacular, were (1) related to each other; (2) related to the Syriac versions; and (3) related to the Diatessaron.

Previously, critics had scoffed at Vogels' dictum that readings common to the Vetus Syra and the Vetus Latina must be Diatessaronic; mocking this formula, a reviewer jibed that Vogels was creating a "*diatessaron imaginaire*." Now Vogels turned the tables and pointedly asked:

Hat jener Kritiker auch geahnt, dass nun in abendländischen Harmonien, die in nachweisbarem Zusammenhang mit Tatians Diatessaron stehen, solche Lesarten auftreten? Wird er sich jetzt darüber klar sein, was es z.B. bedeutet, wenn für die Auslassung von Jo 14, 14 zu *b sy<sup>s</sup> sy<sup>pal</sup>* und einigen griechischen Handschriften ein abendländisches Diatessaron tritt?<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Cambridge University Library Dd. i.17; Rouen Bib. Ms. 137 (A. 17) and Ms. 138 (A. 430).

<sup>47</sup> Vogels, *Beiträge*, 27.

After setting up his opponents in this manner, Vogels delivered the *coup de grâce* a few pages later, where his collations showed that two Latin harmonies (Munich Clm. 10 025 and Clm. 23 977) also omitted John 14.14, as did Syr<sup>s.pal</sup> and *b*.

Vogels' studies are a gold mine of readings—not just for Diatessaronic studies, but for anyone interested in the Latin versions, the “Western Text,” or the relationship between the Syriac and the Latin versions. In the case of *Die altsyrischen Evangelien* and the *Beiträge*, the collations are supplemented with readings from supporting manuscripts. As noted, his earliest work suffers from an uncritical appropriation of evidence to his cause: one must sort through many meaningless readings to find those which can bear the weight required. Vogels is also to be remembered for formulating the first rule of thumb for Diatessaronic research: *when the Vetus Latina and the Vetus Syra agree against the Greek tradition, that is the reading of the Diatessaron*.<sup>48</sup> Whether this rule is valid is open to question, for it enshrines a certain textual theory, rather than a consideration of the evidence. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy, for Vogels had taken the first step towards introducing benchmarks into a field previously distinguished only by their absence. His massive collations in the Latin tradition also proved beyond doubt that Codex Fuldensis was *not* the oldest form of a Western, Latin gospel harmony—what Sievers had called the “Stamhandschrift” of all the European harmonies. There *had* to have been another harmony, now lost, which had given rise to the numerous common readings found in the Western vernacular and Latin harmonies. Most importantly—as we will see later in this chapter—Vogels' work established as a fact beyond contest that “Tatians Diatessaron in der Abendländischen Kirche grössere Bedeutung und Verbreitung besessen hat, als man bisher annahm.”<sup>49</sup>

#### ERWIN PREUSCHEN

Preuschen's first contribution to Diatessaronic studies, published in 1918, was largely a digest of previous scholarship.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 27: “. . . sämtliche Lesarten, die durch die Vetus Latina + Vetus Syra gegen die griechische Überlieferung bezeugt werden, Tatianlesarten darstellen....”

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>50</sup> “Untersuchungen zum Diatessaron Tatians,” *SHAW.PH* 15 (1918), 1–63.

Despite this, he was among the first to discern the value of the Diatessaron for present-day textual criticism.

Citing von Soden's observation that the gospels' Greek manuscript tradition had been influenced by the Diatessaron's harmonistic readings—and, therefore, the Diatessaron must have been written in Greek in Rome—Preuschen set out to show the Diatessaron's "Bedeutung für die Textkritik der Evangelien." This goal, however, was never achieved. Rather, one finds a rehash of Patristic descriptions of the Diatessaron, and an attempted refutation of Th. Zahn's arguments for a Syriac original.

An example of Preuschen's approach was his treatment of a reading originally noted by Th. Zahn. According to the Greek gospel manuscripts of Matthew and Luke, Jesus sent out the Twelve with instructions *not* to take a ῥάβδος ("a staff/stick"; Matt 10.10 and Luke 9.3). But according to the Greek manuscripts of Mark 6.8, the parallel passage, Jesus instructed them to take nothing *except* a ῥάβδος. The gospels patently contradict each other. The contradiction apparently aroused little attention in the separate gospels, however, for not a single Greek manuscript attempts a resolution. A harmonist, however, could not ignore such a problem. He would have to omit one or the other version of the saying, or use some other technique to circumvent the crux. Zahn was the first to note that both sayings were present in Ephrem's *Commentary*, but that the contradiction found in the Greek gospels had been eliminated. Moesinger's Latin translation of the Armenian version of the *Commentary* (the version known to Zahn) read: "*virgam* . . . *Et non baculum*."<sup>51</sup> Zahn concluded that Tatian had used two Syriac synonyms to remove the contradiction.<sup>52</sup> The fact that this clever solution was totally absent from the Greek

<sup>51</sup> G. Moesinger and J.B. Aucher, *Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a Sancto Ephraemo Doctore Syro, in Latinum translata* (Venetii 1876), 91.

<sup>52</sup> Zahn's intuition, based on only the Armenian of Ephrem's *Commentary*, has proven correct. The newly discovered folios of the Syriac version of the *Commentary* (8.2) also use two synonyms: ܠܥܡܕܐ ("staff") and ܠܥܬܝܐ ("stick"). See *Saint Ephrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque* (Manuscript Chester Beatty 709). *Folios Additionnels*, ed. L. Leloir, CBM 8(b) (Louvain 1990), 112–13. The Arabic Harmony also uses two synonyms, but as Baarda notes, the translations of Hogg and Marmardji obscure that fact by translating both by the same word. The translations of Ciasca and Hill preserve the distinction. Two synonyms are also found in the Adysh codex of the Georgian version. See Tj. Baarda, "A Staff Only, Not a Stick. Disharmony of the Gospels and the Harmony of Tatian (Matthew 10.9f; Mark 6.8f; Luke 9.3 & 10.4)," *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, ed. J.-M. Savin, *BETHL* 86 (Louvain 1989), 327.

manuscript tradition was one more argument in favour of Syriac as the Diatessaron's original language.<sup>53</sup> Preuschen, however, turned Zahn's reasoning on its head, and suggested that rather than writing in Syriac, Tatian could have struck upon the same solution writing in Greek (ῥάβδος: βακτηρία).<sup>54</sup> He even ventured that Tatian prohibited the ῥάβδος because it was a sign of sovereignty, while the βακτηρία stood for a traveller's simple walking stick; carrying this, said Preuschen, was agreeable with Tatian's Encratism. The clever manner in which Tatian resolved the contradiction was one more proof of "die überlegte Besonnenheit, mit der Tatian jedes einzelne Wort prüft, ehe er den Text gestaltet."<sup>55</sup>

Preuschen also speculated as to why Tatian composed the Diatessaron. Tatian, he felt, had a "wissenschaftlich" interest in presenting a single, chronological account of Jesus' life, and sought to "improve" the gospels by removing diction offensive to Greek ears. Propaganda purposes, both anti-pagan (*e.g.* Celsus) and anti-Jewish, also played a role.<sup>56</sup>

It is unfortunate that Preuschen never fully explored the text Tatian used, for he offered several tantalizing remarks.

Der Text, den Tatian benutzte, weiche aber so stark von dem griechischen Text, wie wir ihn heute lesen, ab, dass die Annahme unvermeidlich ist, Tatian habe eine Gestalt des Evangeliums benützt, die wir heute nicht mehr besitzen, und von der der jetzige Text eine Überarbeitung darstellt.<sup>57</sup>

This is one of the earliest reflections on the type of text that *Tatian* used; heretofore, readings from the Diatessaron had been used to determine (1) Tatian's theological tendencies; (2) whether this or that medieval manuscript was related to the Diatessaron; (3) whether a "fifth source" had been used;

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<sup>53</sup> This reading has received much attention. It was treated by Zahn ("Zur Geschichte von Tatians Diatessaron im Abendland," *NKZ* 5 (1984), p. 95, n. 2); Hjelt (*Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung*, 119–22), and Preuschen. D. Plooiij also wrote an article on it ("Varia," *TT* 48 [1914], 514–18; the pertinent section is "Tatianus en Mt. 10.10, Mc. 6.8, Lc. 9.3," found on 517–18). Recently Tj. Baarda conducted a thorough reexamination (see previous note).

<sup>54</sup> Preuschen, "Untersuchungen," 46–49.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 61–62.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.



and (4) the original language of the Diatessaron. Preuschen's observation that Tatian's text was "deviant," and that the Diatessaron offered access to an earlier stage of the gospel text than otherwise available through canonical manuscripts, is important and, as we shall see, absolutely correct.<sup>58</sup> Preuschen's death in 1920 interrupted his work on a German translation of the Arabic Harmony. A. Pott completed the task; the volume appeared in 1926.<sup>59</sup>

Preuschen is noteworthy for his appreciation of the Diatessaron's importance for reconstructing the second-century text of the gospels. It is unfortunate that his career was ended by an untimely death. Much of what he published on the Diatessaron was derivative, usually dependent upon the work of Th. Zahn and von Soden. His analysis of specific textual readings, however, was generally inferior to that of Zahn. An example is his treatment of the "staff/stick" passage. Although he was arguing von Soden's position, namely, that the Diatessaron was originally a Greek composition which polluted the entire Greek manuscript tradition, he never explained why Tatian's clever solution ("take a staff, not a stick") was absent from the *entire* Greek manuscript tradition and *all* of the Greek Fathers—precisely those texts which the Diatessaron was supposed to have polluted so thoroughly, according to von Soden and Preuschen! Apparently it was not significant for Preuschen that the Old Syriac *had* the reading.<sup>60</sup> Just on the face of it, this textual evidence suggests that the reading arose in Syriac and not Greek. Preuschen's failure was two-fold: he not only failed to invalidate his opponent's position, but he also failed to construct a durable, positive argument for his own.

<sup>58</sup> Later, Louis Leloir and Sir Frederic Kenyon would make similar statements (see *supra*, 2). A similar but not identical observation had already been made by A. Harnack (see *supra*, 121), who suggested that through the Diatessaron, and the gospel quotations of Justin and Marcion, one could reconstruct the gospel text as it existed between 130 and 170.

<sup>59</sup> *Tatians Diatessaron aus dem Arabischen übersetzt*, edd. E. Preuschen and A. Pott (Heidelberg 1926).

<sup>60</sup> The distinction is preserved by the use of two words in the Vetus Syra: in Syr<sup>[c]</sup>, Matt 10.10 and Luke 9.3 read ܥܨܝܬܐ, while Mark 6.8 reads ܥܨܬܐ. Other Diatessaronic witnesses which use different words are Ephrem's *Commentary* and the Arabic Harmony.

<sup>61</sup> The sole edition is that of M. Goates, *The Papyrusian Harmony*, EETS O.S. 157 (London 1922). Opposite the title page is a photograph of part of folio 40.

THE PEPYSIAN HARMONY<sup>61</sup>

By now it has become apparent that some Diatessaronic witnesses “sneak in through the back door”: of primary interest to scholars in other fields, they only gradually come to the attention of students of the Diatessaron. The *Heliand* is one example; the Pepysian Harmony is another. Extant in a single manuscript (Cambridge: Magdalene College Library, MS Pepys 2498) dating from *c.* 1400, this gospel harmony is named after its one-time owner, the English diarist Samuel Pepys. In a brief introduction, its editor, Marjorie Goates, distinguished two types of gospel harmonies. One was the setting out of the four gospels in parallel columns; the other was the combination of all four gospels into a single account. Goates noted that the Pepysian Harmony belonged to the latter group, whose *formal* archetype was Tatian’s Diatessaron, but she made no remarks about any textual or structural links with the Diatessaron. Her edition was intended for students of Middle English; not surprisingly, she appears unaware of any Diatessaronic research conducted in the fields of New Testament, Patristic, and Germanic studies. She notes, for example, that the Pepysian Harmony omits the genealogies because they are “irrelevant”;<sup>62</sup> the omission of the genealogies is, however, as we know, one of the characteristics of the Diatessaron.

In her introduction Goates presented evidence to show that “the immediate source of the Pepysian Harmony . . . was French, and not Latin.”<sup>63</sup> This was clear from the “striking evidence of vocabulary and phraseology.” For example, in Chap. 96 of the harmony, the text reads: “*And þo bigonnen hij [þ]at helden Jesu forto cracchen hym*” (“And so began they that held Jesus to ‘*cracchen*’ on him”). She observes of “*cracchen*,” “There is no other known example of [*cracchen*’s] use in English.” But she compared it with the Old French, where “*crachier*” means “to spit.” Mistranslations, also predicated upon French, existed: at Mark 4.38 (Chap. 19), Jesus sleeps “*in an oriole*”; an “*oriole*” is a “porch” or “passage.” The Latin Vulgate correctly reads “*cervical*” (“pillow”). Once again, the Pepysian Harmony’s reading comes from the Old French where an “*oreille(e)*” is a “pillow.” If one extends Goates’ arguments, then it means that, although no known exemplar exists, the Pepysian Harmony—in addi-

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. xlv.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. xv.

tion to being the oldest known English witness to the Diatessaron—proves the existence of an Old French Diatessaron.<sup>64</sup>

The Papyrusian Harmony remains largely unexplored terrain. Goates remarked on its abbreviating tendency. It omits the genealogies and Luke's preface to Theophilus (Luke 1.1–4). Goates also noted interpolations (at Chaps. 81 and 95: "*Here bigynneb þe secounde meditacioun by þe þursday*" [81]) which indicate that in its present form it was intended for devotional use. Although cited in Daniël Plooij's edition of the Liège Harmony, and occasionally in studies of the Diatessaron, it was, until recently, the subject of only two articles. The first, by D. Plooij,<sup>65</sup> was simply a notice of the publication of Goates' edition, and adduced ten readings Plooij regarded as Diatessaronic.<sup>66</sup> Plooij characterized the harmony as "a rather poor specimen of its kind . . . extremely abbreviated, or even mutilated." The second article, in 1975/76 by J. Neville Birdsall, correctly warns against indiscriminate use of the Papyrusian Harmony as a Diatessaronic witness.<sup>67</sup> Then, in 1992, M.-É. Boismard published a book in which he argued that in addition to Tatian's Diatessaron, the harmony used by Justin had also left a mark on the harmonized gospel tradition. He singled out the Papyrusian Harmony as the best surviving witness to this pre-Tatianic harmony (see *infra*, under Boismard [348–356]).<sup>68</sup> This raises the possibility that the "abbreviating" character of the Papyrusian Harmony and what Plooij called "mutilation" (when compared with other Diatessaronic witnesses) may, in reality, stem from the fact that it represents a distinct textual tradition, one which is related to the Diatessaron—for Tatian seems to have used Justin's harmony when he created the Diatessaron—but anterior to it.

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<sup>64</sup> Dr. G. Mussies of Utrecht suggested an alternative explanation, namely that since English and Anglo-Norman existed side-by-side in England for some time, the slips might be nothing more than a Saxon's incomplete mastery of Anglo-Norman. Tj. Baarda, however, disagrees and finds Goates' explanation (slips in translating from the French) more likely. Here, I agree with Baarda.

<sup>65</sup> D. Plooij, "The Papyrusian Harmony," *BBC 2* (June 1926), 14–16.

<sup>66</sup> The standards Plooij used to determine "Diatessaronic" status in his 1926 article are now obsolete; hence, some of his readings may not pass muster today.

<sup>67</sup> J.N. Birdsall, "The Sources of the Papyrusian Harmony and its Links with the Diatessaron," *NTS* 22 (1975/76), 215–223.

<sup>68</sup> M.-É. Boismard, *Le Diatessaron: De Tatien à Justin*, EB N.S. 17 (Paris 1992).

Despite the fact that the Pepysian Harmony's order is different from all other Diatessaronic witnesses, and despite the fact that, like all harmonized witnesses, it has been subjected to Vulgatization, numerous readings still survive which agree with the Diatessaron of Tatian. Most notably, (1) it is the sole Western harmonized witness to mention the "light" at Jesus' baptism. Other evidence of the manuscript's connexion with the Diatessaron includes: (2) the interpolation of a chronological reference at Matt 27.51 ("*wip bat*" = "with that") post καί<sup>1</sup>, in agreement with numerous Diatessaronic witnesses both East and West; (3) it refers to those raised in Matt 27.52 as "*dede men*" (= "dead men"), not κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ("saints who had fallen asleep"), in agreement with numerous Diatessaronic witnesses East and West; (4) at John 13.9, it interpolates an additional request to wash "*al be body*" ("all the body"), with other Western Diatessaronic witnesses, and a single Vetus Latina manuscript (MS *a*: *totum corpus*); (5) at John 20.16, it interpolates that Mary "knew" Jesus, again in agreement with Eastern and Western Diatessaronic witnesses.<sup>69</sup> In short, although the Pepysian Harmony—whatever its ultimate origin—has suffered Vulgatization and has a unique sequence, its importance is disproportionate to its physical size (it is shorter than most witnesses) and age (it is one of the youngest witnesses), for it is sometimes the *only* Western witness to parallel a given Diatessaronic reading.

DANIËL PLOOIJ

THE LIÈGE HARMONY

THE STUTTGART HARMONY

THE HAGUE HARMONY

JACOB VAN MAERLANT'S *Rijmbijbel*

THE "BIBLE OF 1360"

DE VOOYS'S FRAGMENTS (THE  
"AMSTERDAM LECTIONARY")

KOSSMANN'S FRAGMENTS

THE GHENT FRAGMENTS

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<sup>69</sup> Apropos of these five readings, see W.L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist*, CSCO 475 [Subsidia 74] (Louvain 1985), 76–80; 92–95; 95–104; 143–146; 146–147, respectively.

J. Armitage Robinson's introduction of the Liège and Cambridge Harmonies to Diatessaronic scholarship in 1894 has already been described. Only in 1923, however, may we resume our account of these witnesses. It turned out that the two harmonies noted by Robinson were merely the tip of an iceberg; a clutch of Middle Dutch harmonies, fragments, and literary works, all textually related, awaited discovery. As luck would have it, the task of discerning the value of the Liège Harmony—which is the single most important Western Diatessaronic witness—fell to the Dutch scholar Daniël Plooij. Beginning his studies while a pastor, Plooij continued them as professor at the City University of Amsterdam and then at the University of Utrecht.

Plooij's first report, *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron*,<sup>70</sup> presented numerous readings from the late-thirteenth century Liège Harmony, and offered parallels from other Diatessaronic sources. A sampling of his readings will allow us to follow his line of reasoning.

(1) At Luke 1.43, Liège omits the conjunction “*en*” (= “and”), with the Arabic Harmony and Syr<sup>s[c]</sup>.<sup>71</sup> This omission is found in no other sources.<sup>72</sup>

(2) At Matt 1.22, Liège adds “*Ysayase*” (“*Isaiah*”) post προφήτου, with Ephrem's *Commentary* (II.3 [Armenian version; Syriac *deest*), Syr<sup>s.c</sup>, Codex Bezae (D), a few Greek MSS, and the Itala.<sup>73</sup>

(3) At Luke 2.19, after “her heart” Liège adds “*en in hare memorie*” (“*and in her memory*”), which Plooij compared with the Sinaitic Syriac, which makes a similar addition: “*and was comparing [them] in her mind*.”<sup>74</sup>

(4) At Matt 15.39, Liège reads “*so sat hi in en schep*” (“then he [Jesus] sat in a ship”). This is against all Greek MSS and Fathers, which have ἐνέβη εἰς τὸ πλοῖον (“he *embarked* in the boat”), and the Latin tradition, which reads “*ascendens naviculam*.” But Liège agrees *exactly* with the reading in the Old Syriac (Syr<sup>s.c</sup>): ܠܗ ܨܬ ܒܬܝܒܐ ܕܝܡܐ (‘‘he went [and] sat in a boat’’).<sup>75</sup> This

<sup>70</sup> Leyden 1923.

<sup>71</sup> Arabic: *Diatessaron de Tatién* (ed. Marmardji), 8–9; Syr<sup>s</sup>: *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (ed. F.C. Burkitt), I, 248–49.

<sup>72</sup> Plooij, *A Primitive Text*, 27.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 30. Ephrem (Armenian): *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire*, ed. Leloir, CSCO 145 [Armen. 2], 18; Syr<sup>s.c</sup>: *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (ed. Burkitt), I, 4–5; Greek MSS: D 954 1582 267; Vetus Latina MSS: *a*(?) [*sic!*] *b c aur d f g<sup>1</sup> g* (*Itala I. Matthäus-evangelium*, ed. A. Jülicher [Berlin 1938], I, 5).

<sup>74</sup> Plooij, *A Primitive Text*, 31. For Syr<sup>s</sup>: *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (ed. Burkitt), I, 254–55.

<sup>75</sup> Plooij, *A Primitive Text*, 46–47. For Syr<sup>s.c</sup>: *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (ed. Burkitt), I, 90–91.

agreement is unique, and played a pivotal role in Plooi's treatment of the Liège Harmony.

(5) At John 9.7, Liège reads "in the spring that is called Siloah," omitting the explanatory translation provided in the canonical text: "which means 'having been sent.'" This omission also occurs in Ephrem's *Commentary* (XVI.31), the Arabic Harmony, and the Syriac Versions (Syr<sup>s.c.p.</sup>).<sup>76</sup>

(6) The Liège manuscript harmonizes Matt 27.45 with Mark 15.33 and Luke 23.44f. The harmonized verse is introduced by an interpolated formula of transition: "*alse Jhesus aldus ane den cruce ghehangen was . . .*" ("when Jesus was thus hung on the cross, [about midday, the sun passed away]"). This same interpolated phrase is found in Aphrahat (*Dem.* XI.12, and elsewhere), and in Old Latin MSS *a* *aur* *b* *c* (in Matt: "*Et postquam crucifixus est . . .*"); a similar temporal reference is added in Ephrem's *Commentary* (XXI.3; XXI.5).<sup>77</sup>

All in all, Plooi's preliminary study contained over seventy-five such readings. From them, he concluded the following.

First, it was apparent that the Liège Harmony was rich with Diatessaronic readings. Sometimes it was the *only* witness outside of the East to preserve a given variant.

Second, since all of these readings were absent from Codex Fuldensis, it was obvious that the Liège Harmony was *not* dependent upon the Vulgatized Codex Fuldensis.

Third, since most of these readings—although absent from Codex Fuldensis—were paralleled in other Diatessaronic witnesses, *there must have existed another Latin Diatessaron which had escaped the Vulgatization to which Codex Fuldensis had been subjected*. It was from this "un-Vulgatized" Latin Diatessaron that Liège must derive. This conclusion was, of course, implicit in Grein's discovery that the *Heliand* followed Codex Cassellanus, not Codex Fuldensis; it had been made explicit in the asser-

<sup>76</sup> Plooi, *A Primitive Text*, 58. Ephrem (Armenian): *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire*, ed. Leloir, CSCO 145 [Armen. 2], 174; Ephrem (Syriac): *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque*, ed. L. Leloir, CBM 8(a) (Dublin 1963), 188–91; Arabic: *Diatessaron de Tatien* (ed. Marmardji), 344–45; Syr<sup>s.c.</sup>: *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (ed. Burkitt), I, 478–79; Syr<sup>p.</sup>: *Tetraevangelium Sanctum iuxta simplicem Syrorum versionem*, edd. P.E. Pusey and G.H. Gwilliam, (Oxford 1901), 534–35.

<sup>77</sup> Plooi, *A Primitive Text*, 62–63; "A more striking example of the influence of an undoubted Tatianic reading on the Old Latin Gospel text would be difficult to find" (63). For the evidence: Aphrahat: *Demonstrationes*, ed. I. Parisot, PS 1 (Parisii 1894), 503–504 ("*quando cruci fixerunt eum*"); Vetus Latina: *Itala, I. Matthäus-evangelium* (ed. Jülicher), 207; Ephrem (Armenian): *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire* (ed. Leloir), CSCO 145 [Armen. 2], 223–25; Ephrem (Syriac at XXI.5; XXI.3 *deest*): *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire* (ed. Leloir), CMB 8(a), 210–11.

tions of Schade, Th. Zahn, Vogels, and Robinson that Codex Fuldensis could not be the ancestor of manuscripts such as the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis (so Schade), Munich Cgm. 532 (so Th. Zahn), or any of the numerous manuscripts cited by Vogels, or of the Cambridge and Liège Harmonies (so Robinson).<sup>78</sup> Plooiij, however, appears unaware of the earlier work on the *Heliand*, and he does not cite Schade; but he was well aware of the work of Th. Zahn, Robinson, and Vogels.

Fourth, Plooiij called this “un-Vulgarized” Diatessaron an “Old Latin Diatessaron,” because it “bore an *Old Latin* character, using these words in the sense that they have acquired in the textual criticism of the N. Test.”<sup>79</sup> Examples of this relationship are to be seen in readings numbers 2 and 6, above. This position follows in the footsteps of Th. Zahn, Chase, Schade and, most obviously, Vogels, all of whom commented on this extraordinary relationship between Diatessaronic witnesses and Old Latin manuscripts.<sup>80</sup>

Fifth, given this relationship with the Old Latin, one might think that the Old Latin Diatessaron had been influenced by the *Vetus Latina*. The reality, said Plooiij, was just the opposite. The Old Latin separate gospels were influenced by the Old Latin Diatessaron, which antedated them:

Readings such as Mt. xxv.45 [*sic*; should be Mt. xxvii.45: the reading is offered as number 6, above] where a harmonistic transition has crept into the Old Latin Gospels, show, I think, beyond doubt, that the Tetra Evangelium is the borrower. Other arguments, which shall be discussed presently, suggest that the reverse is simply unthinkable.<sup>81</sup>

These “other arguments” included 7 readings where the Liège Harmony was paralleled *only* by Ephrem’s *Commentary*; 3 readings where the Liège Harmony was paralleled by Ephrem’s *Commentary* and/or Aphrahat and/or the Arabic Harmony; 15 readings where the Liège Harmony was paralleled by these Eastern witnesses and the Old Syriac (Syr<sup>s.c.</sup>); and, finally, 3 “Syriasms” which survived in the text of the Liège Harmony. Plooiij stated his conclusion as follows:

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<sup>78</sup> See *supra*, under the individual scholars’ names, for detailed references.

<sup>79</sup> Plooiij, *A Primitive Text*, 66 (Plooiij’s italics).

<sup>80</sup> *Supra*, 160.

<sup>81</sup> Plooiij, *A Primitive Text*, 67.

There are two possibilities: Either the Latin Diatessaron preceded the Latin Tetra Evangelium and influenced the text of the latter, or the Diatessaron was translated into Latin after the Gospels.

The latter hypothesis is very improbable. It would not explain the cases in which the whole textual tradition, or nearly so, has been affected by Tatianisms, and it is in contrast with the data of the history of the Diatessaron in the Western Church. . . .

At all events the facts mentioned seem to be explicable only by a very early date for the Latin Diatessaron. . . . we can argue in favour of a Latin Diatessaron nearly contemporary with the Syriac original; while a short time after, the first attempts to translate the Gospels in Latin must have been made.<sup>82</sup>

This position is, of course, identical with that of Vogels.<sup>83</sup>

Sixth, on the basis of readings such as numbers 4 and 5 above, Plooiij concluded that this lost, un-Vulgarized ("Old Latin") ancestor of the Liège Harmony must have been translated directly from Syriac into Latin, without a Greek intermediary stage. Plooiij did not deny that a Greek Diatessaron might have existed—although at this time, none had been discovered.<sup>84</sup> Rather, Plooiij was led by textual variants which indicated that the Old Latin archetype rested directly upon a Syriac Diatessaron;<sup>85</sup> otherwise, there was no way to explain the absence of these readings from the *entire* Greek (and Latin) manuscript tradition. Again, we note that Plooiij's evidence confirms the hypothesis of an earlier scholar, in this case, Th. Zahn, who already in 1881 had suggested the possibility of a direct Syriac-to-Latin translation.<sup>86</sup> Plooiij, however, did not mention Zahn in this context, nor did he point to the example of Gennadius of Marseille, one of several adduced by Zahn.

Plooiij also introduced seven new Diatessaronic witnesses, all related to the Middle Dutch family of gospel harmonies, whose premier example was the Liège Harmony.<sup>87</sup> They were:

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 72–74.

<sup>83</sup> *Supra*, 160.

<sup>84</sup> Plooiij, *A Primitive Text*, 77: "I am not at all prepared to deny that a Greek Diatessaron may have existed."

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 71: "the Old Latin Diatessaron has been translated from the Syriac without passing through a Greek medium."

<sup>86</sup> *Supra*, 124–125, 139.

<sup>87</sup> The principal modern study of these sources remains the magisterial work by C.C. de Bruin: *Middel nederlandse Vertalingen van het Nieuwe Testament* (Groningen 1934). In this work, De Bruin, a scholar of medieval Dutch church history, accepts the thesis of Plooiij that these various documents are related to Tatian's Diatessaron. His study focuses on the translation



- (1) the Stuttgart Harmony (Stuttgart: Landesbibliothek, Cod. theol. 140, 8°; dated 1332; Flemish dialect of Middle Dutch),<sup>88</sup> a complete harmony, whose text Plooij regarded as an independent translation of the Latin harmony which underlies the Liège Harmony (today it is regarded as a more heavily Vulgatized version of the Liège MS or its hyparchetype);
- (2) The Hague Harmony (The Hague: Royal Library, MS M 421; dated 1473; Limburg dialect of Middle Dutch), a complete harmony, whose text is closely related to the Stuttgart Harmony;<sup>89</sup>
- (3) the *Rijmbijbel* of Jacob van Maerlant (dated 1271);<sup>90</sup> a Middle Dutch rhymed Bible, whose text appears to be dependent upon an ancestor of the "Bible of 1360";<sup>91</sup>
- (4) the gospel harmony in the so-called "Bible of 1360," of which two copies reside in the Royal Library in The Hague; a Middle Dutch text, quite purified of glosses and expansions;<sup>92</sup>
- (5) a set of fragments in Amsterdam, edited by C.G.N. de Vooys, known variously as "De Vooys' Fragments" or "The Amsterdam Lectionary";<sup>93</sup>
- (6) fragments of a work similar to the *Rijmbijbel*, found in a private library in Frankfurt, and edited by E.F. Kossmann;<sup>94</sup>
- (7) five Middle Dutch fragments in the Ghent University Library edited by J. Nieuwenhuizen, which, although harmonized, have not yet been examined to determine their relationship to the rest of the Dutch Diatessaronic tradition.<sup>95</sup>

techniques employed, and seeks to sketch a history of the emergence of the Dutch language and dialects on the basis of these earliest "Dietse" dialects. Neerlandici are the intended audience, not textual scholars of the gospels and early church. De Bruin offers complete publication histories of these various witnesses.

<sup>88</sup> Edited by J. Bergsma, *De Levens van Jezus in het Middlenederlandsch*, BML 54, 55, 61 (Leiden 1895–98); the texts of the Stuttgart and The Hague Harmonies are closely related, with The Hague Harmony being a bit more Vulgatized. Bergsma's edition printed the Stuttgart Harmony (S) on the left-hand page, with the variant readings from The Hague Harmony in an apparatus, and the text of the Liège Harmony (L) on the right-hand page, with an apparatus giving the variants from Nieuwenhuizen's Ghent Fragments. Bergsma also provides an apparatus in Latin, giving Codex Fuldensis' deviations from the Vulgate.

<sup>89</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>90</sup> Edited by J. David: *Rijmbijbel*; 3 vols. (Brussels 1858–59). Van Maerlant lived between c. 1221/1235 and c. 1300; See also *infra*, 324f., under R. van den Broek.

<sup>91</sup> So Plooij, *A Further Study*, 6.

<sup>92</sup> See Appendix I ("A Catalogue of Manuscripts of Diatessaronic Witnesses and Related Works"), *infra*, 475.

<sup>93</sup> The harmonized sections were first edited by C.G.N. de Vooys, "Twee mystieke traktaatjes uit de eerste helft van de veertiende eeuw," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 40 (1921), 301–303. A complete edition of the whole Lectionary is now available from C.C. de Bruin, *Het Amsterdamse Lectionarium*, CSSN ser. minor, tome II, vol. I (Leiden 1970).

<sup>94</sup> "Fragment eines mittelniederländischen Leven van Jezus," *Frankfurter Bücherfreund*, Band 13, N.F., nr. 2.1 (1920), 287–90.

<sup>95</sup> J.J. Nieuwenhuizen, "Fragmenten van een handschrift van 'Het Leven

Plooij rounded out his study with observations about the Diatessaron's use and propagation in the West. He suggested that

it was *never* destined for ecclesiastical purposes, except for a comparatively short time in Syria,<sup>96</sup> and there only in consequence of peculiar circumstances. In ordinary circumstances a Diatessaron was intended for popular use and was regarded with suspicion by regular Church rulers. . . . It was the most convenient form in which the Gospel Story could be preached to the simple folk; but it was never used, as far as we can gather, in the official Church service. This Diatessaron in Syriac was intended in the same way for missionary purposes and came into official Church use only because at first it had no rival Gospels. . . . So the Diatessaron had from the beginning a missionary and private character.<sup>97</sup>

A century earlier, J.C. Zahn had offered a similar analysis. Plooij drew attention to the fact that, save for Codex Fuldensis (sixth cent.), Reims MS A.35 (formerly catalogued as A.46; ninth cent.), and Orléans MS 62 (formerly catalogued as MS 65; tenth cent.),<sup>98</sup> *all* the Latin Harmony manuscripts are from the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, with a few being later. "At the same time the great revival for the preaching of the Gospel to the people took place, for which purpose a harmonized Text of the Gospels was most convenient."<sup>99</sup> Plooij also realized that part of the Diatessaron's appeal was Tatian's skill in harmonization: it was a "first class literary work . . . of refined taste and delicate feeling."

Plooij concluded his monograph with remarks about the Diatessaron and theories of New Testament textual relationships. The Dutch family of harmonies, said Plooij, had a close relationship not only with the Syriac and Old Latin texts, but

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van Jesus", *DW* 3 (1858) 239–241. The fragments are also printed in the apparatus of Bergsma's edition of the Liège, Stuttgart and The Hague Harmonies (*supra*, n. 88).

<sup>96</sup> This statement might be modified to include Manichaean use of the Diatessaron.

<sup>97</sup> Plooij, *A Primitive Text*, 73, italics by Plooij.

<sup>98</sup> This is the only reference in the literature to this manuscript. In *A Further Study*, 9, Plooij notes that "In the Libraries of Orléans, Brussels and elsewhere, there are extant manuscript Harmonies with Commentaries different from that of Zachary, and which deserve special attention." It seems likely that Orléans MS 62 is one of these harmonies which still awaits examination.

<sup>99</sup> Plooij, *A Primitive Text*, 66.

also with Greek Codex Bezae (D), W, 713, 157, “sometimes” the Ferrar group (*f*<sup>1</sup>), and the manuscripts of von Soden’s I group (*e.g.*, MSS D W Θ 565 209 1210 1424 etc.).<sup>100</sup> Within the Vetus Latina family, its closest relationship apparently was with the “Afra” manuscripts (MSS *e* and *k* [*i.e.*, the text of Cyprian]). Plooiij made an important distinction between what he called “harmonistic readings,” and what Vogels termed “Parallele Varianten.” Some of the “Parallele Varianten” may be “harmonistic readings,” generated by a true gospel harmony, such as the Diatessaron; but many, said Plooiij, were not to be explained by a gospel harmony, but by a “synopsis,” such as that composed by Ammonius.<sup>101</sup> Plooiij suggested that

von Soden’s great thesis of the influence of the Diatessaron (though wrong in so far as he thought of a *Greek* Diatessaron) seems to a great extent to be confirmed at least with regard to the Latin textual tradition, which in its turn has reacted in Codex Bezae on its Greek column. Chase’s theory of Syriac influence on the Codex Bezae would in this way find confirmation and explanation.<sup>102</sup>

As the reader can see, the individual threads are now beginning to come together in a piece of whole cloth. Plooiij’s familiarity with Latin, Dutch, Syriac, and Greek witnesses allowed him to suggest the first comprehensive solution to the riddle of the Diatessaron. His debt to earlier scholarship is obvious, although one is uncertain how much of it he actually knew (his few references to earlier scholarship are limited to Th. Zahn and Robinson). The difference was that—purely by luck—the sole witness upon which Plooiij concentrated his attention also happened to be one of the most important witnesses to the Diatessaron. Consequently, when he sought parallels for its readings, both the Syriac and Latin traditions offered up their riches: what had been hidden was now revealed.

Plooiij’s discovery of singular agreements between the medieval Dutch Liège manuscript and Syriac sources was significant, for it not only suggested that Greek had *not* been the original language of the Diatessaron (Syriac won by default),

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 75. Plooiij calls the Diatessarononic readings in MSS 713 and 157 (von Soden ε 351 and ε 207, respectively)—twelfth and thirteenth century Greek gospel MSS—a “perplexing riddle” (76).

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

but it also offered a solution to the tangled problem of the "Western Text": how had one and the same reading found its way into the separate gospels in Syriac, Latin, and certain Greek manuscripts? Plooij's answer was that the reading had been part of the Diatessaron (or the traditions upon which the Diatessaron was based), which was the first gospel in Syriac (a position already taken by Th. Zahn and Baethgen) and in Latin (a position already taken by Vogels).<sup>103</sup> By the discriminating adoption of the positions of his predecessors, and the skillful integration of them into a coherent whole, Plooij secured for himself—and the Liège Harmony—a preeminent position in Diatessaronic studies. Nevertheless, there were flaws both in Plooij's evidence and in his method, to which we now turn our attention.

#### CRITICS OF PLOOIJ:

FRANCIS CRAWFORD BURKITT

ADOLF JÜLICHER

Reaction to Plooij's claim that the Liège Harmony was a witness to the Diatessaron and to the conclusions he drew from its text was not long in coming. He was supported by the likes of Hans Lietzmann<sup>104</sup> and H.J. Vogels,<sup>105</sup> but criticized by F.C. Burkitt<sup>106</sup> and Adolf Jülicher.<sup>107</sup>

Burkitt's dissent focused on two points. First, he drew attention to the *sequence* of the harmonies. The Arabic Harmony and Ephrem's *Commentary* almost always agree in order; where Codex Fuldensis agrees with them, "no doubt they preserve the arrangement of Tatian's mosaic."<sup>108</sup> The problem arose when Codex Fuldensis parted company from the two Eastern witnesses; when it did, the Liège Harmony almost invariably followed it rather than the Eastern witnesses. For example, all four witnesses have the following sequence:

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<sup>103</sup> For Th. Zahn, see *supra*, 148; for Baethgen, see *supra*, 130ff.; for Vogels, see *supra*, 160.

<sup>104</sup> H. Lietzmann, "Ein neuer Tatiantext," *ZNW* 22 (1923), 150–53.

<sup>105</sup> H.J. Vogels, "Ein wichtiger Tatianfund," *ThR* 22 (1923), 81–84.

<sup>106</sup> "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Dutch Harmonies," *JThS* 25 (1924), 113–130.

<sup>107</sup> "Der echte Tatiantext," *JBL* 43 (1924), 132–171.

<sup>108</sup> "Tatian's Diatessaron," 114.

Centurion's Servant  
 Widow of Nain  
 "Foxes have holes"  
 Storm on the Lake  
 "Legion"  
 Jairus's Daughter

indicating that this is Tatian's sequence. At other points, however, the Eastern family splits from the Western family. For example, while Ephrem's *Commentary* and the Arabic Harmony give the following sequence:

Marriage at Cana  
 "The time is at hand" (Mark 1.15ff.)  
 John's Disciples Baptize  
 James (*sic*) the Publican Called  
 Call of Peter  
 . . .  
 Sermon on the Mount  
 Centurion's Servant

Codex Fuldensis and the Liège Harmony have the following order:

"The time is at hand" (Mark 1.15ff.)  
 Call of Peter  
 James (*sic*) the Publican Called  
 John's Disciples Baptize  
 Sermon on the Mount  
 Marriage at Cana  
 Centurion's Servant

Burkitt put the question to Plooi: If the Liège Harmony were an "unaltered copy" of a Syriac Diatessaron, which had first been translated into Latin and then into Middle Dutch, then how did one account for these differences in the sequence of harmonization? Burkitt's conclusion is worth quoting:

The divergences of Fuldensis from the united testimony of Ephraim and the Arabic have hitherto been generally regarded as corruptions, as alterations of the primitive Diatessaron, whether due to Victor of Capua himself or to some other editor of an original Greek or Syriac Harmony. But it is conceivably possible that the agreement of F[uldensis] and L[iège] bears witness to

a pre-Syriac form of the Harmony, something Tatian left behind him before he returned to his native Mesopotamia.<sup>109</sup>

Burkitt went on to note that certain verses omitted from the Western harmonies (Codex Fuldensis and the Liège Harmony) were present in the Eastern witnesses (Ephrem's *Commentary* and the Arabic). These too argued for a less-than-direct relationship between the Liège Harmony and the hypothesized Syriac harmony which gave rise to the Eastern witnesses.

Burkitt's second criticism was that Plooiij had often ignored the fact that sometimes Vetus Latina and/or Vulgate manuscripts offered the same reading as Liège. An example was Plooiij's citation of Liège's interpolation of a reading ("*en deghene die buten steht hi sal bliven roepende en cloppende vor di dore*" ["and he who stands outside will remain calling and knocking on the door"]) in Luke 11.8, agreeing with a majority of the Old Latin MSS (*a a<sup>2</sup> aur b c ff<sup>2</sup> i l r<sup>1</sup>*),<sup>110</sup> the Vulgate,<sup>111</sup> and Tertullian's quotation from Marcion's text, against the Greek, as evidence that "here we have a part of the primitive text" preserved in Liège. But Burkitt suggested that since the same interpolation was also found in "most MSS of the Vulgate," the Liège Harmony might have acquired the reading from no more "primitive" a source than the Vulgate; therefore, this particular reading could not serve as evidence for the antiquity of the traditions found in Liège.<sup>112</sup>

Despite his trenchant criticisms, Burkitt acknowledged the importance of the Liège Harmony as a Diatessaronic witness.<sup>113</sup> He demurred from Plooiij's far-reaching conclusions, however, because his view of the relationship between the Liège Harmony and Codex Fuldensis was fundamentally different than Plooiij's:

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>110</sup> *Itala*, III. *Lucas-evangelium*, ed. A. Jülicher (Berlin 1954), 129.

<sup>111</sup> See the apparatus of *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine*, edd. I. Wordsworth and H.I. White, (Oxonii 1889–1898), 384; the Tatianic reading is supported by 16 of the 29 Vulgate manuscripts listed.

<sup>112</sup> Burkitt's discussion is in his "Tatian's Diatessaron," 120–121; Plooiij's treatment is in his *A Primitive Text*, 40–41.

<sup>113</sup> Especially noteworthy after Burkitt's criticisms of this 1924 article was his endorsement of Plooiij's ideas in 1927: "Dr. Plooiij has brought forward several [indications that the Liège Harmony contains an element independent of Codex Fuldensis], but some of them did not seem to me compelling. But the evidence brought forward from the text of Lk. ix 54–56 cannot, I think, be put aside" ("St Luke IX 54–56 and the Western Diatessaron," *JThS* 28 [1927], 52).

Dr. Plooi, in his study of L[iège], assumes that it, with the other Dutch Harmonies, is not a direct descendant of the Codex Fuldensis. I am of that opinion myself, but in view of the close agreement of F[uldensis] and L[iège] in their arrangement, coupled with the often paraphrastic renderings of the Latin found in the Dutch text, it is desirable to collect the passages that do indicate that L[iège] is rather the great-nephew than the grandson of F[uldensis].<sup>114</sup>

Burkitt closed his article with just such a collection of passages, and offered a programmatic vision of the genesis and dissemination of the Diatessaron. He based his view on the incontestable observation that "the textual tradition of the 'Diatessaron' falls into two well-defined branches, the Eastern and the Western."<sup>115</sup> The Western branch has a tendency to abbreviate. The common ancestor of Codex Fuldensis and the Liège Harmony was a Latin Diatessaron, said Burkitt, not a Greek or a Syriac Diatessaron; this was clear because of the affinity of Liège and the unvulgarized portions of Codex Fuldensis with the "European" and not the "African" family of Old Latin manuscripts. Burkitt conjectured that this Old Latin harmony dated from about 300–400, that is, contemporaneous with Ephrem and our oldest Syriac evidence for the Diatessaron. Asking the obvious question, "Which is earlier, the Eastern or the Western tradition?" Burkitt pointed to his findings that the Western harmonies were "on the whole rougher and cruder, while the Syriac form has the characteristics of a 'second edition, revised and enlarged'."<sup>116</sup> Hence, rather than being the "last of the Gospels" (*i.e.*, an attempt to create a single gospel which would displace the others), might the Diatessaron not be the "first of the versions"? By that Burkitt meant: Since Irenaeus was soon (*c.* 185) to insist upon the divine, institutional status of a four-gospel canon, might it not have been hazardous in Rome as early as 160 or 170 to have cut and pared them to a single gospel? At the same time the four-gospel canon was developing, the Roman church was also in transition, evolving from a Greek-speaking community into a Latin-speaking one.<sup>117</sup> A Diatessaron, originally composed in Latin in Rome, on the

<sup>114</sup> Burkitt, "Tatian's Diatessaron," 125.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>117</sup> Burkitt observed that Tatian's *Oratio* and Hippolytus' writings are the last Greek literature to emerge from the Roman community. Victor, bishop of Rome from 189 to 198, is reported to have been the first Roman bishop to write in Latin.

basis of the Greek text current in Rome in 150–170, would meet the needs of this newly-emerging Latin-speaking community as an epitome, a temporary measure, pending translation of the four gospels into Latin. According to Burkitt, a similar situation in Syria—a Christian community without gospels in their own language—later led to the same sequence of events in the East: the Diatessaron first, as an epitome, provisionally offered until the separate gospels were translated. In Syria “Tatian did not simply translate the Latin work,” but “compiled it anew from the original Greek” gospels, supplying the passages missing from the Latin harmony, and improving the subtlety of the harmonization. Burkitt’s ingenious hypothesis explained (1) the abbreviating nature of the Western witnesses; (2) the absence of evidence for a Greek Diatessaron; and (3) the presence of Diatessaronic readings in the oldest manuscripts of the “European” family of *Vetus Latina*. He noted that we have no real grounds to suppose that Tatian was the creator of the *Latin* harmony;<sup>118</sup> Tatian was first linked to it by Victor of Capua, who was only guessing. Our historical sources connect Tatian’s name only with the “second, revised edition” done in Syriac for the Eastern churches. Burkitt ended his article by conjecturing that Addai, who introduced Christianity (and the gospel!) into Edessa, was in fact Tatian. He supported this by pointing to the double dentals (d-d::t-t) and similarly distant Greek-to-Syriac translations of names (*e.g.*, the Greek “Alcimus” becomes the Syriac “Jakim”).

Burkitt’s article was more than a critique; Plooi’s monograph had elicited a fresh, independent contribution to Diatessaronic studies. Burkitt’s treatment was important for four points. First, his criticism of some of Plooi’s examples—especially where the Vulgate supported a reading in Liège—was a significant contribution to method. When searching for Diatessaronic readings, one must be certain that no other source with the same reading (in Plooi’s case, the Vulgate) might have given the reading to the test document (here, the Liège Harmony): the line connecting the test document with the other Diatessaronic witnesses must be free of “interference.” Second, Burkitt was the first scholar to pose the problem caused by the disagreement in sequence between Eastern and Western witnesses. Third, he was the first to call attention to the abbreviating nature of the Western witnesses. Fourth, on the

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<sup>118</sup> Might this have been, instead, a Latin translation of Justin’s Greek harmony? See *infra*, 346–348; 430–432; 440f.



basis of these last two points, Burkitt was the first to propose that there had been *two* "Diatessarons": an early Latin one, composed in Rome, and a later Syriac one which, although based on the earlier Latin harmony, was not a slavish translation, but revised and enlarged as well. Only the Syriac harmony could be linked to Tatian, who might actually have been Addai.

Some of the criticisms of Adolf Jülicher, editor of the *Vetus Latina*, paralleled those of Burkitt. Like Burkitt, Jülicher criticized Plooi's "unaltered copy" theory; the very existence of a common error with Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* (at Matt 27.9: "*poorters*" for "*potters*") demonstrated that Liège had a transmission history which involved corruption. It was Jülicher's next point, however, which was the most important, and which retains currency in some circles even today. Jülicher presented a long list of variants in the Liège Harmony which are without parallel.<sup>119</sup> These, he said, stemmed from the Dutch translator who was not slavishly translating from the Latin, but exercised his own ingenuity by paraphrasing, colouring and glossing his translation:

[Der Übersetzer] ist kein Handwerksmann, sondern ein Künstler, er erinnert in manchem an Luther: soweit wie nur möglich entfernt er sich von der Pedanterie, die Wort für Wort des fremden Textes in die eigne Sprache herüberholt, . . . . So kümmert [der Übersetzer] sich nie um die Reihenfolge der Worte in seiner Vorlage, oft auch nicht um die Wortformen, vertauscht dem Geist seiner Sprache gemäss Partizipialsätze mit relativischen oder konditionalen aber auch mit Adverbien und umgekehrt; wo ein deutsches<sup>120</sup> Wort nicht genügt, um den Sinn eines lateinischen wiederzugeben, wählt er ohne Bedenken zwei oder noch mehr. . . . Lebendige Bilder will er haben.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Dr. G. Mussies of Utrecht drew my attention to the fact that what appear to be Jülicher's best examples are wrong. Jülicher's claim ("Der echte Tatiantext," 148) that Liège reads "ran" at John 4.29 (*sic!* should be John 4.28) is wrong, for the Dutch is ambiguous: it reads "*liep*," which can mean either "run" or "go." At Luke 19.4, the Liège Harmony's "*clam op*" (Zacchaeus "climbed up" in a sycamore) is a good translation of the Latin "*ascendit*," which means "went up" or "climbed (up)." Many of his other examples are glosses, which are a common feature of all the vernacular harmonies; the presence of such glosses was never disputed by Plooi or other scholars.

<sup>120</sup> Throughout his article, Jülicher continually refers to the language of Liège as "Deutsch," that is, "German." Plooi corrects him in his *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron* (Leiden 1925), p. 5, n. 1, pointing out that Liège is written in "Dietsch" or "Middelnederlandsch" ("Middle Dutch"), a distinct language which arose about 1100 from "Oudnederlandsch" ("Old Dutch").

<sup>121</sup> Jülicher, "Der echte Tatiantext," 147.

The consequence is that one cannot blithely presume that variant readings in the Liège (or any other) Harmony are “Diatessaronic,” for they may be nothing more than a translator’s attempt to add colour, or to adapt the text to a different language which has its own conventions, idioms and strictures.<sup>122</sup> Plooij, said Jülicher, had not considered this possibility.

Jülicher nevertheless acknowledged that there had been an Old Latin (*i.e.*, pre-Vulgate) Diatessaron. Without presenting evidence to support his claim, he stated that the Latin Diatessaron he reconstructed from the Stuttgart and Liège Harmonies had a “mixed” Latin text, consisting of both African and European *Vetus Latina* readings. Among the *Vetus Latina* MSS, he mentions MSS *i*, *l*, and *c*, as well as *a* and *e* as displaying a similar textual complexion; the text of the Old Latin Diatessaron “weicht von b nicht so stark ab wie etwa q.”<sup>123</sup>

Next, Jülicher turned his attention to the “Syriasms” Plooij claimed to have found in the Liège manuscript. As remarked before, a good number are questionable; Plooij’s enthusiasm simply got the best of him. Jülicher argued that some were ambiguous, and others were paraphrases; in any event, they did not show dependence upon a Syriac *Vorlage*. But, just as Plooij erred in his enthusiasm, critics can err in their skepticism. An example of such question-begging is the manner in which Jülicher dismissed one of the strongest of Plooij’s “Syriasms,” namely Matt 15.39 (“Jesus sat in a boat”), which is in literal agreement with Syr<sup>s.c.</sup>: Jülicher argued that the reading of Liège was simply one more “paraphrase.”<sup>124</sup>

Jülicher also faulted Plooij for not informing his readers “wie zahllose Hellenismen in dem Texte Ls wie dem aller altlateinischen Evangelien jenen Syriasmen gegenüberstehen.”<sup>125</sup> He offered one example, Luke 22.15, where *πάσχα* is a homophone with *παθεῖν*. This word-play was also found in the Latin (*pascha::patiar*) and the Liège Harmony: *paschen::gepassyt*. However, it was lacking in the Syriac ܦܫܚܐ :: ܦܫܚܐ (p-s-h-a::d-

<sup>122</sup> Note that the method Jülicher used to dispute Diatessaronic readings in the Liège Harmony was identical with that used by Sievers to reject Schade’s finding of *Vetus Latina* readings in the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis. The observation that a translator’s freedom might, by chance, create readings which appear Diatessaronic but, in reality, are not, has its merits, and survives today in a modified form; see below, under the headings “Critics of Quispel” (281–292), and “Johannes Rathofer, *An Abkehr in Research*” (301–309).

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 163–64.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

a-h-sh). Since this connexion, present in the Greek and the Latin, was also present in Liège, it was obvious to Jülicher that the tradition behind the Liège manuscript was ultimately Greek.<sup>126</sup>

Jülicher's study led him to conclude that the Diatessaron had been composed in Rome, by Tatian, in Greek. From this, the lost Latin archetype of Liège had been translated, probably in the third century, probably in Rome. This meant, of course, that the Latin Diatessaron had not been the first gospel in Latin; rather, it was later than the *Vetus Latina*. The similarities between the *Vetus Latina* and the Latin Diatessaron were explained by the fact that the one (the *Vetus Latina*) had been translated from, and the other (the Diatessaron) had been created from the Greek gospel text current in Rome in the mid-second century. In Syria and Armenia, however, the sequence was different: there the Diatessaron had indeed been the first gospel, preceding the separate gospels. Consequently, its imprint was found on the later, four-fold gospels. The puzzling similarities between the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vetus Syra*—studied by Chase and others—were explained by the fact that both the separate Syriac gospels (via the Diatessaron, which had preceded and influenced them) as well as the *Vetus Latina* were dependent upon the Greek gospels of mid-second century Rome. Jülicher argued that it was Tatian or, more likely, a younger contemporary, who had translated the Greek Diatessaron into Syriac.<sup>127</sup>

All of this meant that although the Liège Harmony “ersetzt uns nicht die verlorenen (oder noch nicht publizierten) syrischen und armenischen Diatessaronfragmente,” it was nevertheless “nicht ohne Wert für die Rekonstruktion des altlateinischen Evangelientextes.”<sup>128</sup> For Jülicher, its prime importance was as proof of the existence of a pre-Vulgate Latin gospel harmony, *i.e.*, a harmony which was free of the Vulgate readings which infect *Codex Fuldensis*.

Jülicher concluded by sketching his understanding of the *raisons d'être* for the Diatessaron. He agreed with Plooij that it had never been intended for ecclesiastical use. Rather, he distinguished between the Diatessaron's role in the West (the Greek and Latin Diatessarons) and the East (the Syriac and Armenian Diatessarons). In the West

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<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 165–66.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 166–170.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

[das] Diatessaron war ein wissenschaftliches Buch; im zweiten Jahrhundert bedeutet dies so viel wie ein dogmatisches, besser apologetisch-polemisch: gegen Marcion einerseits, gegen die Juden und Griechen, die über die Irrtümer der sich immer selbst widersprechenden Evangelisten spöttelten, andererseits führte er den Taterweis, dass es eine widerspruchslose befriedigende evangelische Geschichte gebe.

In the East, however, the Diatessaron had played a different role. There it had served "um ihnen, diesen armen, kleinen Gemeinden, das Evangelium in ihrer Sprache überhaupt, und zu billigem Preise, in übersehbarer Grösse zu bringen."<sup>129</sup>

From Jülicher's work, we note several important points. First, he was absolutely correct in exposing Plooi's "blind" love-affair with the Liège Harmony (Plooi's failure to consider the possibility of *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgate* influence on Liège); the failure to consider the possibility that numerous readings which appeared "Diatessaronic" were, in fact, nothing more than touches of colour or paraphrases which originated with the translator; the failure to report "Hellenisms" in Liège's text, which tended to neutralize Plooi's argument that Liège's Latin archetype had been translated directly from Syriac into Latin, without a Greek intermediary. These specific criticisms all boil down to one conceptual point: if a reading were to pass muster as Diatessaronic, then one must consider—and eliminate—all of the possible *non*-Diatessaronic means by which it might have come about: from a "local" (in this case, Latin) text; from a translator's spontaneous paraphrase of a passage; from a serendipitous—but nevertheless independent—agreement; from the peculiarities of each language's syntax, grammar, or idiom. Jülicher performed future Diatessaronic studies a service by pointing out these lapses in self-criticism. Jülicher was also the first scholar to suggest different uses of the Diatessaron in the East and West; he was the first to suggest the apologetic role of the Diatessaron in the West, specifically against pagan critics who used the contradictions in the gospels against the Christians, and against Christian heretics such as Marcion.<sup>130</sup>

Much of Jülicher's thinking on the Diatessaron is an extension of the line of reasoning begun by von Soden and continued by Preuschen. While his criticism of Plooi was often trenchant, pointing

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 166, 167.

<sup>130</sup> Recently Tj. Baarda has reemphasized this aspect of the Diatessaron; cf. *supra*, 75.

out legitimate points of weakness, it is important to realize that Jülicher himself was not above question-begging. Although he speaks of “numerous instances” of “Hellenisms” in Liège, he adduced only one, which we have cited: “*paschen::gepassyt.*” Furthermore, Jülicher’s article shows a return to scholarly specialization. As a master of the Latin tradition, he limited himself almost exclusively to that tradition’s relationship with the Liège manuscript; he virtually ignored the entire Eastern Diatessaronic family. When he cited the Eastern witnesses, he often failed to take their evidence seriously. An example was his dismissal of the striking Syriac parallel, “Jesus sat in a boat,” arguing that the same reading in the Liège manuscript was the result of chance or confusion with Matt 14.13—which lacks the specific element found in the Liège manuscript and Syr<sup>s.c.</sup>: “sat.” Elsewhere, he relied more on Plooij’s English translation of the Liège Harmony rather than on the Dutch text itself; sometimes he assumed (incorrectly) that the meaning of a Middle Dutch word was identical with its modern German cognate.<sup>131</sup> Such errors mean that much of the evidence Jülicher assembled against Plooij is of poor quality, and will not bear the weight he placed on it.

ZACHARIAS CHRYSOPOLITANUS’ COMMENTARY ON  
IN UNUM EX QUATUOR

Before presenting Plooij’s response to his critics, we must pause to record events taking place on another front which would later assist Plooij in defending his position. The *Commentary* written by Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (Zachary of Besançon) on an unknown and otherwise lost Latin gospel harmony titled *In unum ex quatuor*, had first been linked with the Diatessaronic tradition in 1814, by J.C. Zahn, who presented a few of its readings in passing.<sup>132</sup> The first analysis of the *Commentary* was conducted by Otto Schmid in 1886 and 1887, in an article which appeared in two parts.<sup>133</sup> Schmid, however, was not a Diatessaronic scholar, and was writing before most Diatessaronic witnesses were discovered; consequently, although rich in information about Zachary and the manuscript tradition of the *Commentary*, his article contains little

<sup>131</sup> See *supra*, p. 183, n. 119.

<sup>132</sup> See *supra*, p. 93.

<sup>133</sup> O. Schmid, “Zacharias Chrysopolitanus und sein Kommentar zur Evangelienharmonie,” *ThQ* 68 (1886), 531–47; idem, 69 (1887) 231–75.

of direct interest for students of the Diatessaron. Schmid dated the *Commentary*, which survives in numerous manuscripts in England, Paris, the Vatican, and Montecassino, to c. 1150. The lost Latin harmony which Zachary was commenting upon shared variant readings with and had an arrangement of chapters similar to that of Codex Sangallensis.<sup>134</sup> Schmid concluded that whatever the Latin harmony commented upon, it was related to the Diatessaron. In Schmid's day it was generally assumed that all of the Western harmonies stemmed from Codex Fuldensis; Codex Sangallensis was a Latin and Old High German bilingual whose Latin side had been fully Vulgatized. It was no wonder then that Zachary's harmony "stimmt im allgemeinen mit der heutigen Vulgata." Schmid noted a few exceptions: at Matt 2.22, it read "illo" in place of the Vulgate "illuc"; at Matt 6.30, "minimae" in place of "modicae"; at Matt 21.31, "novissimus" in place of "primus." Given this state of affairs, Zachary's *Commentary* seemed to offer little of value to Diatessaronic studies.

Thirty-seven years after Schmid's study, the Quaker scholar J. Rendel Harris turned his attention to Zachary's *Commentary*. In the interval, new vistas had been opened by Plooi's introduction and analysis of the Liège Harmony. Harris, who had written the Introduction for Plooi's *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron*, was familiar with Plooi's thesis of an unvulgatized, Old Latin Diatessaron. In studying Zachary's *Commentary*, he discovered that it too bore signs of connexion with this unvulgatized Latin harmony. He began by pointing to a feature which Plooi had also noted in the Liège Harmony,<sup>135</sup> namely the abbreviation system used in the manuscripts to indicate the specific gospel from which a given passage was drawn. In Zachary's *Commentary*, Matthew was signified by "M," Mark was indicated by "R," Luke by "K," and John by "A." Harris drew attention to the fact that in one of the two recensions of the Arabic Harmony (that represented by MS B; the same feature would also be found in the yet-to-be-discovered manuscripts of the same recension: MSS O, E, and Sbath 1020), a similar abbreviation system is used: "M" stands for Matthew, "R" for Mark, "K" for Luke, and "H" for John.<sup>136</sup> Harris suggested that the discrepancy in the letter for John's gospel was due to Zachary's labelling him "the eagle," "*aquila*"

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., *ThQ* 69 (1887), 245.

<sup>135</sup> Plooi, *A Primitive Text*, 12.

<sup>136</sup> See *supra*, 136–137.

in Latin—hence, the “A.” A distinctive feature of this system is the use of the second consonant of Mark’s name, an “R,” to designate that gospel. But even if that were not such a distinctive feature, the system itself would be enough to link the two traditions, said Harris, for nothing like it was found in other gospel harmonies.<sup>137</sup> Absent from Codex Fuldensis, these virtually identical abbreviations in Zachary and the Arabic Harmony were a sign that the *Commentary*’s traditions came from “an earlier level than that of the Codex Fuldensis.”<sup>138</sup>

Further evidence for the antiquity of Zachary’s harmony came from an unexpected source: Codex Fuldensis. The Vulgatized text of Codex Fuldensis presents the “Marriage at Cana” in Chapter 46. Yet its *unvulgatized capitularia* list it as Chapter 45. Which was correct? In Zachary’s harmony, the “Marriage” was found in Chapter 45, an indication that it was not dependent upon the Vulgatized text of Codex Fuldensis, but upon the pre-Vulgate, Old Latin Diatessaron, whose features survive in Codex Fuldensis’s *capitularia*.

No detailed study of the text of the harmony upon which Zachary composed his *Commentary* has yet been conducted. Such an investigation would be a useful contribution not only to Diatessaronic studies but also to the history of medieval exegesis.

#### PLOOIJ’S RESPONSE

In 1925 Plooij published a second monograph in which he answered his critics.<sup>139</sup> Step by step, he offered evidence to defend his theses that an “Old Latin Diatessaron preceded the Old-Latin Separate Gospels, much in the same way as the Old-Syriac Diatessaron is thought to have preceded the Old-

<sup>137</sup> Harris’ assertion is not entirely correct, for a Latin harmony composed by Johannes Gerson (1363–1429) apparently also uses M, R, L and J to designate the four evangelists. Gerson was the Chancellor of the University of Paris; he titled his work a *Monotessaron*: cf. C. Pesch, “Ueber Evangelienharmonien,” *ZKTh* 10 (1886) 243; M. de Lange, “Jean Gerson’s Harmony of the Gospels (1420),” *NAKG* 71 (1991), 35–47. Gerson’s harmony has not previously been linked to the Diatessaron, but this feature suggests that it should be spot-checked for specific readings.

The Persian Harmony (not known in Harris’ time) also uses a system of initials to identify the evangelists, but its abbreviations are still different: M = Matthew, S = Mark, L = Luke, and I = John.

<sup>138</sup> J.R. Harris, “Some Notes on the Gospel-Harmony of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus,” *JBL* 43 (1924), 36.

<sup>139</sup> *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron* (Leiden 1925).

Syriac Gospels,” and that “the Old-Latin Diatessaron is a translation from the Syriac, not from the Greek.”<sup>140</sup>

To answer the charge that there was no evidence—beyond the readings he had recovered in the Liège Harmony—to support the existence of a lost, Old Latin harmony, Plooij cited Zacharias Chrysopolitanus’ recently-(re)introduced *Commentary* on an *In unum ex quatuor*.<sup>141</sup> Here was another medieval, Western harmony, analogous to the Liège Harmony, whose Vetus Latina readings could not be explained by Codex Fuldensis. It too must witness the same lost, Old Latin harmony which Plooij hypothesized lay behind the Dutch harmonies. A similar line of reasoning led Plooij to pen a chapter titled “Old-Latin and Syro-Latin Readings in L[iège],” which adduced over fifty-five readings in which the Liège Harmony agreed with Vetus Latina manuscripts (and sometimes other manuscripts), but not with Codex Fuldensis or the Vulgate. Among the examples were: (1) At Luke 5.2, Liège interpolated “hare” (“their”) before “netten” (“nets”). This same interpolation, lacking in Codex Fuldensis, was found in Vetus Latina MSS *a c* and *r*<sup>1</sup>, as well as in the Syriac Syr<sup>s[c]p</sup>, and in a single Greek manuscript: MS 1375. (2) At John 21.22, Liège interpolated the temporal reference “daerna” (“then, thereafter”), in singular agreement with a Vetus Latina (Afra group) MS *e*. (3) At John 16.8, Liège read the plural “sunden” (“sins”), against the singular “sin”; Liège’s reading was paralleled in Vetus Latina (Afra group) MS *e* and Syr<sup>s</sup>. (4) At Matt 27.51 (par.), Liège interpolated the time reference “Op die selve wille” (“At the same time”); the Stuttgart Harmony makes a similar interpolation, “up die selve stonde” (“In the same hour”). This was to be compared with Syr<sup>s[c]</sup> (Matt 27.51): ܐܢܬܝܢ ܡܕܢܐ (“And in that same hour”); with Syr<sup>p</sup> and the Arabic Harmony (“And immediately”); and with Vetus Latina (Afra group) MS *k* (Mark 15.38) “et continuo.” (5) In the same verse in Mark (15.38), *k* also read “in duas partes,” which is the reading of Liège: “in twee stukken” (“in two parts”).<sup>142</sup>

Plooij concluded:

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>141</sup> It is interesting to note that Plooij does not cite the work of Grein or Schade, which would have supported his position; apparently he was unaware of them. Once again one sees how the sins of scholarly specialization and the difficulty of remaining *au courant* in the many pertinent fields have hobbled the discipline.

<sup>142</sup> The examples are from Plooij, *A Further Study*, 28, 35, 37, 38, and 38, respectively.



The preceding list of variants, though only a selection, suggests indubitably a direct connexion between the Old-Latin Gospels and the Old-Latin Harmony, nor is it only the 'European' Latin that is involved: quite a series of most remarkable variants include the 'African' Latin also, which is reckoned to be the earliest form of the Old-Latin. . . . the thesis that the influence of the Old-Latin Diatessaron affects more or less all Old-Latin texts is, I think, so far fully confirmed. That the influence is in the direction from the Diatessaron to the Gospels in Latin is, surely, the only possible explanation of the harmonistic readings which are common to both Texts. Is it thinkable that a Diatessaron should have been translated either from the Syriac or from the Greek, when the Latin Gospels, whose apostolic authority was indisputable, had already been translated separately? And if so, is it thinkable that the Latin translator should have collected his variants from different branches of the Old-Latin textual family in order to make such a clearly archaic Text as the Old-Latin Diatessaron was? Is not the actual existence of harmonistic readings in the Old-Latin Gospels, harmonistic readings which L[iège] shows to be not merely 'parallel influences', but Tatianic variants, a proof that the Harmony precedes and the separate Gospels follow?<sup>143</sup>

To answer the charge that his "Syriasms" were questionable, Plooiij offered a chapter titled "Syriasms and Syriac Readings in the Liège Diatessaron," which contained more than seventy-five readings. Among them:

(1) At Luke 6.45, Liège interpolated "*schatte syns herten*" ("treasury of his heart") after "*quaden*" ("evil"); the identical interpolation—except for "treasury," which has been made plural, "treasuries"—was found only in Aphrahat, *Dem.* IX.11: ܡܠܬܐ ܕܥܪܬܐ ... ܡܠܬܐ

(2) At Matt 10.23, the Liège Harmony interpolated "*tallen*" ("all") before "*staden*" ("cities"), in unique agreement with the Arabic Harmony ("*toutes les villes*"), Ephrem's *Commentary* (VIII.7; 8: "*omnes*"), and the Vetus Syra (Syr<sup>s[c]</sup>: "all the towns").

(3) At John 7.2, the Liège Harmony interpolated "*Op enen tyt*" ("At a time") at the beginning of the verse; Liège's reading is uniquely paralleled in the Arabic Harmony ("*Et en ce temps-là*"), and the Sinaitic Syriac ("And at that time").

(4) At John 10.3, the Liège and The Hague Harmonies interpolated "*de dore*" ("the door"); this is paralleled only in Syr<sup>s[c]</sup>P and the Arabic Harmony ("*ouvre la porte*").

(5) At John 12.34, the standard Greek read ὁ ὄχλος, but the Liège Harmony read "*somege van din volke*" ("some of the peo-

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 43–44.

ple”), in singular agreement with Syr<sup>s[c]</sup>: “some from the multitude.”<sup>144</sup>

By presenting such a list of parallels, Plooij avoided quibbles over what, precisely, qualified as a Syriasm. It was true that both this list and his list of Old Latin readings included some readings which were omissions (and, thus, of dubious value as evidence), and others which were ambiguous. But even after excluding these, the number remaining demonstrated that there was a close and direct connexion between the text of the Liège Harmony and, on the one hand, Eastern sources associated with the Diatessaron and, on the other hand, Vetus Latina traditions *not* transmitted in Codex Fuldensis.

The sheer number of the parallels also answered the charge of Jülicher that the putative “Diatessaronic” readings in Liège were nothing more than products of the translator’s “Kunst” (or, put bluntly, chance). How many scores of parallels, uniquely limited to Diatessaronic sources in the East and the Liège Harmony in the West, had to be adduced before they ceased to be “chance” occurrences, and became legitimate evidence for textual dependance?

Plooij concluded with a chapter titled “Marcionite Readings,” in which he subscribed to the thesis that Tatian was allied with Marcion’s party in Rome, and that he knew and used Marcion’s gospel text when composing the Diatessaron.<sup>145</sup> At a theoretical level, the fact that both Marcion and Tatian were present in Rome in the mid-second century obviously raised the possibility of dependence. Plooij, however, based his conclusion on textual evidence in the form of readings common to Tatian and Marcion. Two of the most convincing are the following.

(1) The Liège Harmony harmonized Luke 12.3 with Matt 10.27 in the following manner: “*dat ic u segge in demsternessen dat predekt in der clerheit ende dat ic u rune in uwe ore, dat predekt oppenbare*” (“What I say to you in darkness preach ye that in clearness and what I whisper to you in your ears preach ye that openly”). “Rune” (“whisper”) was found in Luke in Syr<sup>s,c,p</sup> and the Arabic Harmony. Plooij noted that one might be inclined (à la Jülicher ?) to put the variant down to “Tatian’s picturesque style,” save for the fact that

<sup>144</sup> These examples are drawn from Plooij, *A Further Study*, 54, 54, 59, 61, and 64, respectively.

<sup>145</sup> Tatian’s use of Marcion’s text had already been suggested by J.C. Zahn (*supra*, 100), and Harnack had adduced some readings from Ephrem’s *Commentary* which he thought were Marcionite (*supra*, 120).

the same variant occurred in one of Tertullian's quotations from Marcion: "*Cum subjiciat etiam quae inter se mussitare [v.l.: tractarent] in apertum processura*" (*adv. Marc.* IV.28). Here again we find "whisper." Even more striking was Liège's variant "oppenbare" ("openly"), which finds its *only* parallel here in Marcion: "*in apertum*"! Apropos of this last variant, Plooij remarked:

We can hardly imagine that a textual form of which there is no trace found but in Marcion's Gospel and in Tatian's Diatessaron, ever belonged to any general tradition; not even to the Old-Roman Greek Text of the Gospel about 150 a.D. So it suggests a very close relation between the Tatianic and Marcionitic Texts of the Gospel.<sup>146</sup>

(2) At Luke 11.28, the Liège Harmony reads "*ēn oc syn salech die horen dat Gods wart ēn dat behouden ēn dar na werken*" ("And also are blessed those that hear God's word and keep it and do according to it"). The same interpolation is found in a single Greek manuscript, 2145 (Plooij calls it a "Tatianizing minuscule"), in Vetus Latina MS *q*, and in Marcion: "*Immo beati qui sermonem dei audiunt et faciunt*" (Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 4.28). Interestingly enough, the *Commentary* of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus offers evidence that he knew the same variant:

*omnes qui se Verbum Dei auditu fidei concipiunt et boni operis custodia eum in corde proximorum pariunt et nutriunt . . . Tota perfecto vitae coelestis profectio duobus his comprehenditur, ut Verbum Dei audiamus et faciamus.*<sup>147</sup>

Through some channel or another, said Plooij, Marcionite readings were incorporated into the Diatessaron. For the reason given above, he rejected the idea that both were dependent upon a common Roman Old-Greek text. One possible solution was mutual dependence upon the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. Although the means by which the readings came about remains obscure, the examples noted by Plooij are incontrovertible evidence of a textual connexion between the text of Marcion (as given by Tertullian) and the Diatessaron.

Plooij's monograph was a more than adequate response to his critics, but he did not stop there. Commencing in 1929, he began publication of a new edition of the Liège Harmony under the auspices of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences.<sup>148</sup> Issued in eight

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>147</sup> Migne, *PL* 186, 192; the reading is discussed by Plooij, *A Further Study*, 83–84.

<sup>148</sup> *The Liège Diatessaron*, edd. D. Plooij, C.A. Phillips, A. Bakker, et al., VNAW 31.1–8 (Parts 1 & 2 are erroneously labeled VNAW 29) (Amsterdam 1929–70).

fascicles, it contained the Middle Dutch text of Liège at the top of the page, followed by an English translation executed by Prof. A.J. Barnouw of Columbia University, New York City. At the bottom of the page was an apparatus consisting of readings from other Diatessaronic witnesses (*e.g.*: Ephrem's *Commentary*, the Arabic Harmony, the other Dutch Harmonies, Codex Fuldensis, Codex Sangallensis, the Pepsysian Harmony), Vetus Latina, Vulgate and Greek MSS (in von Soden's notation), the Versions (Syriac, Coptic, etc.), and Patristic sources. This apparatus identified "non-standard" readings and sequences of harmonizations in the Liège Harmony, and provided leads in other sources, indicating agreements, similar but not identical readings, as well as noting "no agreement" in sources where one might have expected it. Although not without errors, the apparatus, which was assembled by Plooi, an English vicar named C.A. Phillips, and Plooi's student, Adolphine Bakker, is an indispensable point of departure for research. The edition is a masterpiece of learning and a milestone in Diatessaronic scholarship. Even the presentation is exquisite: in the preface to the fourth fascicle (1935), Plooi quite properly remarked that "The firm of Brill deserves our sincerest thanks for the admirable typographical work, which made even the apparatus a 'thing of beauty'."<sup>149</sup>

During Plooi's lifetime, fascicles appeared in 1929, 1931, 1933, and 1935. At the age of fifty-eight, on 5 July 1935, Plooi died of a heart attack. A fifth fascicle, already in preparation, appeared in 1938. Plooi's death and the occupation of the Netherlands during the Second World War interrupted publication. After the war, more pressing needs imposed themselves on the country. But the theological climate in the world had changed as well. The old generation of church historians and textual critics—exemplified by Harnack († 1930), Th. Zahn († 1933), Burkitt († 1935), Lietzmann († 1942), and Vogels (retired 1946)—was gone. The "Golden Age" of Diatessaronic studies passed with them. After the war, the new theological fashion was neo-orthodoxy, whose slogan was *sola scriptura*. *Scriptura*, however, was generally restricted to the canon. Research in church history in general, and into extra-canonical sources in particular, were deemphasized. Interest in these fields was rekindled only with the commencement of publication of the Dead Sea scrolls and the Nag Hammadi manuscripts in

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., opposite p. 287 of the text (p. ii of the Preface to part 4 of VNAW 31 [Amsterdam 1935]).

the late 1950s. After a long hiatus, the Rev. Mrs. Bakker arranged for publication to resume. The three final fascicles appeared in 1963, 1965, and 1970. Forty-one years after publication had begun, Plooijs's edition of the Liège Harmony was complete.

Plooijs's legacy to Diatessaronic studies was manifold. Although it was Robinson who first identified the Liège Harmony's textual links to a harmonized tradition other than that found in Codex Fuldensis, it was Plooijs who conducted the first detailed investigation. It was he who first perceived the textual value of the Liège Harmony. It was he who uncovered the numerous readings paralleled only in the Vetus Latina, and demonstrated that a lost, Old Latin harmony, not Codex Fuldensis, had to be the archetype for many of the Western Diatessaronic witnesses. It was he who produced the scores of readings paralleled only in Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses or Eastern Versions (Syr<sup>s.c.p.</sup>, etc.) which admitted only one explanation: there was a close, direct connexion between the Liège Harmony and Syriac Diatessaronic witnesses, a connexion which often left no trace in the canonical Greek or Latin manuscript traditions. The precise mechanism by which this connexion was effected remains obscure. Plooijs's theory that the "Syriasms" in the Liège Harmony were the residue of a Latin Diatessaron which had been directly translated from the Syriac without a Greek intermediary remains *sub judice*. But the connexion itself is beyond doubt, as is the fact that it "jumps over," as it were, the entire Greek and Latin manuscript tradition, passing directly from Syriac sources into the "Old Latin" Diatessaron. Plooijs's discovery of additional Marcionite readings in the Liège Harmony underscored the antiquity of the text transmitted in the Liège Harmony and provided more textual evidence of agreements between Marcion and a Diatessaronic witness.

Regarding method, Plooijs's work set new standards as well. It is true that some of his readings must be bracketed, since they are omissions; others must be viewed skeptically because they turn on minor points of grammar or syntax, which might well have other explanations. Still others must be excluded because the parallel is not immediately apparent, but depends on special pleading. Nevertheless, he adduced readings in such quantity that even when the *dubia* were excluded, ample evidence remained. Finally, his edition of the Liège Harmony, complete with translation and an annotated apparatus of parallels, remains the finest, most useful edition of any Diatessaronic witness.

THE DURA FRAGMENT: A GREEK DIALESSARON?<sup>150</sup>

No sooner had the debate over the original language of the Diatessaron been joined by Plooij, Burkitt, and Jülicher (advocating, respectively, Syriac, Latin, and Greek), than a fragment of a *Greek* gospel harmony materialized. One of Plooij's arguments in favour of a Syriac original had been that although we possessed witnesses in Old English, Syriac, Middle High German, Armenian, Latin, Old Saxon, Arabic, Old High German, and Middle Dutch, not one scrap of a Greek Diatessaron had been found. While he did not deny that one might have existed, he argued that its role in the creation and transmission of the Diatessaron must have been insignificant.

On 5 March 1933, a small Greek parchment was discovered by a Yale University team digging in an embankment abutting the city wall at Dura Europos in Syria; the fragment could be dated to before the destruction of the settlement by the Persians in the winter of 256–257.<sup>151</sup> The team in the field was unable to identify the source of the conflated gospel text.<sup>152</sup> The fragment was sent to Yale, where Carl Kraeling studied it. In 1935 he announced his conclusion: the text was a portion of Tatian's Diatessaron in Greek.<sup>153</sup> His publication instantly redefined the evidence and arguments concerning the Diatessaron's original language.

The Dura Fragment (New Haven [Connecticut]: Yale University Library, Dura Parchment 24), as it came to be known, is about 9.5 by 10.5 cm., damaged on all four edges. Since the *verso* is blank, it would seem that the Fragment was part of a

<sup>150</sup> First edited by: C.H. Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron from Dura*, StD 3 (London 1935), with a photo at the end of the volume. A more recent, corrected edition is that of C.B. Welles, et al., *The Parchments and Papyri: The Excavations at Dura-Europos . . . , Final Report*, Vol. 5.1 (New Haven, Conn. 1959), 73–74.

<sup>151</sup> The wall in which the Fragment was found was built after 254 but before the city's fall in 256–57; however, some papyri found in the embankment date back to 88. Paleography suggests the Fragment dates from "the first half of the third Christian century." The fact that "one of the wealthier property owners of the city transformed a part of his residence into a Christian chapel" between 222 and 235, and the fact that the fragment was found two city blocks north of this chapel site, both support the paleographic dating. See Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment*, 6.

<sup>152</sup> The director of the expedition, Clark Hopkins, has written an account of the dig and the discovery of the fragment: *The Discovery of Dura-Europos* (Yale 1979); it contains numerous photos of the art and architecture found at Dura.

<sup>153</sup> Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment*.

roll, not a codex. While fifteen lines are visible, only fourteen lines of lacunose text can be reconstructed:

- 1 [Ζεβεδ]αίου καὶ Σαλώμη κ[α]ὶ αἱ γυναῖκες
- 2 [τῶν συ]νακολουθησάντων α[ὐτ]ῷ ἀπὸ τῆς
- 3 [Γαλιλαί]ας ὁρῶσαι τὸν στα(= σταυρωθέντα). ἡν δὲ
- 4 [ἡ ἡμέρ]α παρασκευή. Σάββατον ἐπέφω-
- 5 [σκεν. ὁ]ψίας δὲ γενομένης ἐπὶ τ[ῇ Π]αρ[α]σ-
- 6 [κευῇ], ὃ ἐστὶν Προσάββατον προσ-
- 7 [ἦλθεν] ἄνθρωπος βουλευτὴ[ς ὁ] πάρ-
- 8 [χων ἁ]πὸ Ἑρινμαθαία[ς] π[ό]λεως τῆς
- 9 Ἰουδαί[ας], ὄνομα Ἰω[σήφ], ἀ[γ]αθὸς δί-
- 10 [καιος], ὧν μαθητὴς τ[ο]ῦ Ἰη(σοῦ) κε-[...] ]
- 11 [κρυμ]μένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν
- 12 Ἰουδαίων, καὶ αὐτὸς προσεδέχετο
- 13 [τὴν] βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ (= Θεοῦ). οὗτος οὐκ
- 14 [ἦν συγκατα]τιθέμεν[ος] τῇ β[ουλῇ]<sup>154</sup>

- 1 of Zebedee and Salome and the wives
- 2 of those who had followed him from
- 3 Galilee, seeing the crucified. And the day was
- 4 of [the] Preparation. The Sabbath was dawning.
- 5 And when it was evening on the Preparation,
- 6 that is, the day before the Sabbath, approached
- 7 a man being a member of the Council
- 8 from Arimathea, a city of
- 9 Judea, named Joseph, a good,
- 10 just man, being a disciple of Jesus, but
- 11 hidden on account of fear of the
- 12 Jews, and he was expecting
- 13 the kingdom of God. This one had not
- 14 consented to with the Council . . .

Although he was respectfully cautious about trespassing in an area so thoroughly studied by the likes of Plooi and Burkitt, Kraeling nevertheless presented a rhetorical argument in favour of a Greek original Diatessaron. He began by observing

<sup>154</sup> After C.B. Welles, et al., *The Parchments and Papyri*, Vol. 5.1, 74. Cp. the restorations of C. Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment*, on a pull-out at the end of the book; and A. Baumstark, "Das griechische 'Diatessaron'-Fragment von Dura-Europos," *OrChr* 32 (= III.10) (1935), 245. At the end of line 10, Kraeling reads κε and Baumstark reads κα; both restore τακε-. Welles, however, remarks that "I am satisfied, however, that the letter following *kappa* can only be *epsilon*, and that the parchment at the right was not inscribed, for whatever reason."

that the Dura excavations had shown the complexity of Mesopotamian life during this period, with Greek as the “vehicle of intercourse between the representatives of so many nationalities.” Because of this, “from the beginning there existed a practical need for a Greek Diatessaron if Christianity was to spread in the cities of the Mesopotamian lowlands.” Therefore, even if Tatian had not composed his Diatessaron in Greek,

he would have translated it into Greek almost at once, and so have issued it in Syriac and Greek from the outset.

Anyone willing to make this admission will find it difficult to stop here, for it clearly removes all ground for the original use of Syriac. It is much more *natural* to suppose that . . . Tatian . . . compil[ed] a harmony by using the Greek language and the available Greek sources, and would leave the translation of his work into Syriac to a subsequent stage of the undertaking.<sup>155</sup>

Noting that this conclusion would be invalidated by the discovery of mistranslations in the Greek, which would have shown that it depended upon a Syriac *Vorlage*, Kraeling observed that although

the test of possible mistranslation has consistently been applied, it has not proven itself of superior value in accounting for the divergences in question, and has thus left the hypothesis of a Syriac original without tangible support.

Also supporting a Greek original Diatessaron was the fact that

in the fragment before us the agreement with the Greek of the Gospels is so exact, both in vocabulary and constructions, as to imply a word for word comparison between the harmony and all its sources . . .<sup>156</sup>

Kraeling’s appeal to what is “natural,” and failure to present textual evidence are warnings that his scheme may lack empirical support.

Prior to this discovery, advocates of a Greek original Diatessaron had to content themselves with rhetorical arguments against a Syriac original;<sup>157</sup> now they found vindication in the Dura Fragment. Because Plooij had advocated the hy-

<sup>155</sup> Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment*, 17; italics added.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>157</sup> One argument cited the Greek name of the document, the διὰ τεσσάρων, as proof of a Greek language original (against this point, see *supra*, p. 139, n. 213); another was the very “improbability” that a Syriac



pothesis that the Liège Harmony rested upon a Latin Diatessaron which had been directly translated from Syriac, without a Greek intermediary, and because Plooiij felt Syriac had been the Diatessaron's original language, he was the target for much of the reaction, even though a Syriac original had also been advocated by Th. Zahn (who had also held out the possibility of a direct Syriac-Latin translation), Hjelt, and Baethgen.

Scholars immediately began studies of the Fragment. Burkitt was among the first to report his findings.<sup>158</sup> As evidence of the Fragment's distance from the Syriac, he cited such readings as the Fragment's βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ at Luke 23.51, which agreed with the standard Greek text, but against the Old Syriac's ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ("kingdom of heaven"). Another example from the same verse was the Fragment's οὗτος οὐκ ἦν συνκατατιθέμενος τῇ βουλῇ ("this man was not agreeing with the counsel [of them]"), agreeing with the standard Greek reading, against paraphrases in all the Syriac versions.<sup>159</sup> Burkitt, who advocated a Latin original, argued that the Dura Fragment's evidence invalidated Plooiij's theory of a Syriac original, because the disagreements between the Vetus Syra and the Fragment demonstrated that their textual *Vorlage* was not identical. Although admitting that Greek was possible, Burkitt persisted in his preference for a Latin original. Citing the same evidence as Burkitt, other scholars, such as M.-J. Lagrange, opted for Greek:

La première constatation qui s'impose, c'est que le grec de Doura est l'original du Tatien. Son accord avec les textes grecs est tel qu'il est impossible de le regarder comme une traduction du syriaque, ce qui n'est d'ailleurs suggéré par aucune particularité. La question du texte primitif de Tatien, syriaque ou grec, est donc tranchée en faveur du grec.<sup>160</sup>

Plooiij's analysis appeared in the same year as the articles of Burkitt and Lagrange. First, he cautioned it was less than certain

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document should leave a literary imprint on a Middle Dutch harmony which had been translated from a Latin archetype.

<sup>158</sup> F.C. Burkitt, "The Dura Fragment of Tatian," *JThS* 36 (1935), 255–259.

<sup>159</sup> Syr<sup>s.c</sup> (*Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* [ed. Burkitt], I, 412–13): ("this man, that was not of equal mind with the accusers").

<sup>160</sup> M.-J. Lagrange, "Deux nouveaux textes relatifs à l'Évangile. I. Un fragment grec du Diatessaron de Tatien," *RB* 44 (1935), 3234. Opposite p. 321 is a photo of the Fragment; on paleographic grounds, Lagrange dated it to c. 220 (p. 321).

that the Fragment was from Tatian's Diatessaron. One reading in the Fragment, while not found in any Diatessaronic witness, was similar to a reading in the *Gospel of Peter*.<sup>161</sup> Second, Plooi asked, "Is it accidental that it is just a portion of the Passion story which has been preserved?" He pointed out that some manuscripts of the Harclean version of the Syriac NT also contain a Passion harmony which is not identical with the Diatessaron. Might this be a Greek translation of some non-Diatessaronic Passion Harmony? Third, he observed that the order of the Fragment was different from the principal Diatessaronic witnesses, both East and West. These facts, said Plooi, left open the possibility that the Fragment was independent from or only distantly related to Tatian's Diatessaron.<sup>162</sup>

If, however, one were to take the Fragment as a witness to the Diatessaron, Plooi reminded the reader that "none of the Greek Fathers quotes a line from Tatian's Diatessaron,"<sup>163</sup> a fact which he pointedly contrasted with the Diatessaronic citations found in Aphrahat and Ephrem's *Commentary*. Turning to Kraeling's emphasis on Greek as the "bridge" language in the cosmopolitan Near East, Plooi observed that although Greek inscriptions and literary remains abound everywhere,

<sup>161</sup> D. Plooi, "A Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron in Greek," *ET* 46 (1934/35), 471-76. The reading is τὸν σ(αυρωθέντ)α, "the crucified (one)," in line 3, which Plooi (472-73) compared with *Gospel of Peter* 13.56 (τὸν σαυρωθέντ)α [*Évangile de Pierre*, ed. M.G. Mara, SC 201 (Paris 1973), 64-65]). Although apparently unrelated to the Diatessaron, the *Gospel of Peter* is a second-century work which shares a few minor textual traditions with the Diatessaron (see W.L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus*, 94). It has been suggested that *Peter* contains an independent gospel tradition (cp. J. Denker, *Die theologieggeschichtliche Stellung des Petrusevangeliums: ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Doketismus*, EHS.T 36 [Bern/Frankfurt 1975; originally a dissertation, Kiel 1972]).

<sup>162</sup> It has been suggested (C. Hopkins, "The Christian Chapel at Dura-Europos," *St. Joseph Lilies* [published by St. Joseph's College, Toronto], 36 [1947], 127-33) that a fresco in the chapel at Dura-Europos, which shows three women going to the tomb of Jesus, reflects the Diatessaronic version of the event (132). In his uncritical enthusiasm to read the Diatessaron into the art of Dura-Europos, Hopkins forgets to mention that according to Mark 16.1, "Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome" go to the tomb; consequently, there is nothing specifically "Diatessaronic" about the fresco. Such is the enthusiasm of those who would place a Diatessaron in Dura.

<sup>163</sup> Plooi's statement, correct as far as he knew in the 1930s, must now be qualified, for it is apparent that Macarius quotes the Diatessaron in his *Homilies*, and Romanos Melodos also cites it in his hymns. Cp. *infra*, 330f. and 341-343, respectively. It should be pointed out, however, that *both* have intimate links with Syria.

a Gospel for the *native* population should, to my view, be certainly Syriac, and was actually so in Edessa. The native population was, of course, analphabete, and the preponderance of Greek graffiti should not mislead us.<sup>164</sup>

"All this, however, is merely speculative," said Plooi, recognizing that it was textual evidence which would, at least for critical scholars, decide the issue.

Although Kraeling said he had looked for readings which might indicate dependence upon the Syriac, and had found none, Plooi found three readings which had Syriac support:

(1) At Luke 23.54, the Dura Fragment reads ἦν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα ("and it was the day"), placing the word ἡμέρα ("day") after ἦν ("it was"). This agrees with the word order in Syr<sup>s</sup> (ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪܐ : "And it was [the] day"), and exactly with one Greek MS, Codex Bezae (D) (ἦν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα) against all other canonical Greek manuscripts, which place the noun ἡμέρα ("day") before the verb ἦν: καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν. The Dura Fragment (and Codex Bezae) has the same word order as the Sinaitic Syriac.<sup>165</sup>

(2) At John 19.38, the Fragment read τῆς Ἰουδαίας with Syr<sup>s.c.p.</sup>, the Arabic Harmony, most of the Vetus Latina, the Dutch Harmonies, and Codex Fuldensis, against the entire Greek tradition, which read τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

(3) At Luke 23.49, the Fragment read καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες [τῶν συν]ακολουθησάντων αὐτῷ ("and the wives of those who had followed him . . ."), against the canonical Greek καὶ (αἱ ) γυναῖκες (αἱ ) συνακολουθοῦσαι αὐτῷ ("and the women who followed him . . ."). Plooi explained the Fragment's variants as stemming from a very literal translation from Syriac:

if we retain in Syriac the participle of the Greek and render as literally as possible, we get *nēhē 'ailēn d'atēn 'ammēh*, which needs only the addition of a *d* before *'ailēn* to get the sense of the Greek of Dura.<sup>166</sup>

The Fragment's reading is unattested elsewhere, save in Vetus Latina MS *c*, where "eorum" is interpolated, resulting in the reading "et mulieres eorum" ("and their women/wives").

<sup>164</sup> Plooi, "A Fragment," 474. Today, scholarship recognizes the essential bilingualism of the Syrian world, especially urban areas, such as Edessa: see, e.g., H.J.W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa* (Assen 1966), 20, 66; S. Brock, "From Ephrem to Romanos," in *Studia Patristica*, Vol. XX (Papers Presented to the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1987), ed. E.A. Livingstone (Leuven 1989), 139–51.

<sup>165</sup> The link to the Syriac and Codex Bezae is the word order: verb first, noun last. There is an additional link between the Fragment and Codex Bezae, namely, the article ἡ.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 475.

Of the three readings, only #1 has Greek support, and then only from a single manuscript, D, which, as we have already seen, has connexions with the Diatessaronic tradition. "Is it conceivable that if these readings were originally Greek, in all these cases not a single Greek witness should have survived to preserve the reading?"<sup>167</sup> The same Syriac-Latin axis Plooiij had discovered in the Liège Harmony also evidenced itself even here in the Dura Fragment, and that could only mean that if the Fragment were a portion of the Diatessaron, then its original language had been Syriac. Plooiij's evidence and arguments won over scholars such as Merk,<sup>168</sup> who agreed that the Fragment's readings did not indicate a Greek *Vorlage*.

The treatment of the Dura Fragment by scholars on both sides of the language issue is instructive for two reasons. First, the pro-Greek camp totally ignored the fact that the process of Vulgatization—the tendency to replace non-standard Diatessaronic readings with the "standard" reading—was always and everywhere at work.<sup>169</sup> Although one could not be sure what such a "standard" text might have been (or even if one existed) in the early third century, the issue of the original language could not be decided on the basis of readings which *agreed* with the Greek (such as those adduced by Burkitt), for *every* Diatessaronic witness had them (as Merk pointedly observed<sup>170</sup>). Indeed, even before Vulgatization began, much of the text of every Diatessaronic witness would have agreed word for word with the standard Greek text. The *only* convincing procedure by which the puzzle of the original language of the Diatessaron can be investigated is to *begin* by presuming that Greek is the original language, and then seek to *invalidate* that hypothesis. Since Vulgatization has often led to the substitution of "Greek" or "Vulgate" or "Peshitta" readings for the original Diatessaronic reading, and since *every* Diatessaronic witness, *even the autograph Diatessaron*, contained large portions of text which agreed verbatim with the standard Greek text, the discovery of "Greek" readings in a putative Diatessaronic

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> A. Merk, "Ein griechisches Bruchstück des Diatessaron Tatians," *Bib.* 17 (1936), 234–41.

<sup>169</sup> Cp. the statement of Westcott and Hort, cited *supra*, p. 5, n. 26.

<sup>170</sup> Cp. A. Merk, "Ein griechisches Bruchstück," 241 (*italics added*): "Die Sprache lehnt sich, . . . stark an den Text der griechischen Evangelien an, wie nicht anders zu erwarten ist, *auch dann nicht, wenn der Text aus dem Syrischen übertragen ist.*"

witness proves nothing about the Diatessaron's original language. It is only the discovery of what should *not* be there that is significant: in this case, Syriac readings should *not* be present in a Greek fragment of a purportedly Greek original Diatessaron.

Second, the work of Kraeling and Burkitt illustrated a fatal flaw in much Diatessaronic scholarship. It was the tendency *to cite only those readings which agreed with one's hypothesis*, and to ignore readings which contradicted one's position. Hence, although eminently competent to search for Syriac parallels, both Kraeling and Burkitt apparently failed to do so. Had they made the effort, they would have discovered the same Syriac parallels Plooij found, and would have reached a more balanced—and accurate—conclusion.

Although the Dura Fragment generated much initial excitement, Plooij's findings, together with a reading noted by Anton Baumstark (discussed in the next chapter [*infra*, 224–225], in the section devoted to him), led experts to the conclusion that it represented a very early Greek translation of a Syriac *Vorlage*. The Fragment cannot serve as evidence that the Diatessaron was composed in Greek.

J. SCHÄFERS

F.C. CONYBEARE

PAUL ESSABALEAN

STANISLAUS LYONNET

THE ARMENIAN VERSION OF THE GOSPELS  
TRANSLATIONS FROM SYRIAC:

EPHREM'S *COMMENTARY ON THE*  
*LETTERS OF PAUL* <sup>171</sup>

PSEUDO-EPHREM'S *COMMENTARY ON*  
*THE GOSPEL* <sup>172</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Latin translation: *S. Ephraemi Syri commentarii in epistolas D. Pauli nunc primum ex Armenio in Latinum sermonem a patribus mechitharistis translati* (Venetii 1893).

<sup>172</sup> Edition: pp. 261–345 in the Moesinger-Aucher edition of Ephrem's *Commentary on the Concordant Gospel: Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a Sancto Ephraemo Doctore Syro, in Latinum translata* (Venetii 1876).

The dependence of Armenian Christianity upon Syriac Christianity has long been acknowledged;<sup>173</sup> consequently, it is not surprising to learn that research began to discover evidence of Diatessaronic influence on Armenian texts. The two pioneering studies were both conducted by J. Schäfers. In the first, Schäfers investigated the gospel citations in the *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*, extant only in Armenian, and attributed to Ephrem.<sup>174</sup> The Armenian translation was based on a Syriac original. Despite the difficulties in making a comparison—for some variant readings undoubtedly stemmed from the process of translation, and others from the transmission-history of the commentary itself—Schäfers' conclusion was that "die Evangelienzitate in ihrer Mehrheit deutliche Züge der altsyrischen Bibel und Tatians [sind]."<sup>175</sup> In his second study,<sup>176</sup> Schäfers examined an Armenian *Commentary on the Gospel* incorrectly attributed to Ephrem.<sup>177</sup> Erwin Preuschen had studied it in 1911, and concluded it was a translation from Greek.<sup>178</sup> Schäfers, however, adduced convincing evidence to show that it was a translation of a Syriac work. Again contradicting Preuschen, Schäfers presented readings which forced him to conclude that it was "hochwahrscheinlich" that the work's composer "*Tatians Diatessaron* gekannt und benutzt hat."<sup>179</sup>

Since Schäfers' findings concurred with the oldest historical reports which suggested that Armenian Christianity had been imported from Syria (almost certainly from Edessa [and, therefore, a Judaic-Christian form of Christianity]), it was only natural that other scholars who were searching for the base from which the oldest Armenian version of the gospels had been translated should also focus their attention on Syriac sources.

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<sup>173</sup> The principal study is by E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Die Armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den syrischen Kirchen*, TU 26.4 (Leipzig 1904).

<sup>174</sup> J. Schäfers, *Evangelienzitate in Ephrāms des Syrers Kommentar zu den Paulinischen Schriften* (Freiburg 1917).

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>176</sup> J. Schäfers, *Eine altsyrische antimarkionitische Erklärung von Parabeln des Herrn und zwei andere altsyrische Abhandlungen zu Texten der Evangelien. Mit Beiträgen zu Tatians Diatessaron und Markions Neuem Testament*, NTA 4.1.2 (Münster 1917).

<sup>177</sup> This work should not be confused with the Armenian recension of Ephrem's *Commentary on the Concordant Gospel*.

<sup>178</sup> E. Preuschen, "Eine altkirchliche antimarcionitische Schrift unter dem Namen Ephrāms," ZNW 12 (1911), 243–69.

<sup>179</sup> J. Schäfers, *Eine altsyrische antimarkionitische Erklärung*, 217 (Schäfers' italics).

The last article written by F.C. Conybeare before his death summarized his researches into the origin of the Armenian translation of the gospels. Tradition as well as manuscript evidence suggested that the *separate* Armenian gospels were translated in the early fifth century. But in the course of his studies, Conybeare noted occasional agreements between two of the earliest Armenian Patristic texts (Agathangelos [late fourth or early fifth cent.] and Lazarus of Pharbi [late fifth cent.]), against all manuscripts of the Armenian separated gospels, as edited by Zohrab in 1805. This led to the inevitable suspicion that

Two writers who agree in citing a text identically, when it is not in the vulgate (*i.e.*, the separate gospels as preserved in the manuscripts and edited by Zohrab], must have used in common some lost text of the New Testament.<sup>180</sup>

A distinctive feature of these agreements was that they were often harmonistic readings. Conybeare did not assemble definitive proof, but speculated that—somewhere—it existed:

Perhaps it is lurking entire in some of these libraries in the guise of an Old Lectionary . . . and a few lines of it would at once reveal whether it was a Diatessaron or only an archaic form of the separate gospels.<sup>181</sup>

Conybeare's thesis was advanced and received partial confirmation in 1937 when the Armenian scholar Paul Essabalian published a study titled *Le Diatessaron de Tatien et la première traduction des Évangiles arméniens*.<sup>182</sup> He too noted the occasional agreements among the earliest Armenian Patristic texts (in original works by Armenian writers as well as in translations). Such agreements, otherwise unattested in the separate-gospel Armenian manuscript tradition, meant that there had been a "traduction primitive" which survived only in the earliest Patristic sources. Later, this "première traduction" had been replaced by the Armenian "Vulgate," which came down to us in the oldest manuscripts of the separate Armenian gospels. An example was Matt 3.9, where Zohrab, with the Greek, read the

<sup>180</sup> F.C. Conybeare, "An Armenian Diatessaron?" *JThS* 25 (1924), 232.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>182</sup> P. Essabalian, *Le Diatessaron de Tatien et la première traduction des Évangiles arméniens* (in Armenian, with a substantial French résumé on pp. 111–127) (Vienne 1937).

equivalent of μή δόξητε λέγειν [Luke: μή ἄρξησθε λέγειν], while Aphrahat (Syriac), Agathangelos (Armenian), and the Armenian translations of Chrysostom's *On Matthew* all read (in Latin translation): "*Ne vos iactaveritis neve dixeritis.*"<sup>183</sup> This same unique reading also appeared in the oldest Georgian gospel manuscript,<sup>184</sup> demonstrating that it too had been influenced by the same tradition. This constellation of sources suggested that the medium of dissemination had been the Diatessaron.

Almost immediately, Stanislaus Lyonnet published two articles, both appearing in 1938. The first sought to provide additional evidence for this lost "première version."<sup>185</sup> Twenty-five readings were presented in which primitive sources such as Agathangelos, Lazarus of Pharbi, or Élise agreed, or agreed with Ephrem and/or Aphrahat. These common readings often contained Syriacisms or were in singular agreement with Syriac sources (and, occasionally, Western Diatessaronic witnesses). This led Lyonnet to conclude that the "première version" of the gospels in Armenian had been a Diatessaron, translated from a Syriac Diatessaron:

Si l'hypothèse exposée ci-dessus est exacte, les Arméniens auraient d'abord traduit un Diatessaron syriaque identique ou analogue à celui de Tatien. Bientôt, sans doute, on éprouve le besoin d'une traduction des Évangiles séparés, d'autant que c'est l'époque où Rabboula mène sa campagne contre les Diatessarons.<sup>186</sup>

In the second article,<sup>187</sup> Lyonnet reported on the text of the oldest Armenian lectionary, just the type of document Conybeare had suspected might provide the definitive evidence. The lectionary, the so-called *Ritual of Venice* (Venice: S. Lazar, MS 457), dates from the ninth or tenth century. In an exacting philological study, Lyonnet compared its gospel citations with all known Diatessaronic witnesses. Significantly, this included the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony. Four passages were studied in

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>184</sup> The Adysh Codex (Blake's geo 1), copied in 897. See S. Lyonnet, *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron*, BibOr 13 (Rome 1950), 145–46.

<sup>185</sup> S. Lyonnet, "La première version arménienne des Évangiles," *RB* 47 (1938), 355–82.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 381.

<sup>187</sup> S. Lyonnet, "Vestiges d'un Diatessaron arménien," *Bib.* 19 (1938), 121–150.



detail: Matt 11.25–30; Matt 21.12–16 + John 2.16; Matt 7.24.29; and Mark 8.34–38. Tatianisms abounded:

(1) At Matt 11.25, one encountered a harmonization with Luke 10.21. Reproduced twice in the *Ritual*, the passage read: “*In hac hora exsultavit Iesus Spiritu Sancto et dicit: Gratias ago tibi, Pater Domine caeli et terrae . . .*” The underlined portion is from Luke 10.21, replacing Matt 11.25a. This harmonization was unknown in any Greek or Syriac manuscript of the separate gospels; it was, however, the reading of “tous les Diatessarons”: the Arabic, Ephrem’s *Commentary*, Liège, and even Codex Fuldensis: (Luke 10.21) “*In ipsa hora exultavit spiritu sancto* (Matt 11.25) *et dixit: confiteor tibi pater, domine caeli et terre . . .*”

(2) At Matt 21.12, the *Ritual* inverted the order of πωλοῦντας καὶ ἀγοράζοντας to “*emebant et vendebant*.” Zohrab follows the Greek order, but one separate gospel MS gives the *Ritual*’s reading, as do Syr<sup>c-p</sup> and the Liège Harmony.

(3) The *Ritual*’s sequence of harmonization is Matt 21.12, followed by John 2.16, followed by Matt 21.13. Codex Fuldensis and the Liège Harmony offer the identical sequence.

(4) At Matt 7.25, the *Ritual*’s sequence (“*Flaverunt venti, descenderunt pluviae, insiluerunt flumina*”; the canonical sequence is “*pluvia—flumina—venti*”) was exactly paralleled in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary (Syr<sup>pal</sup>, all 3 MSS), and was close to a variant found in the Stuttgart Harmony and Vetus Latina MSS *b c g q* (“*pluvia—venti—flumina*”: the final element is identical with the *Ritual*).<sup>188</sup>

The *Ritual*’s text contained precisely the evidence Conybeare had sought in vain in 1924. Its readings—including the harmonizations, which were often identical with Tatian’s—left no doubt about the form in which the gospel text had first circulated in Armenian: it had been a Diatessaron. This Armenian Diatessaron appeared to have been translated from Syriac.

In 1950, Lyonnet published a monograph on the origins of the Armenian version and the Diatessaron.<sup>189</sup> Characterized by exquisite clarity, rigorous self-criticism, and a wealth of new data, it is a model study. Once again using a strictly philological method, he established the existence of a now-lost, “pre-Zohrab” edition of the gospels in Armenian. Next, he took each early Armenian writer and translation and, one after the

<sup>188</sup> These examples come from *ibid.*, 126, 135, 135 and 138, respectively.

<sup>189</sup> S. Lyonnet, *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron*, BibOr 13 (Rome 1950).

other, examined their text.<sup>190</sup> The relationship of the “pre-Zohrab” Armenian gospels to the Georgian Version was also evaluated. Finally, a list of harmonizations was presented. In all, the study contained over 400 readings in support of its conclusions.

By building on the speculative vision of Conybeare and the earlier work of Essabalian, Lyonnet established that an Armenian Diatessaron was the source of the “pre-Zohrab” readings in the oldest Armenian Patristic writers. While he admitted that separate gospels like those in the *Vetus Syra* manuscripts (Syr<sup>s.c</sup>)—themselves influenced by the Diatessaron—could have, in their *least* revised (*i.e.*, least Vulgatized) parts, generated the oldest-known Armenian gospel text, an Armenian Diatessaron seemed more likely. Not only was this the most direct solution, commended by textual evidence, but this whole process—an early vernacular Diatessaron displaced by an *ad hoc* translation of the separate gospels, followed by an “official” translation—was identical with what had apparently occurred in Syria and Italy.

With minor reservations, scholarship since the time of Lyonnet has endorsed his hypothesis that it was from Syriac, not Greek, that the first Armenian gospel translation was made. Also following Lyonnet, it is generally agreed that the oldest Armenian gospel text was, as Vööbus put it, “an Old Syriac text, . . . somewhat more archaic in places than Syr-Sin and Syr-Cur and somewhat closer to the text-pattern of the Diatessaron.”<sup>191</sup> However, Vööbus chose to embrace the alternative Lyonnet had rejected, namely, that the oldest Armenian gospels had been translated from separate Syriac gospels more primitive than the *Vetus Syra*—and, hence, more deeply imprinted with Diatessaronic readings than the *Vetus Syra*—but not from a Diatessaron proper.<sup>192</sup> This view has been cautiously endorsed by Leloir, who cites the views of N. Akinian, communicated in a letter: an *ad hoc* oral translation of (parts of) the Diatessaron was probable as early as 200, but no Armenian alphabet ex-

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<sup>190</sup> The writers: Agathangelos, Koriun, Eznik, Pseudo-Gregory, Mandakuni, Mambré, Elise, Anania of Siuni, and Lazarus of Pharbi; Armenian translations of: Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Hesychius of Jerusalem, and Severus of Gabala; the Syriac works of Aphrahat, Ephrem and Pseudo-Ephrem, and, where extant, their Armenian translations; and the Georgian Version of the gospels, as well as Armenian liturgical texts.

<sup>191</sup> Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 151.

<sup>192</sup> Idem.

isted until about 400. When the first *written* translation of the gospels was made (obviously after that date), it was probably in the form of separate gospels, but made under influence of the Diatessaron's text, which had left its imprint in the Armenian mind.<sup>193</sup> Leloir concluded that

il est possible que la première version arménienne ait eu forme de Diatessaron, mais possible également (c'est le minimum à affirmer) qu'elle dépende seulement, sous forme d'évangile séparé, de la tradition dont Tatien est le représentant le plus marquant.<sup>194</sup>

Regardless of the solution selected (that of Lyonnet, Vööbus, or Leloir/Akinian), Diatessaronic influence is agreed to by all parties; the debate is over the precise mechanism by which it exerted its influence. Similarly, all agree that the Diatessaron was, at some point, translated into Armenian; otherwise, the existence of an Armenian translation of Ephrem's *Commentary* on the Diatessaron makes little sense.

The skeptic should note that of the readings presented above from the *Ritual*, #s 1 and 3 are cross-gospel harmonizations, so distinctive of gospel harmonies. Extended cross-gospel harmonizations—especially one as extended as #3—rarely survive in the separate gospel tradition. This suggests that a Diatessaron is the source of the reading, not the separate gospels influenced by a Diatessaron. Furthermore, the fact that such readings as these exist in *greatest* profusion in the *earliest* Armenian liturgical texts also suggests that a Diatessaron was their source, for it would be odd (to say the least!) to (1) have had the separate gospels translated first, (2) followed at a later date by a Diatessaron, only to find that it was (3) the text of the non-canonical and *later*-translated Diatessaron which was chosen for the *oldest* Armenian *Ritual*. The combined evidence of the extended harmonizations and the tortured logic required to reconcile the text of the *Ritual* with the theory of separate gospel priority commends Lyonnet's properly cautious conclusion: although one cannot totally exclude the possibility that separate gospels, more heavily influenced by the Diatessaron

<sup>193</sup> L. Leloir, "La Version arménienne du Nouveau Testament," *Die alten Übersetzungen des neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland, ANTT 5 (Berlin 1972), 301–302.

<sup>194</sup> L. Leloir, *Doctrines et méthodes d'Éphrem d'après les oeuvres éditées*, CSCO 180 [Subsidia 12] (Louvain 1980), 22.

than even the *Vetus Syra*, were translated first, the earliest Armenian gospel text probably was a Diatessaron. The value of the Armenian witness is increased by the fact that it is closely related to the ancient and all-important Syriac Diatessaronic witnesses.

MICHAEL K MOSKO

THE *LIBER GRADUUM*<sup>195</sup>

ALFRED RÜCKER

The Syriac *Liber Graduum* ("Book of Degrees" or "Book of Steps") was edited in 1926 by M. Kmosko and published in the series *Patrologia Syriaca*. In his Introduction, Kmosko observed that the gospel citations in this third- or fourth-century Messalian work were dependent upon a Diatessaron.<sup>196</sup> Six years later Kmosko's judgement was confirmed by an independent investigation conducted by Alfred Rücker.<sup>197</sup> It was becoming apparent that either directly or, in some cases, through the medium of the *Vetus Syra*, virtually all early Syriac literature had been influenced by the Diatessaron. Anton Baumstark would soon demonstrate that this influence extended even to works translated from Greek into Syriac: their gospel citations had been brought into conformity with the prevailing gospel text—in this early period, that of the Diatessaron, or a Diatessaron-influenced *Vetus Syra*.<sup>198</sup>

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The decades reviewed in this chapter may be termed the "Golden Age" of Diatessaronic studies. Vogels, Plooi, and Burkitt remain essential reading for any student of the Diatessaron. Their findings concerning the genesis of the Western vernacular harmonies form the basis for current scholarship. Vogels conducted the most thorough investigation of the Latin harmonized tradition up to his time, and concluded that the

<sup>195</sup> *Liber Graduum*, ed. M. Kmosko, in *PS* 3 (Parisiis 1926).

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xi: "... in *L' Gr<sup>m</sup> textus 'Evangelii' Tatianeus* Διά τεσσάρων *citatur.*"

<sup>197</sup> A. Rücker, "Die Zitate aus dem Matthäusevangelium im syrischen 'Buche der Stufen,'" *BZ* 20 (1932), 342–354. See also F.J. Parsons, *The Nature of the Gospel quotations in the Syriac Liber Graduum* (dissertation, Birmingham 1969).

<sup>198</sup> Cf. Baumstark's findings, *infra*, 223–224.

Diatessaron was the oldest gospel in Latin. Contrary to Sievers' assertion, Vogels' collations proved that Codex Fuldensis was *not* the "Stamhandschrift" of all the Latin harmonies; quite the contrary: it was a degenerate, Vulgatized manuscript. Plooij's investigation of the Middle Dutch harmonies complemented Vogels' work. Although Robinson had been first to recognize the true character of the Liège Harmony, it was Plooij who mined its riches, and produced what remains the finest, most useful edition of any Diatessaronic witness. His theoretical work followed on an idea sown by Th. Zahn, namely, that a direct Syriac-to-Latin translation was responsible for the Western vernacular harmonies. Plooij's work on Eastern witnesses provided a wealth of textual readings which linked the Occidental and Oriental witnesses. Burkitt's insightful criticism provided a check on Plooij's enthusiasm.

During this period, investigations into the Armenian tradition began to bear fruit as well, indicating that the situation which obtained in Syria and in Latin regions had applied there as well: the Diatessaron appeared to be the basis of the oldest recoverable gospel text.

Important witnesses were introduced. Vogels offered extensive collations of numerous hitherto-unknown Latin witnesses; Plooij unearthed a whole family of Middle Dutch witnesses. The unusual Pepsysian Harmony—from which one could infer the existence of an Old French Diatessaron—saw publication. Although the Dura Fragment initially led to claims that the Diatessaron had been composed in Greek, closer examination and more refined methods disputed that claim.

It was under the fire of criticism from the likes of von Soden, Burkitt, Jülicher, and Kraeling that method evolved. Arguments were pressed for empirical evidence; logic was scrutinized; new evidence from new witnesses was brought to bear. As a result, new theories and standards emerged.

It was indicative of the intellectual excitement of the time that Plooij, together with Th. Zahn (who was Honorary President until his death in 1933), J.R. Harris (President), and nineteen other scholars, founded the "Bezan Club" in 1925. Its organ, the *Bulletin of the Bezan Club*, appeared at irregular intervals from 1925 to 1937; Plooij edited numbers 1–11 (1–10 in 1925–32; number 11 appeared posthumously in 1936). The final number (12) appeared in 1937. Devoted to the study of the Diatessaron and the "Western Text," it was filled with short

notes and correspondence between the members. The *Bulletin of the Bezan Club* remains an important source of readings, insights, and ideas from some of the leading New Testament scholars of the twentieth century.

It was during this same period, the 1930s, that Anton Baumstark began his detailed and important researches into both the Eastern and Western Diatessaronic tradition. His work—along with that of others—is covered in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### A HISTORY OF DIATESSARONIC STUDIES AND A DESCRIPTION OF DIATESSARONIC WITNESSES: FROM THE 1930s TO 1951

As the clouds of war began to gather, Diatessaronic studies continued their rapid advance. New manuscripts and witnesses were discovered, and new insights into the relationships among witnesses were identified. The war, however, dealt the field a severe blow. One manuscript disappeared, several eminent experts died or were killed, and publication slowed. After the war, publication resumed, but at a slower rate. In part this was due to the heavy toll taken by the war, and the demise of the older generation of experts; but there was also a new spirit abroad. The torch had passed from an older generation of scholars and a “lower” type of scholarship to a new generation of scholars—Bultmann and Barth, for example—and a new style of scholarship. But we anticipate ourselves; first we must resume our chronicle of discoveries in the 1930s.

M.-J. LAGRANGE

ACTS OF THOMAS

The *Acts of Thomas* (sometimes referred to as the *Acts of Judas Thomas*), which contains the exquisite “Hymn of the Pearl” (in the 9th Act [cc. 108–113]), have been termed “a landmark in Syriac theology.”<sup>1</sup> Their origin is Syrian, and they were composed in Syriac,<sup>2</sup> in the early third century. The *Acts* were immensely popular. In addition to six known Syriac manuscripts (one of which is now lost), they survive in 21 Greek, one Coptic, one Arabic, one Ethiopic, four Latin, and at least four Armenian manuscripts. The *Acts* were first edited by J.C. Thilo in 1823,<sup>3</sup> using four Greek manuscripts. In 1871, Wm. Wright

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<sup>1</sup> A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, N.T.S. 5 (Leiden 1962), 52.

<sup>2</sup> So Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 13; H.J.W. Drijvers, “Thomasakten,” in W. Schneemelcher, ed., *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, II. Apostolisches Apokalypsen und Verwandtes* (Tübingen 1989<sup>5</sup>), 290 (“ursprünglich syrisch abgefasst”).

<sup>3</sup> *Acta S. Thomae Apostoli*, ed. J.C. Thilo (Lipsiae 1823).

produced the first edition of the *Acts* in their original Syriac, based on a single manuscript (London: British Library, Add 14 645; dated 936).<sup>4</sup>

In 1904, with only the editions of Thilo and Wright at his disposal, F.C. Burkitt examined the *Acts* and concluded that their New Testament citations came from the *Vetus Syra*, not a Diatessaron.<sup>5</sup> As evidence, Burkitt pointed to the Parable of the Marriage Feast (Matt 22.1–14) and the Parable of the Great Supper (Luke 14.16–24). He noted that apparently the Diatessaron had “fused” these parables; as a consequence, “writers who habitually used the Diatessaron could not keep these . . . Parables distinct.”<sup>6</sup> In both the Greek edition of Thilo and the Syriac edition of Wright, however, Burkitt found the two parables kept separate. The text of the *Acts* was “the work of one who knew the Gospels well independently of the Diatessaron, for the Supper and the Wedding are kept distinct.”<sup>7</sup> Burkitt’s judgement was accurate, given the sources available to him. However, as noted before, the discovery of new manuscripts is the engine which drives Diatessaronic studies, and new discoveries were forthcoming.

In 1904, Agnes Smith Lewis published her edition of the *Acts*, this time based on a newly-discovered Syriac manuscript which she had found at St. Catherine’s Monastery on Mount Sinai (Sinai MS 30; dated to the fifth or sixth century).<sup>8</sup> Almost half a millennium older than the manuscript Wright edited, Lewis’ manuscript was recognized as preserving an older recension of the *Acts*.

It was M.-J. Lagrange who noted that the new Sinai manuscript combined the Parable of the Marriage Feast and the Parable of the Great Supper—the precise marker of dependence upon the Diatessaron which Burkitt had *not* found in the earlier editions. In his *Critique Textuelle*, Lagrange drew the obvious conclusion: the most primitive known form of the *Acts of Thomas* was dependent upon a Diatessaron.<sup>9</sup> This ob-

<sup>4</sup> *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, ed. W. Wright, 2 vols. (London/Edinburgh 1871).

<sup>5</sup> *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ed. F.C. Burkitt, (Cambridge 1904), II, 101–06.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 102.

<sup>8</sup> *Acta Mythologica Apostolorum*, ed. A. Smith Lewis, HSem 3 and 4 (London 1904).

<sup>9</sup> M.-J. Lagrange, *Critique Textuelle*, pt. II, *La critique rationnelle* (the *Cri-*



servation has been accepted by later scholars, such as Klijn.<sup>10</sup> However, to date, no comprehensive study of the gospel citations in the *Acts* has been conducted. Given the early date and provenance of the *Acts*, it is certainly possible that their author knew and used a Diatessaron; but it is also possible that he was using a very primitive Syriac tetraevangelion redolent of the Diatessaron. Until an investigation is undertaken, the extent and nature of the *Acts*' relationship with the Diatessaron cannot be specified beyond stating that in a couple instances (the only ones examined) it appears to cite the gospels in the form of the Diatessaron.

OTTO STEGMÜLLER

BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN,  
P. 16 388 (P<sup>25</sup>)<sup>11</sup>

In 1937, Carl Schmidt brought a collection of Egyptian papyri to the Staatliche Museen in Berlin. One of them, catalogued P. 16 388 (P<sup>25</sup> among the New Testament papyri), caught the eye of Otto Stegmüller. Written in the fifth or sixth century, it had been part of a codex, for its Greek text was set out in parallel columns on both sides of the folio. Although it contained only 35 lines of text in total, Stegmüller concluded that it was another fragment of a Greek Diatessaron. In 1938 he published the text and his findings in an article titled "Ein Bruchstück aus dem griechischen Diatessaron (P. 16 388)."<sup>12</sup> The text is presented on the following page:

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*tique Textuelle* is Vol. 2 of his *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament*; the volume cited here is vol. 2, pt. 2 of the whole work) (Paris 1935), 206.

<sup>10</sup> Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, 16–17 ("10. Quotations from the New Testament") surveys the citations and concludes: "B.M. [= British Museum MS (edited by Wright)] seems to go back to the separate gospels, Sinai [Smith Lewis MS] to the Diatessaron . . . we may suppose that originally a Diatessaron was used [by the *Acts*] in quoting the New Testament. At a later stage the text [of the *Acts*] was adapted to the separate gospels. The Greek text shows that originally the quotations were translated from the Syriac text of these Acts, but that at a later stage the quotations were influenced by the Byzantine text." See also *ibid.*, p. 179, n. 1; 294–95.

<sup>11</sup> For a complete description of the papyrus and literature, see *Repertorium des griechischen christlichen Papyri, I. Biblische Papyri*, ed. K. Aland, PTS 18 (Berlin/New York 1976), 246.

<sup>12</sup> ZNW 37 (1938), 223–229.

## RECTO

Col. a (Matt 18.32–34)

1 αυτω πονηραι δου  
 2 λαι πασαν την ο  
 3 φιλην εκεινην α  
 4 φηκα σοι επι παρε  
 5 καλεσας με ουκ ε  
 6 δει ουν ελεησαι το(ν)  
 7 συνδουλον σου  
 8 ως καγω ηλεησα  
 9 [σε] και ο[ργισ]θεις

Col. b (Matt 19.1–3)

της Γαλιλαιας και  
 ηλθεν εις τα ορια  
 της Ιουδαιας περα(ν)  
 του Ιορδανου και  
 [ηκολου]θησαν αυ  
 [τω οχλο]ι πολλοι  
 [και εθερ]απευσεν  
 [αυτους] και προς  
 [ηλθον α]υτω Φ[α]

## VERSO

Col. a (Matt 19.5–6)

1 και εσονται οι δυο  
 2 εις σαρκα μιαν ως  
 3 ται ουκετι εισιν δυ  
 4 ο αλλα σαρξ [μια ο]  
 5 ουν ο θ(εο) ς σ[υνε]ζευ  
 6 ξεν ανθρ[ωπος μη]  
 7 χωριζετω [λ]  
 8 εγουςιν α[υ]

Col. b (Matt 19.9–10)

μοιχευθηναι  
 ωσαυτως και ο γα  
 μων απολελυμε  
 νην μοιχαται  
 λεγουσιν οι μαθη  
 ται αυτου ει ουτω[ς]  
 θρωπος μετα τη[ς]  
 γυν[αι]κος ου συμ

Stegmüller appended a list of agreements and differences between the papyrus and both the Greek canonical tradition as well as Diatessaronic texts. The following is the complete list of the agreements with Diatessaronic witnesses:

*Recto*, col. a:

line 6: ἔδει]  
 καί]

read ἔδει οὖν with D it (except *e m*).  
 omit with Munich Cgm. 532, Syr<sup>s</sup>,  
 Vetus Latina MSS *b c g<sup>1</sup> ff<sup>2</sup> gat*, and two  
 Arabic gospel manuscripts connected with  
 the Diatessaronic tradition by C. Peters  
 and B. Levin.

σέ]

omit with Syr<sup>s</sup>.*Recto*, col. b:

line 7/8: ἐκεῖ]

omit with Syr<sup>s</sup> it Chrys.

line 9: οἱ]

omit with D C L M etc.

*Verso*, col. b:

line 2: ὡσαύτως

with the Middle Dutch Liège and Hague

Harmonies, the Middle High German harmony Munich Cgm. 532, and Vetus Latina MSS *a* and *b*.  
 line 5: αὐτῶ] omit with Greek MS S (028) and the Middle Dutch Liège, Hague, and Stuttgart Harmonies.

Despite Stegmüller's claim and Anton Baumstark's endorsement of the papyrus as part of a Diatessaron,<sup>13</sup> later scholars have, quite properly, been more reserved. Kurt Aland, for example, remarks that "es handelt sich *vielleicht* um eine Text aus dem griechischen Diatessaron."<sup>14</sup> Such caution is warranted, for the papyrus lacks any evidence of harmonization. Furthermore, most of its agreements with Diatessaronic witnesses are omissions (always dubious as evidence), and most of these agreements are also found in Greek gospel manuscripts (meaning that the papyrus need not have derived the omissions from the Diatessaron). It seems more likely that the papyrus owes its textual character to the Syro-Latin or "Western Text"—which, of course, is related to the Diatessaronic tradition—rather than to the Diatessaron itself. With the exception of Baumstark, the papyrus has generally been ignored by Diatessaronic scholarship; Stegmüller's evidence has not been deemed convincing.

<sup>13</sup> See *infra*, 238.

<sup>14</sup> Aland, *Repertorium*, 246 (italics added).

ANTON BAUMSTARK

THE GEORGIAN VERSION OF THE GOSPELS

NOVATIAN'S GOSPEL QUOTATIONS

THE ROMAN ANTIPHONARY

ISAAC VELASQUEZ'S ARABIC GOSPEL  
TRANSLATIONTHE MANICHAEAN TEXTS (THE *HOMILIES*  
AND THE *KEPHALAIA*)GOSPEL QUOTATIONS IN PATRISTIC  
LITERATURE TRANSLATED INTO SYRIAC:EUSEBIUS' *HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA*EUSEBIUS' *THEOPHANIA*TITUS OF BOSTRA'S *CONTRA*  
*MANICHAEOS*

THE HIMMELGARTEN FRAGMENTS

THE SCHÖNBACH FRAGMENTS

THE UTRECHT HARMONY

Anton Baumstark was a polymath of rare proportions. He established the field of comparative liturgy (his *Liturgie comparée* [Chevetogne 1940; 1953<sup>3</sup>] is a classic) and made extensive contributions to Oriental studies (his *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* [Bonn 1922] remains unsurpassed). In 1901 he co-founded the journal *Oriens Christianus*, in which many of his studies appeared. In retrospect, it seems only natural that Baumstark—with his love of history, gift for languages, interest in evidence of the most subtle sort, prodigious energy, and fascination with manuscripts—should have been drawn to the study of the Diatessaron.

Baumstark's first contribution was a 1929 study of the Georgian gospel text.<sup>15</sup> Near the turn of the century, F.C. Conybeare<sup>16</sup> had suggested a Syrian *Vorlage*; then the isolation of the "Cae-

<sup>15</sup> A. Baumstark, "Zum georgischen Evangelientext," *OrChr* 26 [= III.4] (1929), 117–121.

<sup>16</sup> F.C. Conybeare, "The Growth of the Peshitta Version of the New Testament," *American Journal of Theology* 1 (1897), 883–912; idem., "The Georgian Version of the New Testament," *ZNW* 11 (1910), 232–39.

sarean Text" by Lake, Blake, and New<sup>17</sup> shed new light on the genesis of the Georgian version. Blake noted singular agreements between the Armenian and the Georgian, and concluded that the latter was dependent upon the former.<sup>18</sup> Baumstark's independent study came to the same conclusion, and, additionally, found numerous Diatessaronic variants and harmonizations preserved in the earliest Georgian gospels. He deduced that an Armenian Diatessaron, translated into Georgian, had been the first gospel text in Georgian. The research of S. Lyonnet would independently come to the same conclusion.<sup>19</sup> Recent scholarship has, however, modified this reconstruction of events. The work of J. Neville Birdsall suggests that the oldest Georgian separate gospels were translated from a Syriac tetraevangelion, not a Diatessaron. Birdsall concluded that this Syriac tetraevangelion was, however, deeply "tinctured" with Diatessaronic readings.<sup>20</sup> Both models acknowledge the Diatessaron's influence in the generation of the Georgian version.<sup>21</sup>

In 1930 Baumstark published a study of the gospel citations of Novatian, the oldest Latin ecclesiastical writer in Rome whose works have been transmitted.<sup>22</sup> Baumstark's purpose was to test Plooij's theory of a lost "Old Latin" Diatessaron. If Novatian cited the gospels in a form akin to that found in the Liège Harmony or other Diatessaronic witnesses, then Plooij's hypothesis would be confirmed. Baumstark's investigation turned up about twenty such agreements, among them:

(1) At Matt 28.20, Novatian (*de trin.* 12) omitted "*omnibus diebus usque*" ("all the days") against the Greek and the Vulgate; the identical omission was found in the Liège Harmony.

(2) At John 5.19, Novatian (*de trin.* 14) interpolated the word "*Pater*"; the same interpolation was also found in the Liège Harmony and both MSS of the Vetus Syra.

<sup>17</sup> K. Lake, R. Blake and S. New, "The Caesarean Text of the Gospel of Mark," *HThR* 21 (1928), 207–404, esp. the section "The Armenian Version" (307–12).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 286–307; 358–75.

<sup>19</sup> See *supra*, 206–210.

<sup>20</sup> See his "'The Martyrdom of St Eustathius of Mzketha' and the Diatessaron: An Investigation," *NTS* 18 (1972) 452–56; "Evangelienbezüge im georgischen Martyrium der hl. Schuschaniki," *Georgica* 4 (1981) 20–23.

<sup>21</sup> This scenario is identical to that proposed by Vööbus, Leloir, and Akinian for the origin of the Armenian gospels (see *supra*, 208–210).

<sup>22</sup> "Die Evangelienzitate Novatians und das Diatessaron," *OrChr* 27 [= III.5] (1930), 1–14.

(3) At John 6.26f., Novatian (*de cib. Iud.* 5) interpolated the word "meis": "*sed quia manducastis de panibus meis*"; he also interpolates the conjunction "autem" in the next sentence: "*Operamini autem. . .*" The same interpolations were also found in the Liège Harmony.<sup>23</sup>

Additionally, certain linguistic agreements suggested that this early Latin tradition common to Novatian and the Diatessaron was translated from a Semitic language:

(4) At John 10.36, Novatian's interpolation of "ego" was taken by Baumstark to be an indication of an underlying Semitic nominal sentence—such as that found in Syr<sup>s</sup>.

(5) At John 6.51, Novatian (*de trin.* 14) turned the adjective "*vivus*" into a genitive: "*ego sum panis vitae aeternae*." Baumstark compared this with the Arabic Diatessaron ("bread of life"), and noted that the Indogermanic languages often rendered Semitic genitives by attributive adjectives. Baumstark concluded that Novatian's Latin genitive preserved the Semitic syntax of the Diatessaron, which—as the Arabic Harmony showed—used a genitive.<sup>24</sup>

Baumstark concluded that Novatian had used separate gospels, but in a form strongly influenced by an older, Latin Diatessaron, which had been translated from the Syriac. The presence of Diatessaronic readings in Novatian, said Baumstark, confirmed Plooi's theory of a lost "Old Latin" Diatessaron, and permitted one to fix the date and place of the Diatessaron's translation into Latin. Citing the lack of similar parallels in Cyprian (the African equivalent of Novatian), Baumstark questioned Plooi's choice of North Africa<sup>25</sup> as the place. Rather, because it was evident that "um 250" the separate Latin gospel text in Rome had an "enge Verbundenheit mit dem Diatessaron" while the Latin gospel text in Africa (the so-called *afra* text) did not, the Latin Diatessaron must have been translated in Rome, "vielleicht noch unter den Augen" of Tatian himself.<sup>26</sup>

Later that same year, Baumstark published a companion article titled "Tatianismen im römischen Antiphonar."<sup>27</sup> This was

<sup>23</sup> The examples are drawn from *ibid.*, 5, 5, 5–6, respectively.

<sup>24</sup> Both examples are *ibid.*, 10.

<sup>25</sup> D. Plooi, *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron* (Leiden 1925), 27, 34.

<sup>26</sup> Note that this is a variation on Burkitt's theory, according to which Tatian authored a Latin Diatessaron in Rome, and then, once back in the East, produced a "second edition, revised and enlarged," in Syriac.

<sup>27</sup> *OrChr* 27 [= III.5] (1930), 165–74.

another, independent probe of the earliest Latin gospel text in Rome. He focused his attention on the three oldest manuscripts of the Roman *Antiphonarius Officii*: one in the Vatican, one at Sankt Gallen (Switzerland), and one at St. Corneille in Compiègne (France). Although the antiphonary's text showed strong Vulgate influence, an Old Latin substratum was discernable in certain variant readings. Harmonizations were also detected. Both the variant readings and the harmonizations had parallels in Diatessaronic witnesses.<sup>28</sup> The gospel text one reconstructed from the Roman Antiphonary—presumably the text current in Rome when the antiphonary's liturgical traditions were created—was preserved in no *Vetus Latina* manuscript; its closest relative was the Diatessaron. This conclusion confirmed Baumstark's finding that Novatian's gospel text betrayed Diatessaronic influence. The antiquity of the Roman Antiphonary and the fact that it too showed Diatessaronic influence once again confirmed the Diatessaron as the oldest Latin gospel text.

Baumstark's fourth contribution was a study of Mark 14.25 (par.) in the various Diatessaronic witnesses. Titled "Zur Geschichte des Tatiantextes vor Aprhem," it is the finest piece of methodological work Baumstark published. He found that the reading of the Diatessaron was sometimes preserved in Ephrem's *Commentary* (only the Armenian version was known in his day), but at other points, it was found in the Middle Dutch Harmonies or in related witnesses, such as Codex Bezae, the *Vetus Syra*, or some manuscripts of the *Vetus Latina*. This led to the conclusion that "der rund um die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts in Mesopotamien umgehende Text der Tatianischen Harmonie schon einen Einfluss des griechischen Textes der vier Einzelevangelien erfahren hatte."<sup>29</sup> In other words, "der Prozess einer textlichen Angleichung" of the Diatessaron had begun "schon vor der Entstehungszeit" of the Peshitta and Vulgate versions; almost from the moment of its creation, the Diatessaron's

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<sup>28</sup> Two examples: (1) The Easter Vesper antiphon generally follows the text of Matt 26.1–7, but suddenly interpolates Luke 24.6 after Matt 28.6a, as do the Liège and Arabic Harmonies. (2) The same antiphon contains hints of Marcan harmonization as well, such as its reading "*Jesum quaeritis crucifixum*" (the canonical text reads: "*Jesum, qui crucifixus est, quaeritis*") which is a variant reading in Matt 28.5 (in Greek MSS 472 and 1424, and *Vetus Latina* MS *r*<sup>1</sup>) and in Mark 16.6 (in N and D); it is also the reading of the Arabic and Liège Harmonies.

<sup>29</sup> A. Baumstark, "Zur Geschichte des Tatiantextes vor Aphrem," *OrChr* 30 [= III.8] (1933), 10.

text had been subject to a process of assimilation “an den Text der griechischen Einzelevangelien unter dem Einfluss ihrer ältesten syrischen und lateinischen Übersetzung.” The value of Ephrem’s *Commentary* was not only that “bald hier, bald dort” it preserved the readings of the Diatessaron—something which was already well-known and acknowledged—but also that, because its text had already been occasionally Vulgatized, it provided a “zeitlichen terminus ante quem” for the process of Vulgatization of the Syriac Diatessaron. “Künftige Tatianforschung wird mit dieser Einsicht immer wieder zu rechnen haben.”<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, not all scholars have heeded Baumstark’s warning, and one often finds that *lemmata* in the *Commentary*’s text are automatically equated with the reading of the original Diatessaron.

In this same study Baumstark suggested a rule for Diatessaronic studies: “Es wird als eine methodologische Grundregel zu gelten haben, dass in derartigen Zweifelsfällen stets die jenem Text am fernsten liegende Fassung als der ursprüngliche Wortlaut des Δ [= Diatessaron] zu betrachten ist.”<sup>31</sup> Baumstark realized that the concepts of Vulgatization and dissimilarity were useful tools for identifying possible Diatessaronic readings. While the underlying principle enshrined in Baumstark’s rule has validity, today the rule is considered obsolete, for it ignores the fact that not every deviation from the canonical text will be Diatessaronic. Baumstark’s rule was, however, important for its recognition of the negative aspect of Diatessaronic studies—that is, *the text of the Diatessaron is recoverable with certainty only where it deviates from the canonical text.*

In 1934 Baumstark published a study of Mark 2 in the Arabic gospel translation made by Ishāq ibn Bališak (Isaac Velasquez), a Christian in Córdoba (Spain), in 946. While remarking on the freedom of Isaac’s translation, Baumstark also noticed numerous points where Isaac’s translation agreed, singularly, with either the Middle Dutch Harmonies or the Arabic Harmony. Baumstark’s conclusion was that Isaac’s translation was a Diatessaronic witness. Two examples of the readings Baumstark noted are at Mark 2.6, where Isaac interpolates “*remissa sunt*” from Luke 5.20, a harmonization. This is paralleled in two Vetus Latina MSS (*b q*) and in the Liège Harmony.<sup>32</sup> At Mark 2.15, Isaac is in unique agreement with only

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>32</sup> A. Baumstark, “Markus Kap. 2 in der arabischen Übersetzung des Isaak



the Liège Harmony in interpolating “Als er (= Jesus) hineinging in sein (= des Lewi) Haus” (so Isaac [cited after Baumstark’s German translation of the Arabic]; compare Liège: “Eñ also Ihesus in dat hus komen was”; “And when Jesus had entered that house”).<sup>33</sup>

Baumstark’s work with Isaac was not surprising, for in his 1933 study of the Tatian text before Ephrem, he had remarked in footnotes on agreements between various Diatessaronic passages and the Old Arabic gospel text, the nature of which he had explored in his “Das Problem eines vorislamischen christlich-kirchlichen Schrifttums.”<sup>34</sup> Later, the presence of Diatessaronic readings in the oldest Arabic gospel translations would be explored by Curt Peters and Bernhard Levin.<sup>35</sup> The presence of such readings in the Arabic gospels is to be expected, given that the Arabic—like the Armenian and Georgian translations—appears to derive from a Syriac base. As we have seen, the oldest Syriac separate gospels are shot through with Diatessaronic readings; therefore any text based on them will also contain Diatessaronic variants. In 1933 Baumstark also published an article on the problem of gospel citations in Patristic works translated into Syriac.<sup>36</sup> Although both had been examined in 1904 by F.C. Burkitt, who had pronounced negatively on dependence upon a Diatessaron,<sup>37</sup> Baumstark’s examination led him to conclude that the gospel citations in the Syriac translations of Eusebius’ *h.e.* and *Theophania*<sup>38</sup> had been adapted to the then-pre-

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Velasquez Veröffentlicht und unter dem Gesichtspunkt des Zusammenhangs mit dem Diatessaron gewürdigt,” *OrChr* 31 [= III.9] (1934), 234–35.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 236–37.

<sup>34</sup> *Islamica* 4 (1931), 562–75. Baumstark’s other studies of the Old Arabic gospels are: “Arabische Übersetzung eines altsyrischen Evangelientextes,” in *OrChr* 31 [= III.9] (1934), 165–188; “Eine altarabische Evangelienübersetzung aus dem Christlich-Palästinensischen,” *ZDMG* 9 (1930), 201–09; “Eine frühislamische und eine vorislamische arabische Evangelienübersetzung aus dem Syrischen,” *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti, Roma, 23–29 Settembre 1935* (Roma 1938), 682–84.

<sup>35</sup> See *infra*, 254 and 449–451.

<sup>36</sup> A. Baumstark, “Das Problem der Bibelzitate in der syrischen Übersetzungsliteratur,” *OrChr* 30 [= III.8] (1933), 208–25.

<sup>37</sup> See *supra*, 155.

<sup>38</sup> C. Peters, “Die Zitate aus dem Matthäus-Evangelium in der syrischen Übersetzung der Theophanie des Eusebius,” *OrChr* 33 [= III.11] (1936), 1–25, contests Baumstark’s finding, and concludes that the text of the *Theophania* is closer to the Vetus Syra than the Diatessaron. However, given the difficulty in discriminating between the two, and the acknowledged dependence of the Vetus Syra upon the Diatessaron, one wonders how critical such a distinction is—either on the part of Baumstark or Peters. What is significant is that the citations have been conformed to the Old Syriac, which contains Diatessaronic readings.

vailing Syriac gospel text, which was, of course, tainted with Diatessaronic readings.

Discovery of the Greek Dura Fragment of the Diatessaron and Kraeling's claim that it established Greek as the harmony's original language elicited a response from Baumstark, who espoused a Syriac original Diatessaron.

Es liesse sich allenfalls denken, dass Tatian sein werk zuerst in Rom geschaffen und dass dasselbe hier alsbald seine Übersetzung ins Griechische und Lateinische erfahren, später aber nach seiner Rückkehr in die "assyrische" Heimat schon er selbst den Aufbau desselben einer Überarbeitung unterzogen hätte.<sup>39</sup>

Baumstark's examination led him to conclude that because of its unique readings, the Fragment's fourteen lines "keineswegs . . . eines einfachen Mosaiks aus Elementen des griechischen Textes der vier kanonischen Evangelien erscheinen zu lassen."<sup>40</sup> Among these deviations from the Greek manuscript tradition (which required explanation, if one wished to argue that the Diatessaron were composed in Greek) were several which found parallels only in Syriac sources and Diatessaronic witnesses. For example, the Fragment's προσ[ῆλθον] (lines 6–7, against the canonical ἦλθεν at Matt 27.57) was equivalent to the Sinaitic Syriac's ܡܬܘܠܐ. The strange reading of the Fragment, Ἐρινμαθαίας (line 8, against the canonical Ἀριμαθαίας) was explicable if one assumed the Fragment were a translation from Syriac. A reverse translation into Syriac of the Fragment's Ἐρινμαθαίας—omitting the vowels, of course—gave ܠܪܝܡܬܐܝܐ. Visual confusion between the smallest letter of the Syriac alphabet, the *yud* ( , ) and its virtually identical twin, *nun* (third letter: ܢ), is common; this explains the otherwise unattested *v* in the Greek (Ἐρινμαθαίας). Aural confusion, due to the similar pronunciation of the Syriac ܠ (ʾalaph) and ܢ (ʿe) explained the corruption of the correct Greek initial *ā* to the Fragment's *ē*: Ἐρινμαθαίας. In short, the only way to account for the Fragment's agreements with the Vetus Syra—as well as to explain some of its odd readings—was to assume that it was a translation from Syriac; oth-

<sup>39</sup> A. Baumstark, "Ein weiteres Bruchstück griechischen 'Diatessaron' textes," *OrChr* 36 [= III.14] (1939), p. 115, n. 1.

<sup>40</sup> A. Baumstark, "Das griechische 'Diatessaron'-Fragment von Dura-Europos," *OrChr* 32 [= III.10] (1935), 247.

erwise, one had to explain how Syriac readings had contaminated what should have been a purely Greek line of conception and transmission.

Together with Plooij's arguments, Baumstark's evidence has convinced a majority of experts that the Dura Fragment is not proof of a Greek original Diatessaron—if, indeed, it is part of a Greek Diatessaron at all, and not, as Plooij suggested, part of an independent Passion Harmony.

In 1935, Baumstark opened the door to a whole new field of Diatessaronic witnesses: Manichaean documents. Mani, the founder of the Manichaeans, is now known to have been raised in a Judaic-Christian Elkesaite community in Mesopotamia.<sup>41</sup> It would appear that he came to know the Diatessaron in that setting, and later, when he founded his syncretistic religion, he and his followers continued to use it. In their original disclosure of the find of the *Homilies*, Schmidt and Polotsky suggested dependence upon the Diatessaron,<sup>42</sup> something de Beausobre had intuited in 1734. Now, with Manichaean texts in hand at last, Baumstark became the first to investigate the matter by a comparison of texts. In a review of H.J. Polotsky's edition of the Manichaean homilies,<sup>43</sup> he noted that at Matt 27.24 the homilies read "[meine Hände] sind rein von dem Blute dieses Gerechten"<sup>44</sup> (in Greek: τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ δικαίου τούτου [the canonical text reads: τοῦ αἵματος τούτου]). This was identical with the Arabic Harmony, the Middle Dutch Harmonies, the Pepysian Harmony, the Venetian Harmony, and Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, all of which read (with minor variations) "the blood of this just [man]."

Baumstark's evidence is very weak because the same interpolation also occurs in a majority of Greek MSS, including  $\aleph$  A L W  $\Delta$   $f^{1.13}$  33 892 1006 1342 1506, in Latin MSS *aur* *f* *h*  $r^2$  *z*, and, in the Syriac, Syr<sup>p.h</sup>. Clearly, this reading is widespread

<sup>41</sup> On Mani and the Manichaeans, see S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*, WUNT 63 (Tübingen 1992<sup>2</sup>), esp. 33–69.

<sup>42</sup> C. Schmidt and H.J. Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten" in *SPAW.PP* sans num. (Berlin 1933), p. 58, n. 1: "Mani denkt an das 'Evangelium', und wenn er von einem Buche spricht, scheint er die Evangelienharmonie des Tatian, die als das Evangelium in der syrischen Kirche umlief, vor sich gehabt zu haben."

<sup>43</sup> A. Baumstark, review of H.J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien (Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty. Band I)*, in *OrChr* 32 [= III.10] (1935), 257–268.

<sup>44</sup> *Manichäische Homilien in Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Band I*, ed. H.J. Polotsky (Stuttgart 1934), 91.

among canonical manuscripts, from which the Homilies might have acquired it. Despite this weak beginning, the intuition of de Beausobre, Schmidt and Polotsky, and Baumstark has proven correct. Although some critics continue to express skepticism,<sup>45</sup> textual evidence—which meets exacting standards—shows that Manichaean texts contain variant readings and harmonizations which agree exactly with their parallel passages in the Diatessaron.<sup>46</sup>

Baumstark returned to the subject of Diatessaronic readings in Manichaean texts in a second article, this time examining the Manichaean *Kephalaia*.<sup>47</sup> Here the Manichaean citation of Matt 7.17f. and Luke 6.43f. caught his eye. Although the footnote in Schmidt's edition of the *Kephalaia* gave Luke 6.43f. as the canonical parallel, Baumstark noted that the citation was actually a harmony of Matthew (supplying the first part of the passage: "every sound tree bears good fruit, but the bad tree bears evil fruit") and Luke ("for no good tree bears bad fruit, nor again does a bad tree bear good fruit; for each tree is known by its own fruit"):

ΠΥΗΝ ΕΤΑΝΙΤ ΨΑΥΤ

[ΚΑΡ]ΠΟ[Σ ΕΥΑΝΙΤ ΠΥ]ΗΝ ΑΝ ΕΤΖΑΥ ΨΑΥΤ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΥ  
 [ΖΑΥ . . . . . ΜΝ ΨΗΝ] ΕΥΑΝΙΤ ΕΨΑΥΤ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΥΖΑΥ  
 [ΟΥΔΕ ΜΝ ΨΗΝ ΕΥΖΑΥ Ε]ΨΑΥΤ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ [ΕΥ]ΑΝΙΤ Ε[ΨΑΥ]  
 [CΟΥ]ΩΝ [ΨΗΝ ΝΙΛ ΖΝ] ΝΕΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ

<sup>45</sup> E.g.: M. Tardieu, "Principes de l'Exégèse manichéenne du nouveau testament," in *Les Règles de l'Interprétation*, ed. M. Tardieu (Paris 1987), 144: "Le rassemblement de tous les matériaux évangéliques contenus dans les témoignages manichéens directs et indirects et leur confrontation systématique à Tatien n'autorisent pas à suivre ce qui, bien que devenu idée reçue, est toujours resté une hypothèse." See especially his review and critique of earlier studies (pp. 126–27, n. 16); note, however, that Tardieu himself proposes that "l'évangile manichéen est une harmonie brève," "une harmonie basée sur *Matthieu* en ce qui concerne l'enseignement oral de Jésus et sur *Luc* en ce qui concerne les événements de la passion," which makes one think of "des harmonies évangéliques antérieures à Tatien ou contemporaines de Tatien, et qui circulaient chez les judéo-chrétiens" (144).

<sup>46</sup> See *infra*, 334–336, 398–403.

<sup>47</sup> A. Baumstark, "Ein 'Evangelium'-Zitat der Manichäischen Kephalaia," *OrChr* 34 [= III.12] (1938), 169–191.

... Der gute Baum gibt  
 [gute] Frucht, [der] schlechte Baum gibt [schlechte] [Frucht;  
 [nicht ist ein] guter [Baum], der schlechte Frucht gäbe  
 [noch ist ein schlechter Baum], der gute Frucht gäbe. [Man]  
 [erkennt jeden Baum an] seinen Früchten.<sup>48</sup>

Baumstark focused on three principal variants between the Manichaean version and the canonical text. First, the passage began without the Matthean οὕτως or Lucan γάρ. This omission was also found in Aphrahat (*Dem.* IX.11 and XIV.48), Syr<sup>s[c]</sup> (at Matt 7.17), and, among Western witnesses, Codex Fuldensis, Codex Sangallensis (both Latin and Old High German columns), the Middle Dutch Harmonies (Liège, Stuttgart, and The Hague), and Munich Cgm. 23 346; among canonical manuscripts, the omission was found only in Codex Bezae (D). Baumstark took this to be the reading of the Diatessaron.<sup>49</sup> Second, Baumstark pointed to the exact parallelism and form of “good fruit::good tree” and “bad fruit::bad tree” at the beginning (the Matthean portion) of the citation. This did not square with the canonical text, which offered ἀγαθόν::καλούς and σαπρόν::πονηρούς. While the parallelism in the canonical text is effected with the different words, the parallelism in the Kephalaia used the same word (“good”::good,” etc.). When he turned his eyes to the Diatessaronic witnesses, Baumstark noted that, in contrast to the Greek canonical text, both of Aphrahat’s citations of the passage (IX.11 and XIV.48), Codex Fuldensis, both columns of Codex Sangallensis, the Middle Dutch harmonies (Liège, Stuttgart, Hague), and the Middle German harmony Munich Cgm. 23 346, all used the same word to make the parallel: “bona::bonus”; “goede::goede”; etc. Similarly for the “bad” tree among the Diatessaronic witnesses: “mala::malos”; “schlechten::schlechte”; etc. Here, said Baumstark, was the Diatessaron’s reading—now paralleled in the Manichaean Kephalaia. Finally, the sequence of harmonization was identi-

<sup>48</sup> *Kephalaia*, in the series *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Band I, Parts 3–4, edd. C. Schmidt, H.J. Polotsky, and A. Böhlig (Stuttgart 1935), p. 17, lines 5–9.

<sup>49</sup> Such a small difference, at the beginning of a passage, is dubious as evidence: we cannot be sure whether a real quotation was intended, or only a paraphrase. Even if it were a genuine quotation, then the point at which the quotation begins is open to question, and the omission of the conjunction might be nothing more than the Manichaean author’s decision to exclude it from his quotation.

cal in the Kephalaia and the Diatessaronic witnesses: the first part of the passage was from Matthew, the remainder from Luke. Compare the Liège Harmony's reading:

alle goede bome maken goede vrocht. eñ alle quade bome dragen quade vrocht. en goet boem en mach enghene q̄de vrocht draghen noch en quaet boom en mach enghene goede vrocht dragen.<sup>50</sup>

All good trees make good fruit, and all evil trees make evil fruit. A good tree cannot bear any evil fruit, nor can an evil tree bear good fruit.

As in the Kephalaia, the first portion of the passage agrees with Matt 7.17, the second part with Luke 6.43. This combination was the Diatessaron's sequence; it was also the sequence of the Kephalaia. Therefore, the author of the Kephalaia—and, by inference, the Manichaeans—must have used a Diatessaron.

In the same year, Baumstark produced another Syriac text which betrayed use of the Diatessaron or a Diatessaron-influenced gospel text: the Syriac translation of the Greek Father Titus of Bostra. Especially in Books III and IV of Titus' *contra Manichaeos*, the gospel citations in the Syriac translation of the work deviated from the standard Greek or Peshitta text. Many of the readings were harmonized. While some were paralleled in the Vetus Syra, others found their only known parallel in Ephrem's *Commentary* and/or the Liège Harmony. For example, at Matt 12.35/Luke 6.45, Titus interpolated the phrase "which are in his heart" ("The good man brings forth good out of the good treasures which are in his heart"), in agreement with Syr<sup>s.c</sup> (in both gospels), Syr<sup>p</sup> (in Luke only), and the Liège Harmony. (Later, this variant would appear in virtually the same position in the *Gospel according to Thomas*, logion 45: "A good man brings forth good out of his treasure, an evil man brings forth evil things out of his evil treasure, which is in his heart.") Similarly, at Matt 13.25, Titus spoke of "a foe of a man has sown weeds in the good seed." This last phrase agrees with the Liège Harmony's "onder dat goede saet" ("among the good seed"). (Later, the identical variant would be discovered in the *Gospel according to Thomas*, logion 57: "His enemy came

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<sup>50</sup> *The Liège Diatessaron*, edd. D. Plooi, C.A. Phillips, A. Bakker, et al., VNAW 31.1–8 (Parts 1 & 2 are erroneously labeled VNAW 29) (Amsterdam 1929–70), 87.

by night, and sowed weeds among the good seed.") Or again, at Luke 24.39, rather than the standard Greek πνεῦμα, Titus gave the reading דַּאִמֹן ("daemon"). This was precisely the reading that Jerome (*Comm. in Is.*, XVIII, prologue) said was "in the Hebrew gospel read by the Nazoraeans": "*incorporale daemonium*."<sup>51</sup> Ignatius of Antioch († c. 107) also gave the reading without remark: δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον.<sup>52</sup> Origen knew the reading too; he said it stood in the *Doctrine of Peter* (*de Princip.* I, praef. 8: "*daemonium incorporeum*").<sup>53</sup> Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* IV.43.6) reproduces another variant, which may be related to the "incorporeal daemon" constellation: "*phantasma*."<sup>54</sup> This reading appears in both the Greek and Latin texts of Codex Bezae (D = φάντασμα and d = "*fantasma*")—the prime witness for the "Western Text." (Later, the same [or a similar] reading would be discovered in a clutch of Diatessaronic witnesses, all unpublished when Baumstark wrote: one manuscript [MS R] of the Tuscan Harmony ["*fantasima*"; the rest of the manuscripts read the canonical "*spirito*"; the Persian Harmony ["*spettro di uno spirito*": note the conflation of the non-canonical and the canonical]; and Romanos Melodos [*Third Hymn on the Resurrection*, XLII.19: ὁ ἀσώματος...ὡς φάσμα (lines 1–2)<sup>55</sup>].) This reading<sup>56</sup> was of the utmost importance to Baumstark, who, on the basis of it (and, of course, the other readings from the "Hebrew gospel" paralleled in the Diatessaronic witnesses, such as the "light" in the Jordan) concluded that Tatian had used a "fifth source" in composing his harmony. Use of the "Hebrew gospel" explained the name Victor of Capua gave to the work: "Diapente." The last twelve pages of this lengthy article are one of the few places where Baumstark set out his views regarding the textual generation of the Diatessaron. He cited Lippelt's work<sup>57</sup> on Justin's gospel text and its relationship with

<sup>51</sup> Jerome, *Commentariorum in Isaiam*, Migne PL, 24, col. 628.

<sup>52</sup> F.X. Funk, *Patres Apostolici*, Vol. I (Tubingae 1901), 276.

<sup>53</sup> Origène, *Traité des Principes*, Tome I, edd. H. Crouzel and M. Simonetti, SC 252 (Paris 1978), 86.

<sup>54</sup> Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* in *Tertulliani, Opera, Pars I*, CChr.SL 1 (Tyrnholti 1954), 662.

<sup>55</sup> Romanos le Mélode, *Hymnes*, IV, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, SC 128 (Paris 1967), 478. The reading and all of the witnesses are discussed in W.L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist*, CSCO 475 [Subs. 74] (Louvain 1985), 127–30.

<sup>56</sup> A. Resch discusses it as well: *Agrapha. Aussercanonische Schriftfragmente*, TU 15 (Band 13, Heft 4) (Leipzig 1906; reprinted: Darmstadt 1967), 96–98.

<sup>57</sup> E. Lippelt, *Quae fuerint Justin Martyris ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ quaeque ratione cum forma evangeliorum Syro-Latina cohaeserint* (Halle 1901).

the Syro-Latin "Western Text," which had proposed that Justin's Greek gospel harmony gave rise to (1) the Vetus Latina, (2) Codex Bezae's textual tradition, and (3) Tatian's Diatessaron. Lippelt's position had been endorsed by Bardenhewer and Vogels. Baumstark pointed to agreements between Justin's *Dial.* 88.3 (Jesus' baptism) and the Diatessaronic tradition. He also noted that where Justin's text deviated from the canonical gospels, it often agreed with "the Jewish [gospel]" or the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" translated by Jerome. Baumstark concluded that this document was Justin's gospel. This explained how Epiphanius confused the Diatessaron and the "Hebrew gospel." Jerome's references to the "Hèbrew gospel" ("*Hebraeo sermone*"; "*Hebraicum evangelium*"; "*in Graecum de Hebraeo sermone*") were technically incorrect, said Baumstark, for it was actually an "Aramaic gospel"—that is, the Diatessaron.

In this and later articles, Baumstark used the term "ausserkanonisch" in a manner which demands close scrutiny, for he often seems to regard *any* deviation from the canonical text by a Diatessaronic witness as proof that the Diatessaron was, at that point, dependent upon an extra-canonical tradition. (This issue anticipates a similar problem which is encountered in the work of Gilles Quispel in the 1960s and 1970s.) In certain cases, where independent witnesses such as Jerome or Epiphanius tell us that a variant was part of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* or the "Hebrew gospel," then there is good reason to regard the reading as part of an extra-canonical tradition. However, when the reading of the Diatessaron simply deviates from the canonical text or from any variant in the Greek manuscript tradition—and even when it agrees with the *Gospel according to Thomas*—can one still legitimately call the reading "extra-canonical" and attribute it to Tatian's use of an "extra-canonical" source? For example, the fact that Titus of Bostra's citation of Luke 24.39 agreed with Jerome's citation of the "Hebrew gospel" used by the Nazoraeans, justified—in Baumstark's view—three conclusions. First, this same extra-canonical gospel *must also have contained Luke 24.13*. (There is, of course, no way of knowing whether it did or did not; the odds perhaps favour inclusion, but we simply do not know.) Then, building on this tenuous supposition, he came to his second conclusion: based on certain deviating readings in some Diatessaronic witnesses, the original Diatessaronic reading must have been "At dusk on the same day." (The reading Baumstark proposes is found in no Diatessaronic witness; the Papyrus Harmony comes closest,



"Now when it was morning on the same day." Behind it Baumstark intuits (!) a mistranslation of the Syriac, which he "corrects" to "dusk"; the Dutch, Arabic, and Old High German harmonies read "On the same day.") Finally, after presuming that there was an extra-canonical gospel parallel at this point, and after presuming that he can, on the basis of a single Middle English Diatessaronic witness, reconstruct the original text of the Syriac Diatessaron, Baumstark then reached his third conclusion: this variant came from the extra-canonical gospel! Although Baumstark's general point—that a "fifth source" was used by Tatian, and that the Diatessaron may preserve "ausserkanonische" readings—is well taken, his arguments in this specific instance are nonsense of the first order, and show why Diatessaronic studies acquired a bad name.

In 1936 and 1937, Baumstark published two articles, each of which linked a separate set of Middle High German fragments to the Diatessaron. The "Himmelgarten" Fragments (mid-thirteenth century) are named after the Himmelgarten Cloister near Nordhausen, in whose library they reside. The Fragments were edited by E. Sievers in 1889.<sup>58</sup> In tables covering three pages, Baumstark compared the sequence of 75 units of text (from Matt 26.47 to Matt 27.60/Mark 15.47) in four witnesses: the Arabic Harmony, the Liège Harmony, the Himmelgarten Fragments, and the Pepysian Harmony. The sequence as well as variant readings made it clear that these Fragments were part of a new textual tradition within the Middle High German family of witnesses, a tradition which had affinities with the Arabic and Liège Harmonies, but also had unique agreements with the Pepysian Harmony. Baumstark spoke of the Fragments' "immerhin recht starke Abweichung" from the Arabic and Liège, which had mistakenly led Sievers to conclude that the Fragments were "eine von Tatian unabhängige bearbeitung des evangelischen textes."<sup>59</sup> Rather, said Baumstark, the Fragments "muss auf derselben Grundlage wie die PH [= Pepysian Harmony] ruhen."<sup>60</sup>

These differences between the Pepysian Harmony and the rest of the Western tradition (for which the Liège Harmony

<sup>58</sup> E. Sievers, "Himmelgartner Bruchstücke. 1. Bruchstücke einer mittelniederdeutschen evangelienharmonie," *ZDP* 21 (1889), 358–390.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 386. This is the third time Sievers reached negative—and wrong—conclusions about Diatessaronic witnesses.

<sup>60</sup> A. Baumstark, "Die Himmelgartener Bruchstücke eines niederdeutschen 'Diatessaron'-Textes des 13. Jahrhunderts," *OrChr* 33 [= III.11] (1936), 87.

may stand as a marker), puzzled Baumstark. Because it was supposed that the Pepysian Harmony was translated from French, and because of the evident relationship between the Pepysian Harmony and the Himmelgarten Fragments, Baumstark concluded that the lost French archetype of the Pepysian Harmony had not only been translated into Middle English (resulting in the Pepysian Harmony), but also into Middle German (resulting in the Himmelgarten Fragments). He hypothesized the existence of *two* unvulgarized "Old Latin" harmonies in the West, the one giving rise to the Pepysian-Himmelgarten type of text, and one which gave rise to the type of text found in the Middle Dutch Liège family of texts and other Old and Middle High German harmonies, as well as the sequence found in them and Codex Fuldensis. He put it thus:

T<sup>H</sup> [= Tatian, Himmelgarten Fragments] muss auf derselben Grundlage wie die PH [= Pepysian Harmony] ruhen, sei es nun, dass auch die jedenfalls um die Mitte des 13. Jh.s existierende niederdeutsche Harmonie gleichfalls aus dem Französischen übersetzt gewesen wäre, was—etwa im Zusammenhalt mit der Entwicklung des Minnesangs und des höfischen Epos—nicht eben als undenkbar erscheinen dürfte, sei es, dass hinter der unmittelbaren französischen Vorlage des mitttelenglischen Jesuslebens und T<sup>H</sup> eine und dieselbe lateinische "Diatessaron"-Gestalt stünde, die im Aufbau von der in T<sup>L(F.Sg)</sup> [= Tatian, Latin: Codex Fuldensis and Codex Sangellensis' Latin column] und ihren Verwandten fortlebenden und von der in T<sup>N(L)</sup> [= Tatian, Nederlands (Middle Dutch): the Liège Harmony] wie der in T<sup>N(S.H).D</sup> [= Tatian, Nederlands (Middle Dutch): the Stuttgart and Haaren Harmonies, and Tatian, Deutsch (Middle High German)] zugrundeliegenden Fassung erheblich abwich.<sup>61</sup>

The harmonized tradition in the Himmelgarten Fragments was, according to Baumstark, perhaps the most ancient in the West. He arrived at this conclusion on the basis of the Fragments' unique agreements in sequence with the Arabic, against all other Western witnesses. He also repeatedly stressed the "wild"<sup>62</sup> character of the text represented in the Himmelgarten Frag-

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 87. Later, his study of the Cambridge Harmony would lead Baumstark to revise this position, and abandon the theory of two Old Latin harmonies (see *infra*, 236–237).

<sup>62</sup> "Vielmehr zeigen unsere Fragmente . . . eine 'Wildheit' der textlichen Gestaltung" (ibid., 90); " . . . durch ihre 'Wildheit' merkwürdigsten Texte" (ibid., 91).

ments, coining a term which is still used in Diatessaronic studies to describe sharply deviating readings in the earliest strata of the Diatessaronic tradition.<sup>63</sup> Two years later, L. Cerfaux, working independently, hypothesized the existence of a pre-Tatianic "Diatessaron," whose text was far freer than Tatian's.<sup>64</sup>

Whether the agreements Baumstark found between the Himmelparten Fragments and the Arabic Harmony establish that the Fragments' tradition is the oldest in the West remains *sub judice*, for all of the principal Western witnesses have unique agreements with the Eastern witnesses—think of the readings Plooi found only in the Liège Harmony and the Vetus Syra. Nevertheless, the Fragments are, incontestably, more closely related to the Pepsian Harmony than are any of the other Western witnesses, and they contain a number of very interesting sequences and variants. Among them are:

(1) At Matt 27.60 (cf. John 19.42), the Himmelparten Fragments read "legeden den lichamen" ("laid the body") instead of the canonical "laid it." Compare the Pepsian Harmony's "leiden Jesus body." The word "body" also occurs in the Middle Dutch (Liège, Stuttgart, and The Hague), and the Middle High German Harmonies (Munich Cgm. 532, and Leipzig Cod. germ. 34).

(2) Against all other harmonies, the Pepsian Harmony and the Himmelparten Fragments follow Matt 26.50b with Luke 22.48.

(3) Against all other harmonies, the Pepsian Harmony, the Liège Harmony, and the Himmelparten Fragments follow Matt 27.57 with Mark 15.43.

(4) At Matt 27.53, with the Liège Harmony, the Himmelparten Fragments read "to iherlm" ("to Jerusalem"), against the canonical "in the holy city."<sup>65</sup>

(5) At Mark 15.43/Luke 23.51, the Fragments read "des hemelrikes" ("of the kingdom of heaven") in place of the canonical "of the kingdom of God." The variant agrees with the Vetus Syra, against all other witnesses.

(6) At Mark 15.46, instead of the canonical σινδών, the Himmelparten Fragments read "en reine lilaken" ("a pure linen cloth"), which agrees exactly with the Arabic Harmony: "a cloth from pure linen." No other sources offer this reading.

<sup>63</sup> See *infra*, 282 and 337.

<sup>64</sup> L. Cerfaux, "Remarques sur le texte des évangiles à Alexandrie aux II<sup>e</sup> siècle," *ETHL* 15 (1938), 674–82. Note that Cerfaux's description of this pre-Tatianic harmony is very similar to descriptions of Justin's harmony.

<sup>65</sup> Cp. this variant with an identical variant found in the "Zion Gospel Edition" (and attributed by Vielhauer-Strecker and Klijn to scholars' Gospel according to the Nazoraeans) at Matt 4.5; it was presented *supra*, 31, and will also be dealt with *infra*, 252.

(7) At Mark 15.46, instead of the canonical "laid him (in a tomb)," the Himmelparten Fragments interpolate "nam den lichame von deme cruce vn" ("took the body from the cross and"), which agrees with the Arabic Harmony: "took the body of Jesus down and." No other sources offer this reading.<sup>66</sup>

The Fragments have not been studied thoroughly since Baumstark's time, and are rarely cited in Diatessaronic studies. Recently Boismard reemphasized the antiquity and uniqueness of the text of the Himmelparten Fragments and Pepsian Harmony (see *infra*, 348–356). A full examination of the relationship of the Fragments to this Middle English tradition is sorely needed.

It was in this study of the Himmelparten Fragments that Baumstark remarked—in an off-hand manner—that the oldest printed German Bible, the "Bible of 1466,"<sup>67</sup> occasionally offered readings which are paralleled in the Diatessaronic tradition.<sup>68</sup> Although he also adduced its readings in a posthumously published study of the Old High German Tatian,<sup>69</sup> the "Bible of 1466" has not seen further investigation.

The second set of fragments Baumstark related to the Diatessaron were the "Schönbach Fragments." First edited by A.E. Schönbach in 1903,<sup>70</sup> the Fragments, in a Bavarian-Austrian dialect, date from the second half of the fourteenth cen-

<sup>66</sup> The readings are from A. Baumstark, "Die Himmelpartener Bruchstücke," 93, 84, 85–86, 91, 94, 94, 94, respectively.

<sup>67</sup> Edition: W. Kurrelmeyer, *Die erste deutsche Bibel. Erster Band (Evangelien)*, 234ste Publication des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart (Tübingen) (Tübingen 1904).

<sup>68</sup> "Die Himmelpartener Bruchstücke," 81; he adduces a reading on p. 92.

<sup>69</sup> A. Baumstark, *Die Vorlage des althochdeutschen Tatian, herausgegeben von Johannes Rathofer*, NdS 12 (Köln 1964), 101.

<sup>70</sup> A.E. Schönbach, "10. Bruchstücke einer altdeutschen Evangelienharmonie," in his *Miscellen aus Grazer Handschriften*, Vierte Reihe, which was published as a *Sonder-Abdruck aus den Mittheilungen des historischen Vereins für Steiermark*, Heft 50 (Graz 1903), 7–99. Schönbach also edited a *second* set of fragments, also in the Graz Universitätsbibliothek, in 1892 (A.E. Schönbach, "Bruchstücke einer altdeutschen Evangelienharmonie," *ZDA* 36 [N.F. 24] [1892], 233–238); this second set—which he described as a single parchment page dating from the fourteenth century, written in Middle High German—has never been remarked upon by Diatessaronic scholars, even though Schönbach described its text as similar to Middle High German harmony found in the "Gospel Book of Matthias von Beheim" (Leipzig Cod. ger. 34; dated 1343), which, in turn, is related to Munich Cgm. 532. Schönbach even suggests that this second set of Graz fragments (he gives no catalogue number) might be an earlier version of the text which ended up in Beheim's work (233–34).

tury. Baumstark's examination showed that these Fragments represented a distinct tradition within the Dutch/German family. He cited over 50 readings where they deviated from the principal Western harmonies. Because many of their readings agreed with the Vulgate (against the Western harmonies), Baumstark concluded that they represented a Vulgatized version of the Middle High German tradition. Nevertheless, vestiges of the earlier, unvulgatized Latin archetype survived here and there, demonstrated by agreements with the Liège Harmony, and even the Syriac versions. Especially important for Baumstark were the Schönbach Fragments' agreements with the Arabic. Two examples will suffice. The Fragments harmonize the disciples' reaction to the Cursing of the Fig Tree by combining elements of Matt 21.20 with Mark 11.20:

und des anderen morgens frü da si furgingen do sahen die jungeren,  
das der pawm erdorret was mit sampt der wur eln. des wunderten  
si sich und sprachen: "wie schier der pawm erdorret ist!"

And the other morning, early, as they were passing by, the disciples saw that the tree had withered together with the roots. They wondered about this and they said "How quickly the tree is withered!"

The Arabic Harmony presents the same mosaic of harmonization (quoting Baumstark's rendering of the Arabic):

Und bei ihrem Vorübergehen am Morgen erblickten die Jünger  
jenen Feigenbaum verdorrt von seiner Wurzel, und sie wunderten  
sich und sprachen: "Wie ist der Feigenbaum sofort verdorrt!"

The element "morning" is from Mark, as is the observation that the "tree withered away to its roots." The statement that it was the "disciples" who saw this comes from Matthew, as does the exclamation in direct speech at the end of the citation. The precise arrangement of the pieces (Mark [morning]—Matthew [disciples]—Mark [withered to roots]—Matthew [direct speech: "How quickly . . ."]) supports Baumstark's conclusion that although the Fragments have been Vulgatized, here and there they offer scraps of the primitive unvulgatized Latin Diatessaron not preserved elsewhere in the West (this harmonization, for example, is lacking in all other Western witnesses). A second example is the Fragments' reading at Mark 11.19. Here they interpolate after ἐξεπορεύοντο "*wider mit seinen jungern*" ("again with his disciples"). This is against both the Liège, Stuttgart,

and The Hague Middle Dutch Harmonies, and the Munich (Cgm. 532) and Zürich Middle High German Harmonies, which interpolate only "*Jhesus*." Baumstark noted that the Arabic Harmony—and, by inference, the unvulgarized Latin archetype of both the Fragments and the Dutch/German harmonies in the West—contained *both* of these interpolations: "*Jesus ging hinaus aus der Stadt, er und seine Jünger*." The Fragments, said Baumstark, had preserved the latter part of the interpolation ("*seine Jünger*"), something lost in the rest of the Western tradition; but the Fragments had lost "*Jesus*," something which the rest of the Western tradition had preserved. The reading was described by Baumstark as an "ausserkanonische Erweiterung" (see our remarks above on Baumstark's careless use of this terminology). It stimulated him to render his opinion on the Diatessaron's sources. This expansion was "offenbar eines Erbes der fünften oder vielmehr bedeutungsmässig wohl ersten Quelle Tatians—des Hebräerevangeliums, wie ich immer wieder mit grösster Bestimmtheit glaube sagen zu dürfen."<sup>71</sup>

Baumstark's next contribution was a study of the Middle Dutch Cambridge Harmony. While the manuscript (Cambridge University Library, Dd. xii.25; thirteenth/fourteenth century) had been known for some time (J.A. Robinson had first mentioned it in 1894), this was the first detailed examination of its text. He remarked on its freedom from the paraphrastic renderings and Vulgarization found in the Liège Harmony. While related to the rest of the Middle Dutch and Middle High German harmonies, it was clear that the Cambridge Harmony was an early intermediary form, some of whose readings—while not found in Liège—were paralleled in the other Dutch and German harmonies. Baumstark confessed puzzlement over the text of the Cambridge Harmony, which, on the one hand, showed connexions with the Liège Harmony, and yet independence from it, and, on the other hand, showed connexions with the Stuttgart and The Hague Harmonies, and yet stood independent from them. He regarded it as an important specimen of a tradition in transformation, marking the "Übergang" of the Middle Dutch harmonized tradition into "immer neue mundartliche Sprachformen." Prior to this study of the Cambridge Harmony's text Baumstark had argued that the differences between the Liège-type text and

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<sup>71</sup> A. Baumstark, "Die Schönbach'schen Bruchstücke einer Evangelienharmonie in bayrisch-österreichischer Mundart des 14. Jahrhunderts," *OrChr* 34 [= III.12] (1937), 117.

the Pepsian-/Himmelgarten-type text were due to "zwei von Hause aus verschiedenen Übersetzungen eines lateinischen Harmonietextes."<sup>72</sup> Now, however, the "in between" character of the Cambridge Harmony's text led him to conclude that the "Vermutung einer doppelten und schon auf eine Doppelgestalt der lateinischen Vorlage zurückgehenden Übersetzung" was untenable.<sup>73</sup> His study of the Cambridge Harmony had shown him that a continuum of independence existed, stretching from (1) the Pepsian/Himmelgarten family (which was the oldest, "wildest," and farthest from the Vulgate) to (2) the Cambridge Harmony to (3) the Liège group of texts to (4) the heavily Vulgatized Stuttgart/Hague type of texts (which were the most recent and "domesticated" recension).

In this article on the Cambridge Harmony, Baumstark mentioned a harmonized "Life of Jesus" by Magister de Husinetz (= Jan Huss; † 1415), and adduced one reading from it.<sup>74</sup> Since Baumstark's time, this work has seen no further investigation.

As war began in Europe, Baumstark published two last contributions to Diatessaronic studies. Both appeared in 1939; the first was a study of Tatian's text of Luke 24.13,<sup>75</sup> and the second was an appraisal of Stegmüller's Greek "Diatessaron" fragment (Berlin, Staatlichen Museen, P. 16 388);<sup>76</sup> they are more important as a summary of Baumstark's views on fundamental issues than for the subjects of the individual articles. At the beginning of the first article, Baumstark stated four theses which he considered irrefutable:

1. Die Ursprache des Tatianischen Werkes war die syrische. 2. Unmittelbar aus diesem syrischen Original ist die altlateinische Übersetzung geflossen, auf der letztendlich die gesamte abendländische Überlieferung harmonistischen Charakters beruht. 3. Abgesehen von dieser harmonistischen Überlieferung des Westens, der arabischen Übersetzung eines schon aufs stärkste an die Pes[chitta] angeglichenen syrischen Textes und dem heute

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<sup>72</sup> A. Baumstark, "Der Camrbridger Text des mittelniederländischen *Leven van Jezus*," *OrChr* 35 [= III.13] (1938), 120–21 (see *supra*, 231–232).

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 112. Edition of the Hus work: H. Lundström, *Historia gestorum Christi. För Första gaengen utgifron med Inledning af H. Lundström* (Upsala 1898).

<sup>75</sup> A. Baumstark, "Der Tatiantext von Lk. 24,13," *OrChr* 36 [= III.14] (1939), 19–37.

<sup>76</sup> A. Baumstark, "Ein weiteres Bruchstück," 111–115.

sicher festgestellten Nachhall auch einer armenischen Übersetzung wirkt die alte Harmonie des 2. Jahrh.s in der altlateinischen wie in der altsyrischen Textüberlieferung der Einzelevangelien und entsprechend auf griechischem Boden mindestens bzw. vor allem in Evangelientext des codex Bezae—D bzw. (I α) 85—nach. 4. Jene alte Harmonie selbst war nicht nur eine solche der vier kanonischen Evangelien, sondern tatsächlich ein “διὰ πέντε”, dessen fünfte, bedeutungsmässig vielleicht sogar erste Quelle das Hebräerevangelium gebildet hat.<sup>77</sup>

Baumstark also acknowledged that Burkitt’s anxiety over the “Aufbauunterschiede” was well-placed; he described it as “ein noch zu lösendes [Problem].”<sup>78</sup> In underlining Tatian’s use of a “fifth,” extra-canonical source, Baumstark concluded that the more “wild” elements a witness contained, the closer it was to the Diatessaron.<sup>79</sup>

In the second article, Baumstark evaluated Stegmüller’s find<sup>80</sup> positively, and noted agreements with various Diatessaronic witnesses. The most significant item in the article, however, was in a footnote on the last page, in which he stated:

Es liesse sich allenfalls denken, dass Tatian sein Werk zuerst in Rom geschaffen und dass dasselbe hier alsbald seine Übersetzung ins Griechische und Lateinische erfahren, später aber nach seiner Rückkehr in die “assyrische” Heimat schon er selbst den Aufbau desselben einer Überarbeitung unterzogen hätte.<sup>81</sup>

This echoes a solution to the problem of the different structures of the Eastern and Western harmonies propounded by Vogels, Burkitt, Jülicher, and Plooij.

Near the end of his life, Baumstark was involved in certain events which resulted in the disappearance of one of the Middle Dutch harmonies, known as the Utrecht Harmony. Numbered MS 1009 in Thiele’s catalogue of the Utrecht Universiteitsbibliotheek,<sup>82</sup> this small (12° format) paper codex of 327 folios, dating from the fifteenth century, was loaned to the Universitäts-Bibliothek Bonn in 1941 for Baumstark’s use. It had first been linked to the Diatessaronic tradition in 1924 by De Vooy, who

<sup>77</sup> A. Baumstark, “Der Tatiantext,” 19–20.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 23, n. 1.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>80</sup> See *supra*, 215–217.

<sup>81</sup> A. Baumstark, “Ein weiteres Bruchstück,” p. 115, n. 1.

<sup>82</sup> *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothaeae Universitatis rheno-trajectinae*, ed. P.A. Thiele, Vol. I (Trajecti ad Rhenum/Hagae Comitum 1887), 245.



characterized it as related to the Stuttgart manuscript, yet preserving many older readings also found in the Liège Harmony.<sup>83</sup> The manuscript contained three works: first, on ff. 1–218, in Middle Dutch, “Evangelien en Epistelen van ‘t geheele jaar” (“Gospels and Epistles of the whole year”); second, a Latin work titled “Evangelia et Epistolae” (ff. 219–293); and finally, on ff. 294–327, another Latin work titled “Exercitium per modum meditationis, orationis et gratiarum actionis, de vita, passione et resurrectione Christi.”

The Library Archives in Utrecht document the loan of the manuscript and its subsequent disappearance. Baumstark wrote from Münster on 4 October 1941 to request the loan. His letter begins:

Beschäftigt mit Arbeiten zum Diatessaron Tatians, bei denen ich wesentlich die Gedanken des verewigten niederländischen Kollegen Plooi fortführe, werde ich auf die für mich ganz ausserordentliche Wichtigkeit der dortigen Papierhandschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts Nr. 1009 (Inhalt mittelniederländisches Leben Jesu und ein entsprechender lateinischer Text.) aufmerksam.<sup>84</sup>

Baumstark acknowledged that it was very hazardous to request the international loan of the manuscript “in der augenblicklichen Kriegszeit,” but—citing his appointment in Utrecht in 1926 as Extraordinary Professor of Islamics and Arabic—hoped his request for a three month loan would be granted. A letter from the Director of the University Library states that the manuscript, insured for 1,200 Reichs Marken, was shipped by post on 14 October 1941. The manuscript was never to return to Dutch soil.

Baumstark submitted three handwritten requests for renewals: on 5 January 1941 (*sic*; read: 1942), because his study of the text had not been completed; on 11 April 1942, for the same reason; and on 15 June 1942, because of the recent death of one of his sons in the war, and his own subsequent poor health.<sup>85</sup> All the renewals were granted, with the last extending the loan until 15 August 1942. The archives contain no

<sup>83</sup> C.G.N. de Vooy, “Bijdragen tot de Middelnederlandse woord-geographie en woord-chronologie,” *TNTL* 43 (1924), 227–28.

<sup>84</sup> Baumstark’s letter is in the folder “Universitätsbibliothek Bonn,” in the records of loans and correspondence of the Department of Manuscripts of the Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht.

<sup>85</sup> These requests are on file in the folder “Universitätsbibliothek Bonn” (see *supra*, n. 84).

further requests from Baumstark for renewals, nor any indication that the Library requested return of the manuscript upon expiration of the loan period.

Manuscript loans between libraries were relatively common in the first half of this century; the archives contain numerous requests, including one, dated 23 September 1946, from the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique for this same manuscript. The codices were sent by insured post or diplomatic pouch. In that respect, Baumstark's request was not unusual. What made this loan unusual were (1) the international loan of a manuscript in time of war (and to the occupying power, no less!); (2) the abrupt cessation of renewal requests for the manuscript; and (3) the failure of the Utrecht Library to demand its immediate return once such requests ceased. A partial explanation for the loan of the manuscript and for the failure to demand its return upon expiry of the loan may lie in the fact that Dr. Abram Hulshoff, the Bibliothecaris of the Utrecht Library, was a National Socialist sympathizer,<sup>86</sup> as was Baumstark.<sup>87</sup> The *Conservator* (Keeper of Manuscripts) in Utrecht, Dr. A.J.C. Rüter, is said to have pleaded with Hulshoff to decline the loan, but Hulshoff is reported to have brushed aside his Keeper's objections.<sup>88</sup>

Soon after the liberation of the Netherlands, a new Bibliothecaris was appointed, Dr. J.H. Kernkamp.<sup>89</sup> One of his first acts was to order an inventory of the Library's manuscripts.<sup>90</sup> Two were discovered missing: Johannes de Beka's *Chronicon de Episcopis Ultrajectinis*, and MS 1009, the Utrecht Harmony.

<sup>86</sup> "Hulshoff, Abram," by S.B.J. Zilverberg, in *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, ed. J. Charité (Amsterdam 1985), II, 249: "Tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog betoonde Hulshoff zich pro-Duits." ("During the Second World War, Hulshoff showed himself to be pro-German.")

<sup>87</sup> "Baumstark, Anton," by B. Neunheuser, in *New Catholic Encyclopaedia* (New York 1967), II, 173: "During his last years, Baumstark led an increasingly isolated life because of his involvement in Nazism." This detail is omitted from the otherwise helpful survey of Baumstark's life and work by T. Klauser, "Anton Baumstark (1872-1948)," *EL* 63 (1949), 185-87.

<sup>88</sup> This account was given by Rüter to Prof. G. Quispel of Utrecht, who provided me with the information.

<sup>89</sup> Bibliothecaris from 1946 to 1949; later he held the University's chair of Social and Economic History (1953-1969).

<sup>90</sup> The first sentence of Kernkamp's first official correspondence with the College of Curators is chilling to any lover of libraries, and shows the chaos caused by the war: "Naar aanleiding van het feit, dat bij mijn komst als bibliothecaris de handschriftenkasten open waren, deel ik Uw College hierbij mede, dat in de eerste plaats maatregelen werden genomen, dat de kasten op slot gedaan worden." ("On discovering that upon my arrival as

Hulshoff was queried about the manuscripts, and while he had no explanation for the missing *Chronicon*, the Library's records recorded MS 1009's loan to Bonn. Kernkamp reported the loss to the Library's College of Curators on 5 November 1946, and informed them that he had authorized the Dutch National Archivist, Baron D.P.M. Graswinkel, who was traveling to Germany, to "bring back the manuscript, if it still exists."<sup>91</sup> Kernkamp also informed the College that he had contacted the English occupation authorities in Bonn, requesting their cooperation.<sup>92</sup> On 23 November 1946, Kernkamp again reported to the College of Curators, advising them that despite the receipt of a report from Germany, he was still waiting for word from Graswinkel, and planned to request additional aid in the recovery attempt:

... my somber premonitions regarding the manuscript, loaned to Bonn in October 1941 by Dr. Hulshoff, are confirmed by the answer of the local [Bonn] authorities, of whose contents I hereby inform you.

I am still awaiting the report of Baron Graswinkel, and propose in the interval to advise the Commissioner-General of the Recuperation of the disappearance, together with the request of your College [that he] attempt to shed light on this murky business.<sup>93</sup>

The "answer" Kernkamp refers to is a document forwarded from Bonn with a covering letter dated 28 September 1946

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Chief Librarian the manuscript cases were open, I hereby inform your College that in the first place rules were instituted that the cases be locked.") For a review of the conditions at the University during the occupation, and the resistance of faculty and students alike, see S.Y.A. Vellenga, "De uitdaging van crisis en bezetting, de jaren 1936-1946," in *Tussen ivoren toren & grootbedrijf, De Utrechtse Universiteit, 1936-1986*, edd. H.W. von der Dunk, W.P. Heere, A.W. Reinink (Maarsen 1986), esp. 33-58.

<sup>91</sup> The letter is in the "Bibliotheek Archief" of the Bibliothecaris of the Universiteitsbibliotheek, Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Nos. 410-771 (1946-47), fol. 512 ("... om het handschrift, als het er nog is, mee terug te nemen.")

<sup>92</sup> This was done in a letter dated 26 September 1946 (now in the "Bibliotheek Archief, Diversen, 1946-"), addressed to the "Town Major, Bonn," sent by the Keeper of Manuscripts, Dr. P.S. Breuning.

<sup>93</sup> "Bibliotheek Archief," Nos. 410-771 (1946-47), fol. 525: "... mijn sombere vermoedens inzake het handschrift, dat naar Bonn is uitgeleend door Dr. Hulshoff in October 1941, bevestigd zijn door de antwoorden der plaatselijke autoriteiten, welke afschrift ik U hierbij doe toekomen.

"Ik wacht thans het rapport van Jhr. Graswinkel af en stelde inmiddels het Commissariaat-Generaal van de Recuperatie op de hoogte van de vermissing met verzoek mede names Uw College pogingen in het werk te stellen licht in deze duistere zaak te brengen."

and signed by a Ronald Gregor Smith, who was attached to the HQ Military Government in Bonn.<sup>94</sup> The document, dated 13 February 1946, contains a synopsis of a declaration made by Baumstark on 10 October 1945 in a telephone conversation with a Frl. Dr. Feldhaus of the Office of the Provincial Conservator of the North Rhine province in Germany. The synopsis is quoted below in its entirety:

Ich [Frl. Dr. Feldhaus] habe mich wegen des entliehenen Manuskriptes mit Prof. Baumstark in Verbindung gesetzt. Nach wiederholten Versuchen ist es mir gelungen, von ihm eine genaue mündliche Darstellung über den Verbleib der Handschrift zu erhalten. Prof. B. erklärte mir, dass die Ausleihe nicht durch ihn persönlich, sondern durch die Universität Bonn erfolgt sei. Das Manuskript habe in einem Tresor der Universitäts-Bibliothek gelegen, sei vor dem Brand gerettet, in das Notdepot der Bibliothek in der Nussallee verbracht und dort nach der sehr plötzlich erfolgten Beschlagnahme des Hauses durch amerikanische Truppen in Verlust geraten. Niemand wisse, wo der Inhalt des Tresors geblieben sei. Der Direktor der Universitäts-Bibliothek [sic], Dr. Lellbach, habe in diesem Sinne auch bereits an die Universität Utrecht geschrieben.

Prof. Baumstark bedauerte es ausserordentlich, keine bessere Auskunft geben zu können, es ist jedoch nach meinem Ermittlungen so, dass ihn offenbar keine Schuld am Verlust des wertvollen Objektes trifft.<sup>95</sup>

Baumstark died two and one-half years after this conversation, on 31 May 1948. Attempts to trace the whereabouts of the manuscript continued through diplomatic and military channels. Baron Graswinkel's investigations proved unsuccessful, but his report to Kernkamp, dated 8 April 1947, is curious: "Despite *repeated attempts*, from the various sides engaged in the work, I have *not yet* been able to *recover* in Bonn the MS Tiele 1009 loaned from Utrecht."<sup>96</sup> It is also odd that *after* the receipt of Baumstark's declaration, Kernkamp *intensified* his search for the manuscript by requesting the intervention of the Commissioner-General of the Recuperation; note that in his first report (5 November 1946) Kernkamp wondered "if [the manu-

<sup>94</sup> "Bibliotheek Archief—Diversen, 1946 –."

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> "Bibliotheek Archief," No. 410–771 (1946–47), fol. 603, italics added: "Ondanks herhaalde pogingen, van verschillende zijden in het werk gesteld, is het mij tot nu toe niet mogen gelukken het uit Utrecht geleende hs. Tiele 1009 te Bonn terug te vinden."

script] still exists,” but in his second report (23 November), *after* his receipt of Baumstark’s declaration, he no longer entertains such doubts: he now refers to the incident as a “disappearance.” Further, note that Baumstark’s declaration was made on 10 October 1945, and the synopsis drafted on 13 February 1946—both *before* the loss of the manuscript had been discovered by Kernkamp’s inventory, and *before* the Dutch commenced their recovery attempts. Moreover, why did Baumstark suddenly stop requesting renewals in the summer of 1942? The Utrecht archives show that as late as 15 April 1954, correspondence with the University Library in Bonn continued to press for information about MS 1009, but to no avail. Taken collectively, the shift in Kernkamp’s choice of words, the pregnancy of Graswinkel’s report, Baumstark’s failure to request renewals, the odd date (if it is to be believed) of his declaration, and the repeated requests by the library for additional information for almost a decade, indicate that Utrecht received Baumstark’s declaration with skepticism.

Despite the title given MS 1009 in Thiele’s catalogue (“Evangelien en Epistelen van ‘t geheele jaar”), Baumstark and the Director of the (Utrecht) University Library correctly<sup>97</sup> refer to it as, variously, an “Evangelienharmonie,” an “Evangelienharmonie mittelniederländisch und lateinisch,” and as a “mittelniederländisches Leben Jesu.” Excerpts from the final folios (199<sup>r</sup>–213<sup>v</sup>) were published by H. van Druten in 1896, but they contain no useful Biblical citations.<sup>98</sup> He also recorded the sequence of harmonization of the manuscript’s *incipit* and its *explicit*.<sup>99</sup> The only analysis of the manuscript was carried

<sup>97</sup> C.C. de Bruin, *Middel nederlandse vertalingen van het Nieuwe Testament* (Groningen 1934), 37, noted the fact that MS 1009’s title in Thiele’s catalogue did not suit its contents. It is probably significant that another Middle Dutch manuscript (London: British Library, Add. 26,663) also contains on ff. 9<sup>r</sup>–116<sup>r</sup> “Epistelen en evangeliën” for Sundays and feast days, followed by an “Evangelienharmonie” with glosses from Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*. The *Historia Scholastica* is a Diatessaronic witness, and this “evangelienharmonie” in MS Add. 26,663 is closest to the Stuttgart MS, although, like the Utrecht Harmony, it too has glosses and readings from the Liège Harmony. See De Bruin, 195.

<sup>98</sup> H. van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bijbelvertaling* (Leiden 1896), 300–304. Van Druten also prints a brief excerpt from the Temptation (305–06) and the Gethsemane prayer sequence (306–07); these are, however, too brief to be of use for Diatessaronic research.

<sup>99</sup> The sequence of the *incipit* is: Luke 1.26–56; Matt 1.18b–25; Luke 2.1–22; Matt 2.1–12; Luke 2.22–39; Matt 2.12–23; Luke 2.40–52; Luke 3.1–6; John 1.6–18; Matt 3.4–10. The Harmony concludes with Acts 2.1–17.

out by C.C. de Bruin in his dissertation, which was a study of the Middle Dutch translations of the New Testament.<sup>100</sup> De Bruin devoted eight pages to the Utrecht Harmony; he described it as "important," noting that it was "put together in a singular fashion from parts of totally different origin, written in three different hands."<sup>101</sup>

According to De Bruin, ff. 1–166<sup>v</sup> were written in the first hand, and contained a "Life of Jesus" that runs to chapter 205 of the Stuttgart Harmony's text. The original folio 167 is missing, but has been replaced by a folio in the second hand, containing chapter 205; to fill the folio, a short prayer was added. Folios 168<sup>r</sup>–213<sup>v</sup> contained the conclusion of the Life of Jesus in "different redactions," written in the third hand. The "different redactions" were: (1) a Last Supper, etc., on ff. 168<sup>r</sup>–183<sup>v</sup> (f. 183<sup>v</sup> contains another short prayer to fill the page); (2) a Passion on ff. 183<sup>v</sup>–198<sup>v</sup>; (3) the travels and ascension of Jesus, up to the sending of the Holy Spirit on ff. 199<sup>r</sup>–213<sup>v</sup>. De Bruin, who divided the Middle Dutch harmonized "Lives of Jesus" into two principal recensions, one following the Stuttgart Harmony (= S), and one following the Liège Harmony (= L), states that in the portions he examined (he prints excerpts on three pages to illustrate his findings) the Utrecht Harmony (= U) seems to follow S most closely; however, its agreements with L are "so numerous" that one cannot group it with S. He suggests that the Utrecht Harmony represents a "crossover" form, a way-station on the move from L (the older form of the tradition) to S (the more recent and more heavily Vulgatized form).<sup>102</sup> U often incorporates "glosses or expositions" from L.

De Bruin concluded his analysis by noting that besides contradicting all the other Middle Dutch harmonies (which begin with John 1.1) by beginning with Luke 1.26, U also is unique among the Middle Dutch harmonies in omitting Chapter 8, which contained the genealogies.<sup>103</sup> Additionally, U also

<sup>100</sup> C.C. de Bruin, *Middel nederlandse Vertalingen van het Nieuwe Testament* (Groningen 1934). On De Bruin, see *supra*, p. 174, n. 87, and *infra*, 285–288.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 169: "waardevolle . . . op eigenaardige wijze samengesteld uit stukken van geheel verschillende herkomst, in drie verschillende handen geschreven."

<sup>102</sup> This may be compared with Baumstark's analysis of the Middle Dutch Cambridge Harmony (*supra*, 236) and the Middle High German Schönbach Fragments (*supra*, 234f.), both of which he saw as intermediate forms not as pure as the best Western witnesses (*e.g.*, Liège), but not as Vulgatized as the poorer witnesses (*e.g.*, Stuttgart).

<sup>103</sup> Recall that, according to Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*supra*, p. 42), the

omitted Chapters 1 and 2, and 6 and 7 (all of which deal with John the Baptist's annunciation and birth); U also alters the order of chapters by inserting Chapters 13 and 14 between Chapters 15 and 16 (resulting in this order: 12, 15, 13, 14, 16).

In his letter of 4 October 1941 requesting the loan, Baumstark recognized the risks of sending the manuscript abroad in time of war; nevertheless, he pressed his request because of the manuscript's "ganz ausserordentliche Wichtigkeit." Now we may begin to understand why he considered it so important. It is unclear how far Baumstark's research progressed; no results were ever published.<sup>104</sup>

The recovery in 1990 of *objets de vertu*—including manuscripts from the eighth and sixteenth centuries—belonging to the treasury of the Stiftskirche Domgemeinde Quedlinburg<sup>105</sup> (Germany), which disappeared under circumstances similar to those reported by Baumstark,<sup>106</sup> holds out the hope that the Utrecht Harmony may also reappear. As the Utrecht Keeper of Manu-

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Diatessaron did not contain the genealogies, an assertion confirmed by the Arabic Harmony and several other Diatessaronic witnesses.

<sup>104</sup> In his 1936 article on "Die Himmelgartener Bruchstücke," 82–83, Baumstark expressed the hope that "in absehbarer Zeit" he would produce a study of the relationship of the German, Dutch, and Latin witnesses. It seems likely that this was the project he was engaged in when he requested the loan of the Utrecht Harmony. One set of Baumstark's papers were posthumously edited and published by J. Rathofer in 1964 (*Die Vorlage des althochdeutschen Tatian*; see *infra*, 269–271); the Utrecht Harmony is not cited. Prof. Tj. Baarda informs me that the Diatessaron Archive assembled by Baumstark and now at the Vetus Latina Institut at the Abbey in Beuron, Germany (see *infra*, 283) occasionally notes variants from the Utrecht Harmony, under the siglum "U." Unfortunately, the cards in the Archive were written in pencil, and Baumstark's handwriting is not only very tiny and cramped, but also very difficult to read, orthographically speaking (T. Klauser, "Anton Baumstark," 187, remarks on his "zierliche und eigenwillige Handschrift" which must be "decoded"). Consequently, the cards are virtually useless.

<sup>105</sup> On the Quedlinburg collection, see I. Levin, *The Quedlinburg Itala* in the series *Litterae Textuales* (Leiden 1985).

<sup>106</sup> The manuscripts and silver were taken from "their hiding place in a mine shaft southwest of the town in the chaos that preceded the surrender of Germany in World War II," apparently by a First Lieutenant in the American Army. After the war, he took them home to Texas, where they remained until his death, when his heirs "returned" them to Germany for a "finder's fee." The incident has been called "one of the biggest art thefts of the century." See *The New York Times*, 17 October 1990, C15, 1. See also related stories in *The New York Times* on 16 June 1990 (A1, 1); 8 Jan. 1991 (C11, 1); 9 Jan. 1991 (C13, 1); and 11 Jan. 1991 (A28, 1). See also the reports in *Newsweek* 115 (14 May 1990), 25, and *U.S. News and World Report* 108 (25 June 1990), 19.

scripts Dr. P.M.M. Geurts wrote to the Keeper of Manuscripts in Bonn on 17 August 1954: "Wir vermissen die Handschrift noch immer sehr und haben trotz Allem immer noch Hoffnung dass sie irgend wo zum Vorschein kommen wird."<sup>107</sup>

A few comments are in order before leaving Baumstark. His work ranged widely and is extremely detailed. It cannot be digested quickly. In terms of uncovering readings, plotting relationships, and introducing new witnesses, his contributions were substantial, but his scholarship is hampered by his writing style, which is an exceptionally awkward form of *Universitätsdeutsch*. As Theodor Klauser put it, "Baumstarks Schriften zu lesen, war kein reiner Genuss. Er schrieb ein ungewöhnlich verwickeltes Deutsch."<sup>108</sup> The denseness of the prose and of the material confounds many readers. From about 1936 onwards, numerous proofreading errors mar his work: references are wrong, whole lines of citations from texts are missing. Baumstark had an affinity for adducing readings which turn on subtle points of grammar or word order. This is not surprising in a man of Baumstark's linguistic abilities. However, as was noted in some of the examples above, the points are often so subtle that they fail to convince the impartial reader. Nowhere does Baumstark ever consider the possibility that Middle Dutch or Middle German syntax might *require* a word order which—solely by chance—agrees with Arabic or Syriac word order. Another problem is his uncritical appropriation of omissions as positive evidence for his theories. His failure to exercise self-criticism is unfortunate, but hardly unknown among scholars. But when Baumstark fails to present all the evidence (one can only conclude that he is suppressing it), then one must speak in stronger terms. An example is his failure to inform his readers of the score of Greek, Latin, and Syriac canonical manuscripts which also interpolate *δικαίου* in Matt 27.24, a reading he presented as proof that Manicheans used a Diatessaron. Similarly, while he was correct in identifying the harmonization of Matt 7.17f. and Luke 6.43f. in the Manichaean Kephalaia as Diatessaronic, note that his other point (the use of the identical adjectives [good::good; bad::bad]), requires adoption of his reconstruction of the Kephalaia's

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<sup>107</sup> In the folder "Bonn, Universiteits Bibliotheek" in the file "Correspondence (1946-)," of the Department of Manuscripts, Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht.

<sup>108</sup> Th. Klauser, "Anton Baumstark," 187.



lacunose text. Even more disconcerting, Baumstark fails to inform the reader that the *entire* Latin tradition (Vetus Latina and Vulgate) offers the same parallelism: “*bona::bonus*”; “*mala::malos*”. One must study the Coptic text to discover that the crucial words are either totally or partially in the lacunae, and one must consult the Latin for oneself to discover that it offers the identical reading. His failure to warn the reader of these weak points is difficult to excuse. Although his reconstruction of the Kephalaia may well be correct, it is an inherently unstable foundation for an argument, and his refusal to advise his audience of the situation displays a lack of candour towards his readers. The lessons are twofold. First, Baumstark’s evidence cannot be accepted at face value, but must be carefully scrutinized. Not all of it will pass muster; sometimes he plays fast and loose with the facts—something which, in the long run, has damaged not only the field, but also his reputation among *cognoscenti*. Second, his failings are instructive of the problems—both with the evidence and with the scholar—inherent in Diatessaronic studies.

#### THE VENETIAN HARMONY<sup>109</sup>

#### THE TUSCAN HARMONY<sup>110</sup>

In 1901, Marco Vattasso disclosed the existence of a gospel harmony in a Vatican manuscript (Lat. 7654, ff. 1–56), and observed that it was “in dialetto della traduzione latina delle *Armonie evangeliche* d’Ammonio, fatta da Vittore vescovo di Capua.”<sup>111</sup> Vattasso was preparing an edition of this “Romanesco” (now referred to more specifically as “Tuscan”) text at the time of his death in 1925. In 1931 Alberto Vaccari published a review of Diatessaronic witnesses in the West,<sup>112</sup> in which he listed 21 manuscripts of a gospel harmony in the Tuscan dialect. Incorporating the preliminary work of Vattasso, Vaccari published an edition of the Tuscan Harmony in 1938 in the

<sup>109</sup> *Il Diatessaron Veneto*, ed. V. Todesco, Pt. I of *Il Diatessaron in Volgare Italiano*, edd. V. Todesco, et al., StT 81 (Città del Vaticano 1938).

<sup>110</sup> *Il Diatessaron Toscano*, edd. M. Vattasso and A. Vaccari, Pt. 2 of *Il Diatessaron in Volgare Italiano*, edd. V. Todesco, et al., StT 81 (Città del Vaticano 1938).

<sup>111</sup> M. Vattasso, *Aneddoti in Dialetto Romanesco del sec. XIV, Tratti dal Cod. Vat. 7654*, StT 4 (Roma 1901), 7.

<sup>112</sup> A. Vaccari, “Propaggini del Diatessaron in Occidente,” *Bib.* 12 (1931), 326–354.

series *Studi e testi*.<sup>113</sup> Today, 26 manuscripts (all dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth century) of this Tuscan recension of the Diatessaron are known. The edition of Vattasso and Vaccari contains a critical text based on full collations of eight manuscripts and partial collations of another nine.<sup>114</sup> In the same volume, Venanzio Todesco edited the single manuscript (Venice, Marciano 4975; thirteenth or fourteenth cent.) of a similar—but textually quite different—harmony in the Venetian dialect of Middle Italian.<sup>115</sup>

As one might expect, both versions have—as, indeed, have most (if not all) of the Western European vernacular harmonies—been influenced by Codex Fuldensis. Nevertheless, each of the versions has its own distinct character.<sup>116</sup> According to Vaccari, the Tuscan “per quanti anelli intermedi, [discende] dalla redazione del codice Fuldense.”<sup>117</sup> This is not quite correct, however, for Codex Fuldensis begins with Luke 1.1–4, but the manuscripts of the Tuscan Harmony begin with John 1.1, the traditional *incipit* of the Diatessaron, found also in the Arabic Harmony, and numerous Latin, Middle Dutch, and Middle High German Harmonies.<sup>118</sup> Variant readings in the Tuscan version also demonstrate its occasional independence from Codex Fuldensis, and its dependence upon the pre-Fuldensis Diatessaron tradition. For example, the reading “*fantasima*” in MS R of the Tuscan Harmony (against “*spirito*” in Tuscan MSS S P L T Q) at Luke 24.37 agrees with the Persian Harmony, Codex Bezae (D: *πάντασμα*; d: “*fantasma*”), Titus of Bostra, and Romanos Melodos, but against Codex Fuldensis. In another instance, the Tuscan Harmony interpolates a temporal reference—“*allora*”—at the beginning of Matt 27.51 (par.), in agreement with the Arabic Harmony (“*aussitôt*”), Syr<sup>s[c]</sup> (“*in the same hour*”), Peshitta (“*illico*”), and the Middle

<sup>113</sup> See *supra*, n. 110.

<sup>114</sup> See *infra*, 485f. (Appendix I) for the specific manuscript descriptions and a list of which received complete, and which received partial collations.

<sup>115</sup> See *supra*, n. 109.

<sup>116</sup> In addition to the remarks of Vattasso, Vaccari, and Todesco, see A. Baumstark, “Zwei italienische ‘Diatessaron’-Texte,” *OrChr* 36 [= III.14] (1941), 225–242.

<sup>117</sup> *Il Diatessaron Veneto* (ed. Todesco), p. iii.

<sup>118</sup> E.g.: Latin: Berlin, Staatsbib., Theol. fol. 7; Munich Staatsbib., Clm. 7 946; Middle Dutch: all of the Middle Dutch harmonies, except for the Utrecht Harmony (Utrecht, Universiteitsbib. MS 1009); Middle High German: Zürich, Stadtbib., C 170 (App. 56).

Dutch and Middle High German traditions (“at the same hour,” with minor variations), but against Codex Fuldensis.<sup>119</sup> This textual evidence shows that Vaccari’s description of the Tuscan recension as deriving solely from Codex Fuldensis is mistaken.<sup>120</sup> Vaccari’s mistaken evaluation of the relationship between the Tuscan Harmony and Codex Fuldensis was due in part to his area of interest: he was concerned with the Tuscan Harmony’s linguistic significance for Middle Italian studies, not its textual relationship with the Diatessaronic tradition.

The Venetian Harmony is preserved in a single manuscript, and, according to Todesco, seems to derive from the “prevolgata” manuscript which came into the hands of Victor of Capua without a title or author’s name. In other words, the lone Venetian manuscript offers a more primitive form of the text, having a distinctly “Old Latin” flavour. Therefore, as might be expected, it has numerous agreements with other “pre-Fuldensis” witnesses which also preserve parts of the Old Latin Diatessaron, such as the Liège Harmony. Among the fascinating readings in the Venetian Harmony is the interpolation of “el mio fiolo” in John 2.5. The Venetian Harmony is the lone Western witness to offer this reading, which is found twice in Ephrem’s *Commentary* (at V.2 and V.4a in the Syriac and in the Armenian), a single Peshitta manuscript (London: British Library, Or. add. 14,455 [MS 14 in Gwilliam’s edition]; sixth cent.), and Romanos Melodos. The harmony’s frequent agreement with Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses may be due in part to the location of Venice and its role as a trading center, through which many travelers—and their textual traditions—passed.

Evidence indicates that the scribe of the Venetian Harmony was acutely aware he was handling two traditions—the canonical and the Diatessaronic, for he often conflates the Diatessaronic reading with the canonical. An example is at John 20.17. Here the agreement of Ephrem’s *Comm.* (Syriac and Armenian) and Romanos Melodos make it clear that the Diatessaron’s reading was “I go to my Father . . .,” against the canonical “I

<sup>119</sup> See *supra*, 170, 190.

<sup>120</sup> It is true that, when compared with the Venetian Harmony, the Tuscan tradition is more Vulgatzed. In that perspective, its text is closer to that of Codex Fuldensis than is the text of the Venetian harmony; but that ignores the unique Diatessaronic readings which survive in the Tuscan Harmony. Vaccari is another victim of specialization, for he was interested in the harmony’s significance for the history of Middle Italian, not its textual characteristics.

ascend (ἀναβαίνω) to my Father . . .” The Venetian Harmony reads “*Io vo e monto en zelo al Pare mio . . .*” (“I go and ascend in the heaven to my Father . . .”).<sup>121</sup> Another example is found in Exhibit 7 in chapter seven (*infra*, 404–414). Another technique the scribe used to unobtrusively transmit Diatessaronic variants was to make use of one of this harmony’s unique features, namely, a commentary which is interspersed in the text. On more than one occasion the text of the gospel harmony gives the standard canonical reading, while the Diatessaronic reading is tucked in the commentary for that section of text. (In Todesco’s edition, the commentary’s text is set in italics, which distinguishes it from the surrounding harmonized gospel text.) Therefore, after checking the text of the Venetian Harmony itself for Diatessaronic readings, the researcher should also always consult the following commentary, for the Tatianic reading may well lie there.

Because of its numerous agreements with the Eastern Diatessaronic tradition, the value of the Venetian Harmony for the reconstruction of the Diatessaron is greater than that of the Tuscan Harmony; indeed, among Western witnesses, the importance of the Venetian Harmony is rivaled only by the Liège Harmony and, perhaps, the Pepsian Harmony. There are two other dimensions to the Venetian Harmony’s importance, however, which are no less than its textual value. First, the Venetian Harmony is living proof of the text-critical dictum that the number of manuscripts supporting a reading is irrelevant: one manuscript is equal to one thousand. In this instance, the lone Venetian manuscript is a more reliable witness to the Diatessaron’s text than are the 26 manuscripts of the Tuscan Harmony. Second, the Venetian Harmony’s method of conflating or interleaving the Diatessaronic reading with the canonical is illustrative of how later scribes attempted to combine the canonical and Diatessaronic traditions. The Venetian Harmony makes the most extensive use of this technique, but it is also used by the Liège Harmony and other Western witnesses. The technique is no less important for preserving the Diatessaronic reading than for demonstrating that at some point in the transmission history, someone—a copyist, translator, or revisor—*knew* he was handling two traditions,

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<sup>121</sup> *Il Diatessaron Veneto* (ed. Todesco), 160.

one of which did not comport with the canonical text; yet he venerated it enough to preserve it.

The editions of the Middle Italian Harmonies have a few quirks to which the user should be alerted. Todesco's edition of the Venetian Harmony has running headers which reference *folio numbers* in the manuscript, while the edition of the Tuscan Harmony by Vattasso and Vaccari—in the same volume—has running headers which reference *chapter numbers*. Similarly, care must be taken to locate the correct *index locorum* at the end of the volume, for the two follow each other—and the index for the Venetian Harmony references gospel passages by *page number*, while that for the Tuscan Harmony references passages by *chapter number*. Finally, the chapter numbers in the manuscript of the Venetian Harmony extend through Chap. 157 (= Matt 26.2; p. 133 in the edition), and then, inexplicably, end. A small compensation for this confusion is the fact that Vattasso and Vaccari list, in a small apparatus above the main manuscript apparatus for the Tuscan Harmony, passages where it deviates from Codex Fuldensis.

## CURT PETERS

## THE WEST-SAXON GOSPELS

Born at Goch, Germany (Kreis Cleve [near the Dutch border]) on 26 April 1905, Peters received his early training in philosophy and theology at the Erzbischöflichen Akademie at Paderborn, and became a Roman Catholic priest. From 1931 to 1934, he studied Oriental languages and classical philology at the Universität Münster, where Anton Baumstark was his *Doktorvater*. He received his doctorate on 26 October 1933 for a dissertation titled *Peschittha und Targumim des Pentateuchs*.<sup>122</sup> Prior to his conscription into the German army he published a series of articles which were in many cases inspired by

<sup>122</sup> Peters' dissertation appeared in book form as a *separatum*; it was published as "Peschittha und Targumim des Pentateuchs. Ihre Beziehungen untersucht im Rahmen ihrer Abweichungen von Masoretischen Text," *Muséon* 48 (1935), 1–54. Biographical information about Peters is extremely scarce. Given the circumstances of Peters' death (see *infra*, p. 255, n. 141), this is perhaps understandable, but all the more deplorable. The information presented here is based on a double-spaced typewritten "Lebenslauf" apparently prepared by Peters himself. It lies unattached between the cover and the title page in the copy of the dissertation in the library of his *alma mater*, the Wilhelms-Universität Münster.

Baumstark's ideas. The first of these, "Nachhall ausserkanonischer Evangelienüberlieferung in Tatians Diatessaron,"<sup>123</sup> appeared in 1936 and systematically explored Baumstark's ideas about Tatian's "fifth source." Peters noted eleven instances where he felt it could be argued that Tatian had used an extra-canonical tradition. Of the eleven, the following six have demonstrable textual parallels in named extra-canonical sources:

- (1) At Matt 3.15/16: The "light" (or fire) at Jesus' baptism.<sup>124</sup>
- (2) At Matt 3.16 (par.): At the baptism, the Spirit descends "in the likeness of a dove." The Diatessaronic evidence is: Ephrem's *Commentary*, the Arabic Harmony, Syr<sup>s</sup>, and the Liège Harmony. The reading is also attributed to the "Hebrew gospel" by Epiphanius.
- (3) At Luke 23.48: The lament of those who "beat their breast" is given as a direct quotation: "Woe to us! What has befallen us! Woe to us because of our sins!" The Diatessaronic evidence is: Ephrem's *Commentary*, Aphrahat (*Dem.* XIV), the *Doctrina Addai*, Syr<sup>s</sup>,<sup>125</sup> and the Vetus Latina MS g<sup>1</sup> (also known as Vulgate MS G). This is paralleled in part in the *Gospel of Peter* 25, a work which has other parallels with the Diatessaron.<sup>125</sup> (This variant is presented in full *infra*, 414–420.)
- (4) At Luke 24.39: Instead of the canonical reading πνεῦμα, the Diatessaron seems to have read φάντασμα.<sup>126</sup>
- (5) At Matt 4.5: For the canonical εἰς ἁγίαν πόλιν, one finds the reading: ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. This variant is found in the Liège Harmony. One of the manuscripts of the so-called "Zion Gospel Edition"<sup>127</sup>—MS 566—states in a marginal gloss that a Judaic-Christian gospel ("τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν") reads not "into the holy city," but "in Jerusalem".<sup>128</sup>

<sup>123</sup> *AcOr* 16 (1937), 258–294.

<sup>124</sup> The Diatessaron evidence is given *supra*, 14–20; Epiphanius says this variant also stood in the "Hebrew gospel."

<sup>125</sup> One such parallel is given by W.L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist*, CSCO 475 [Subsidia 74] (Louvain 1985), 92–95.

<sup>126</sup> This reading and the evidence for it was discussed *supra*, 229.

<sup>127</sup> On the "Zion Gospel Edition," see A. Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den judenchristlichen Evangelien*. TU 37.1 (Leipzig 1911), 1–31; also A.F.J. Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, VigChr.S 17 (Leiden 1992), 25, et passim; and W.L. Petersen, "Zion Gospel Edition," *ABD*, Vol. 6, 1097–98. Cp. P. Vielhauer, "Jewish-Christian Gospels," in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, I, 147 (in the newer German edition, I, 134). Vielhauer assigns this text to the "Gospel of the Nazoraeans" as fragment #3.

<sup>128</sup> The same variant crops up at Matt 27.53 (see *supra*, 233), again in the Liège Harmony and the Himmeltgarten Fragments. See the remarks of Peters, "Nachhall ausserkanonischer Evangelienüberlieferung in Tatians Diatessaron," *AcOr* 16 (1937), 282–84. The substitution is regarded as being anti-Judaic.

(6) At Matt 5.14: The canonical “lying (κειμένη) on a hill” is altered to “built on a hill.” The Diatessaronic evidence is: the Persian and the Arabic Harmonies, Syr<sup>s.c.p.</sup>. Peters interpreted the presence of this variant in Pap. Oxy. 1 (“A city built [οικοδομημένη] on a high hill . . .”) to indicate its presence in an extra-canonical source, which he took to be the “Hebrew gospel.” (Today we know that Pap. Oxy. 1 is Logion 32 of the *Gospel according to Thomas*; this is an example of an agreement between the Diatessaron and *Thomas* and, perhaps, with some other extra-canonical source common to both *Thomas* and Tatian).

Peters concluded: “Baumstarks These, dass das Hebräer-Evangelium die fñnfte von Tatian benutzte Quelle sei, erfñhrt ihre Bestätigung.”<sup>129</sup>

Baumstark was an exceptionally prolific author, and his articles on the Diatessaron are all tightly focused on a specific pericope or witness. He never published a comprehensive survey of the field, nor did he offer more than passing comments on important issues such as provenance and date of authorship. Peters, however, rectified that situation in a book that remains essential reading for would-be students of the Diatessaron. *Das Diatessaron Tatians* (1939)<sup>130</sup> is a well-written, succinct survey of the Diatessaronic witnesses then known. It also engages in self-conscious reflection on methodological issues, a first for Diatessaronic studies. Peters was able to digest, summarize, and then communicate Baumstark’s discoveries more clearly than Baumstark himself. The book was a much-needed contribution, for no comprehensive review of research had appeared since Th. Zahn’s 1881 study.

Peters also made his own contributions, most notably in connexion with the Arabic gospel translation and Syriac Patristic literature. He analyzed the process of Vulgatization, devoting special attention to the Arabic Harmony. After observing that its text had been revised in the direction of the Peshitta,<sup>131</sup> Peters formulated a methodological principle: “wo [der] Text [des arabischen Diatessaron] vom Wortlaut der Pešitta abweicht, [hat er] den Text des Diatessaron erhalten hat.”<sup>132</sup> According to Peters, this same rule of thumb was applicable to other texts which had undergone Vulgatization. For example, he

<sup>129</sup> C. Peters, “Nachhall,” *AcOr* 16 (1937), 293.

<sup>130</sup> *OrChrA* 123 (Roma 1939; reprinted: Roma 1962).

<sup>131</sup> See *supra*, 137–138.

<sup>132</sup> Peters, *Das Diatessaron*, 24.

applied it to the Peshitta, observing that where the Peshitta deviated from the Greek, that was the reading of the Diatessaron.<sup>133</sup> The hand of Baumstark is evident in Peter's dictum; recall that Baumstark had articulated a similar principle<sup>134</sup> and had, in his later years, come close to attributing almost all Diatessaronic deviations from the canonical text to an "ausserkanonische" source. Peters' rule takes the same uncritical approach towards the Diatessaron: everything not canonical must be Diatessaronic. Today this is recognized as naïve; but Peters was taking one more step along the road to developing *and communicating to the reader* criteria and methodological principles for detecting and evaluating Diatessaronic readings.

As an Orientalist, Peters was a skilled Arabist. Following Baumstark's lead,<sup>135</sup> Peters investigated the Arabic translation of the gospels.<sup>136</sup> His findings confirmed Baumstark's preliminary observation that the (Old) Syriac text from which many manuscripts<sup>137</sup> of the Arabic translation of the separated gospels were based was—as one might expect—contaminated with Diatessaronic readings. Because of developments within the Syrian church itself (namely, the emergence and dominance of the Peshitta), the "Arabische Wiedergabe eines solchen altsyrischen Evangelientextes scheint aber nach dem 5. oder höchstens dem frühen 6. Jahrhundert nicht mehr denkbar."<sup>138</sup> Consequently, the Arabic translation of the separated gospels was a fairly early witness to the Vetus Syra; as such, it had a special role to play in recovering the earliest Syriac gospel traditions—including the Diatessaron. Additionally, Peters referred to his own earlier work on a Karshuni (*i.e.*, an Arabic text written in Syriac script) and a Turkish liturgical text (also written in Syriac script) in Vatican MS Syr. 52. Both texts contained Diatessaronic readings.<sup>139</sup> This confirmed Baumstark's

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>134</sup> See *supra*, 222.

<sup>135</sup> A. Baumstark, "Arabische Übersetzung eines altsyrischen Evangelientextes," in *OrChr* 31 [= III.9] (1934), 165–188.

<sup>136</sup> Peters, *Das Diatessaron*, 48–62; see also his "Proben eines bedeutsamen arabischen Evangelientextes," *OrChr* 33 [= III.11] (1936), 188–211.

<sup>137</sup> Peters cites 13 Arabic MSS; see *infra*, 449–450: Appendix I, "A Catalogue of Manuscripts of Diatessaronic Witnesses and Related Works."

<sup>138</sup> Peters, *Das Diatessaron*, 50.

<sup>139</sup> See W. Heffening, and C. Peters, "Spuren des Diatessaron in liturgischer Überlieferung. Ein türkischer und ein Karsuni-Text," *OrChr* 32 [= III.10]



finding of Diatessaronic readings in another Vatican Karshuni manuscript (Vatican MS Syr. 197; dated 1488).<sup>140</sup>

The remainder of Peters' book is an extremely helpful résumé of the various Diatessaronic traditions (Latin, Middle Dutch, Old High German, Middle High German, Middle English, and Middle Italian) and their position in research in 1939. These have been detailed elsewhere in the volume in hand, and need not be repeated here.

During the Second World War Peters was deployed to the Netherlands as part of the German occupying forces. Born near the Dutch border and apparently a pacifist, Peters' sympathies were with the oppressed, not the oppressor. He deserted and went "underground." He sought refuge in Leiden, where he surfaced sometime after 10 May 1940. The city and its university, internationally known for centuries for its excellence in Oriental studies, provided a natural refuge. Somehow—it appears he was betrayed—he was discovered, arrested, and tried as a deserter. On 7 December 1943, Peters was taken to the dunes on the North Sea coast near Scheveningen, a desolate place favoured by the Germans for executing prisoners and members of the Resistance. There, at the age of 38, Dr. Curt Peters was executed by a firing squad composed of fellow Germans.<sup>141</sup>

Peters' final publication on the Diatessaron—poignant because of his old teacher's Fascism and his own anti-Fascism—was an article finished in January 1941, and dedicated to "Anton Baumstark zum 70. Geburtstag." Titled "Der Diatessarontext von Mt 2,9 und die westsächsische Evangelienversion,"<sup>142</sup> Peters noted that the reading of the West Saxon version of the Old English gospels—"thā hī thaet gebod gehyrdon, thā fērdon hī" ("when they heard the commandment, there they went")—preserved part of a variant found only in Syr<sup>c</sup>: "but they, when they had received the command from the king, left." This was

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(1935), 225–238. See also Peters' *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, 59, 61–62 and 88–89.

<sup>140</sup> See *supra*, 223 and *infra*, 451; cp. also C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, 59.

<sup>141</sup> "Gefusilleerd op 7 Dec. 1943 in de duinen te Scheveningen, wegens zijn poging zich aan den Duitschen krijgsmacht te onttrekken"; so J. van der Ploeg, "Recente Pesitta-Studies (sinds 1927)," *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, 3.10 (1944–48) (Leiden 1952), p. 393, n. 3. I am indebted to Prof. H.-J. de Jonge of Leiden for providing this reference. Additional information about Peters' death was provided by Profs. G. Quispel and Tj. Baarda.

<sup>142</sup> *Bib.* 23 (1942), 323–32.

against all other Greek, Latin, and—with one exception—Syriac sources, which (more or less) gave: “And having heard the king, they departed.” *What* they heard is absent from the canonical account; it is supplied only in Syr<sup>s</sup> and the West Saxon version. Translation errors indicated that the West Saxon gospels were based on a Latin *Vorlage*. Other variants made it clear that the *Vorlage* was neither Vulgate nor Vetus Latina. Although closest to Vetus Latina MS *c* (Codex Colbertinus), the Latin archetype from which the West Saxon gospels were translated is lost. This variant in Matt 2.9, however, together with other links with witnesses to the “Western Text” and the Diatessaronic tradition provided a clue as to its character. The only explanation for the observed similarities between the West Saxon gospels and the Old Syriac gospels and other Diatessaronic witnesses was to presume that the archetype from which they had been translated was an Old Latin text peppered with Tatianisms.<sup>143</sup>

Peters’ premature death was a more severe blow to Diatessaronic studies than it might appear. Few scholars achieve familiarity with as many aspects of the tradition as did Peters, and few are as well equipped as he to deal with the panoply of languages involved. Had he lived, he would have provided a vital, living link between the older generation of scholars, which was dying,<sup>144</sup> and the new post-war generation. Without Peters, younger scholars were forced to become a generation of autodidacts.

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<sup>143</sup> Heretofore, this reading of Peters’ has been the only Diatessaronic reading published from the West Saxon gospels. However, Prof. Tj. Baarda of Amsterdam is currently preparing an article with the working title of “An Unexpected Reading in the West-Saxon Gospel Text of Mark 16.11.” The reading turns on the interpolation of the pronoun “them”: “they did not believe them.” As Baarda notes, the reading (found in Codex Fuldensis, the Old High German, the Arabic Harmony, and the Peshitta) does not fit the Marcan text, which has only *one* woman (Mary Magdalene). The Diatessaron, however, by combining the various gospel accounts, has multiple women visiting the tomb. I am indebted to Baarda for sharing this reading with me.

<sup>144</sup> Almost all the major figures active in Diatessaronic studies in the 1920s and ’30s were dead by the end of the war. Baumstark survived by a few years, but was aged and no longer active; only Vogels lived into the 1950s. See *supra*, 194.

## C.A. PHILLIPS

One of the co-editors for Plooij's edition of the Liège Harmony was the Rev. C.A. Phillips of Bournemouth, England. He authored an article on Tatian's "fifth source" which, although only two pages in length, remains one of the best treatments of the subject. Published in the *Bulletin of the Bezan Club* in 1931,<sup>145</sup> it has—unjustly—received less attention than the pronouncements of Baumstark or Peters' article on the "ausserkanonischer Evangelienüberlieferung." Phillips presented six readings which indicated that "Tatian's Gospel sources were to some extent really five, . . . there is something more to be said for the stipulation that his famous work is more accurately called a 'Diapente', as Victor of Capua actually calls it."<sup>146</sup> The six readings are summarized below:

- (1) At Mark 3.1, the Liège and Stuttgart Harmonies lay stress on the fact that the man's hand was so withered "that he could not work with it." Jerome, in his *Comm. in Matt.* at Matt 12.13, presents a similar interpolation, stressing the man's inability to work, and states that he found it "*In euangelio quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitae*" ("In the gospel which the Nazoraeans and the Ebionites use"). The fragment reads: "I was a mason, earning [my] living with [my] hands; I pray you, Jesus, to restore to me [my] health, lest I must beg shamefully for my bread." Both Vielhauer<sup>147</sup> and Klijn<sup>148</sup> assign the Jerome's fragment to the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans*. An echo is found in the *Commentary* of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus. Phillips also noted a Syriasm in the text of Liège and Stuttgart at this point.<sup>149</sup>
- (2) At Matt 4.5, Phillips repeated Peters' observation that the Diatessaron probably read "to Jerusalem" in place of the canonical "into the holy city."<sup>150</sup>

<sup>145</sup> C.A. Phillips, "Diatessaron—Diapente," *BBC* 9 (February 1931), 6–8.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>147</sup> Vielhauer, "Jewish-Christian Gospels" in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, I, 147–48; in the German edition, I, 134 (Frag. 10).

<sup>148</sup> Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, 88–90 (Frag. XVII); Klijn (p. 90, n. 82) suggests that the reading in the Liège Harmony may derive from the context in the gospel itself, while Zachary's reading seems to come from Jerome. He suggests (against Plooij [*A Primitive Text*, 44, and *A Further Study*, 84] and Phillips) that the variant in the Liège Harmony is unrelated to the Judaic-Christian gospel tradition.

<sup>149</sup> The Syriasm was "din sine" in the Middle Dutch; "sine" ("his") is redundant after "din" ("whose"). Cp. the "redundant αὐτοῦ" in Mark 1.7, which Taylor says "marks the Semitic tone of the narrative" (V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* [London 1966<sup>2</sup>], 157).

<sup>150</sup> See *supra*, 252 (Peters' reading #5). The variant is found in the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony and in the *scholia* from τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν in MS

(3) Aphrahat, *Dem.* XIV.44, and Ephrem, *Comm.* IX.22, stress “how many times in one day” should one forgive one’s brother. This same stress, and the same combination of Matt 18.21f. with Luke 17.3f., is found in Jerome’s *adv. Pelag.* III.2, in a passage Jerome says is drawn from the “Gospel according to the Hebrews” which is used by the Nazoraeans.<sup>151</sup>

(4) Phillips noted two instances where the *capitularia* (the “Table of Contents”) of some MSS (Phillips names Bodleian 209; British Library, Harley 1915; and the Winchester Cathedral MS<sup>152</sup>) of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus’ commentary on an *In unum ex quatuor* contained parallels with the “Gospel according to the Hebrews,” although the readings had been stripped from the text of the commentary proper.<sup>153</sup> At Chap. 141, the *capitularia* read “*pro filio barachie filium Joiade*” (“to the son of Barachia, son of Joiade”) at Matt 23.35 (the canonical text reads simply: υἱοῦ βαρὰχίου [“son of Barachiah”]; “*Ioiadae*” is, according to Jerome, *Comm. in Matt.*, at Matt 23.35, the reading of the “*euangelio quo utuntur Nazareni*” (the “gospel which the Nazoraeans use”); modern scholars assign the fragment to the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans*).<sup>154</sup>

(5) The second reading in the *capitularia* of some manuscripts of Zachary’s *Commentary* was at Chap. 170. The *capitularia* mention that the “*supraliminare templi infine magnitudinis fractum esse*.” This report of the fracturing of the immense lintel of the Temple at Jesus’ death is paralleled in the “Gospel according to the Hebrews,” according to the report of Jerome, *Ep. ad Hedybiam* [CXX] 8.1), and in his *Comm. in Matt.*, at Matt 27.51.<sup>155</sup>

(6) Phillips noted that the harmonies followed the Parable of the Rich Fool with the story of the Young Ruler, which was then fol-

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566 (the “Zion Gospel Edition”); scholars usually assign the fragment to the *Gospel according to the Nazoraeans* (so Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, 107 [Frag. XXV]; Vielhauer in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, I, 147 (English ed.), or I, 134 (German ed.; Frag. 3). On the variant, see Plooi, *A Further Study*, 84–85. The same substitution occurs at Matt 27.53, this time in the Liège Harmony and in the Himmelgarten Fragments (see *supra*, 31, 233).

<sup>151</sup> Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, 105–07 (Frag. XXIV); P. Vielhauer “Jewish-Christian Gospel,” *New Testament Apocrypha*, edd. Hennecke-Schneemelcher, I, 148 in the English edition; I, 135 in the German edition (Frag. #15a).

<sup>152</sup> Phillips published a study of his Winchester Codex: “The Winchester Codex of Zachary of Besançon,” *BBC* 2 (June 1926), 3–8.

<sup>153</sup> The same phenomenon was noted in Codex Fuldensis; cf. *supra*, 127–129.

<sup>154</sup> Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, 90–91 (Frag. XVIII); Vielhauer (“Jewish-Christian Gospels,” *New Testament Apocrypha*, edd. Hennecke and Schneemelcher) gives the reading as #17 (English edition, I, 149; German edition, I, 135).

<sup>155</sup> Jerome’s report is quoted by Zachary in the text of this section of the *Commentary*, so the inclusion of the reference in some manuscripts’ *capitularia* is not surprising. See esp. *infra*, n. 157. See Klijn, *Jewish-Christian Gospel Tradition*, 93–97 (Frag. XX); Vielhauer (“Jewish-Christian Gospels,” *New Testament Apocrypha*, edd. Hennecke and Schneemelcher) gives the reading as #21 (English edition, I, 150; German edition, I, 136).

lowed by the Parable of Dives and Lazarus. Elements of this combination, as well as specific variants from the harmonies, are found in the Gospel "*secundum Hebraeos*," as quoted by Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* XV.14 (on Matt 19.16ff.).<sup>156</sup> Origen's quotation begins, "The other of the two rich men said to him. . .," implying Origen also knew a text which joined the stories of the two rich men. Also in Origen, Jesus tells him to "do the Law," a variant found in Ephrem's *Commentary*, Aphrahat, Syr<sup>s[c]</sup>, the Georgian, and, at Mark 10.20, in Greek MSS *f*<sup>1</sup> 565 1542.

Phillips had uncovered more—and better—specific references to the Judaic-Christian gospel tradition in Diatessaronic witnesses than any other scholar, before or since. There seemed little room to doubt that the Diatessaron had been privy to traditions later considered extra-canonical. The character of these traditions could also be specified: they were Judaic-Christian.

Long after Phillips' death, the readings he identified as extra-canonical elements in the Diatessaron would continue to turn up in new Diatessaronic witnesses.<sup>157</sup> One of the tests of a scientific theory is whether it predicts and postdicts. Phillips work passes that test, predicting readings in documents unknown in his day.

GIUSEPPE MESSINA

THE PERSIAN HARMONY<sup>158</sup>

The first Diatessaronic witness to see publication after the War was the Persian Harmony. Although its existence had been known since 1742, when it was catalogued by S.E. Assemani,<sup>159</sup> its relationship to the Diatessaronic tradition and true character were made known only in 1943 by its editor-to-be, Giuseppe Messina.<sup>160</sup> It is extant in a single manuscript (Florence: Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Cod. Orient. XVII [81]; dated

<sup>156</sup> Vielhauer ("Jewish-Christian Gospels," *New Testament Apocrypha*, edd. Hennecke and Schneemelcher), presents the fragment as #16 (in the English edition, I, 148; in the German edition, I, 135).

<sup>157</sup> For example, although the *text* of the Venetian Harmony gives the standard rendering of the Temple veil at Jesus' death (*Il Diatessaron Veneto* [ed. Todesco], 156, line 19), the *commentary* portion speaks of the "splitting" of a "great stone which stood in the middle of the temple" at the time of Jesus' death (*ibid.*, 158, 11. 32–33).

<sup>158</sup> *Diatessaron Persiano*, ed. G. Messina, BibOr 14 (Rome 1951).

<sup>159</sup> S.E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae Codicum mms. Orientalium catalogus* (Florentiae 1742), 59–61.

<sup>160</sup> G. Messina, "Un Diatessaron persiano del sec. XIII tradotto dal siriano," *Bib* 23 (1942), 286–305; 24 (1943), 59–106.

1547) copied by the Jacobite priest Ibrāhīm ben Šhammas ‘Abdullāh, at Ḥiṣn Kaif, a village on the Tigris, roughly equidistant between Diarbekir (which lay to the west) and Gezire (which lay to the south-east). Ibrāhīm, in turn, appears to have been copying a thirteenth-century manuscript which had been translated from Syriac by another Jacobite, Īvānnīs ‘Izz al-Dīn, of Tabriz.<sup>161</sup> Although—like the translator of the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony—Īvānnīs wishes to pass the work off as his own creation, textual links to much older traditions (such as the *Vetus Syra* and the *Protevangelium Iacobi*) indicate Īvānnīs was passing on (perhaps in a somewhat revised form) a much older document, for had he created it in the thirteenth century *de novo*, his frequent recourse to the readings of the *Vetus Syra* are inexplicable and well-nigh impossible. (In the thirteenth century, the Peshitta was the standard Syriac gospel, and the older *Vetus Syra* was essentially unknown, its readings surviving only via quotations [the only two extant manuscripts of the *Vetus Syra* were discovered in the nineteenth century].)

Since its discovery, the Persian Harmony has puzzled scholars, for its genesis is cloaked in mystery, and its text is of a singular character. Messina noted that its sequence of harmonization was almost always different from the other witnesses to the Diatessaron. Nevertheless, it preserved a large number of variants which agreed with the other Diatessaronic witnesses, both East and West. Furthermore, the Persian Harmony contained elements obviously drawn from the *Protevangelium Iacobi*, an infancy gospel usually dated to the first half of the second century.<sup>162</sup> The readings drawn from the *Protevangelium* were, however, almost always without parallel in other Diatessaronic witnesses.<sup>163</sup> Since *Protevangelium* readings seem restricted to the Persian Harmony, it appears that this is a characteristic of the tradition behind the Persian witness, and not of the Diatessaron of Tatian.

In addition to the use of an identifiable “fifth” source, Messina noticed that the Persian Harmony’s text contained an exceptional number of Semitisms.<sup>164</sup> These were attributable, said Messina, partly

<sup>161</sup> *Diatessaron Persiano* (ed. Messina), pp. xiv, xx.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxxv–li.

<sup>163</sup> One certain exception is found in the *Protevangelium* (IX.1, 3, XII.1) at its parallel to Matt 1.24: Joseph “*guards*” Mary. The same variant also appears in the Persian Harmony and four other Diatessaronic witnesses (see Petersen, *The Diatessaron*, 67–71).

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lix–lxviii.

to the Harmony's Syriac *Vorlage*. But he also noticed two other details which altered the picture. First, the Persian Harmony contained a variant at Luke 24.37 which closely paralleled a variant at Luke 24.39 in the Syriac text of Titus of Bostra, and (according to Jerome) the "Hebrew gospel" used by the Nazoraeans: rather than reading πνεῦμα ("spirit"), these sources substituted "daemon" or "incorporeal daemon." The reading had led Baumstark to conclude that Tatian had used the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* as one of his sources.<sup>165</sup> Second, Messina noticed a remarkable number of instances in which the allusions or citations from the Hebrew Bible found in the New Testament has been modified to bring them into closer conformity with the Hebrew Bible.<sup>166</sup> For example, John 3.14b reads ὑψωσεν τὸν ὄφιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ("he [Moses] lifted up the serpent in the wilderness"). This is an allusion to Numbers 21.9 which, in both the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, speaks of a "bronze serpent" (נחשׁ נחשׁתן : ὄφιν χαλκοῦν). "Bronze" is found interpolated in the Persian Harmony's text of John 3.14b. At many points, these modifications betrayed not only an acute knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, but specifically of the Hebrew Bible *in Hebrew*, against the Septuagint. For example, while Matt 2.18 reads κλαυθμός καὶ ὄδυρμός πολὺς (a voice was heard "crying and lamenting greatly"), and the Septuagint's parallel at Jer. 38.15 reads κλαυθμοῦ καὶ ὄδυρμου (omitting πολὺς), the Hebrew of Jeremiah (it is Jer. 31.15 in the Masoretic text) reads תמרורים בכי נהי ("wailing, weeping bitterly"). The Persian Harmony's reading appears to reflect the text of both Matthew *and* the Hebrew Jeremiah: "piangere e lamentarsi molti duro." Many of these Hebrew readings are also found in the Targumim. Combining this evidence, then, Messina determined that at least four sources lay behind the Persian Harmony: (1) the *Proteuangelium Iacobi*, (2) an extra-canonical Jewish-Christian gospel, written in Hebrew, and used by the Nazoraeans, commonly called the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, (3) perhaps a Christian Targum, probably in Hebrew (or Syriac ?).<sup>167</sup> Finally, there had to be some link with the Diatessaron. Be-

<sup>165</sup> See *supra*, 229.

<sup>166</sup> *Diatessaron Persiano* (ed. Messina), pp. lxviii–lxxvi.

<sup>167</sup> It should be noted that S. Brock has independently offered evidence of the dependence of Syrian Christians upon precisely this sort of Targumic traditions. They were used to explicate the connexions between the Old and New Testaments: see Brock's "The Lost Old Syriac at Luke 1:35 and the Earliest Syriac Terms for the Incarnation," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century*:

cause he found doublets in the Persian Harmony, Messina concluded that the creator of this harmony's tradition had been working from two preexisting Syriac harmonies.<sup>168</sup>

The many unique features of the Persian Harmony—whose origins Messina himself characterized as “much more complex than one thinks”—left scholars confused about its precise relationship to Tatian's harmony. Various scholars studied it,<sup>169</sup> and came to the conclusion that while its structure precluded its being directly related to the Diatessaronic tradition, nevertheless, through one or another channel, it had received Diatessaronic readings. Whether this was to be explained by presuming that the Persian Harmony's composer had worked from a Tatianic Diatessaron, or whether he had worked from separate gospels tinctured with Tatianic readings (such as the *Vetus Syra*), could not be determined. Since the Persian Harmony contained significantly more Diatessaronic readings than the *Vetus Syra*,<sup>170</sup> if the composer had worked from separate gospels, then they must have come from a much more primitive stratum of the Syrian textual tradition than the *Vetus Syra*. Baarda wondered if the Persian Harmony—which he believes to be “independent of Tatian's Diatessaron”—might be “the progeny of the harmony written by Elias of Salamis. This would adequately account for the archaic character of this late Persian text.”<sup>171</sup> Baarda's statement that it is “independent” of the Diatessaron must be understood to reference only a *direct* dependence, for he, like all scholars, recognizes that it preserves many genuine Diatessaronic readings. Metzger described its character well when he wrote that

Although this medieval Harmony has no relationship with Tatian's Diatessaron so far as its external framework is concerned, it is by no means worthless as a witness to the original Diatessaron.

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*Origins, Recensions, Text and Transmission*, ed. W.L. Petersen, CJA 3 (Notre Dame [Indiana] 1989), 126–31.

<sup>168</sup> *Diatessaron Persiano* (ed. Messina), pp. xx–xxii.

<sup>169</sup> E.g., B.M. Metzger, “Tatian's Diatessaron and a Persian Harmony of the Gospels,” *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. B.M. Metzger, NTTS 4 (Leiden 1963), 97–120 (originally, under the same title, in *JBL* 69 [1950], 261–80).

<sup>170</sup> By a factor of almost 2-to-1, in one study (cp. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus*, 157).

<sup>171</sup> Tj. Baarda, Tj., “In Search of the Diatessaron Text,” *Early Transmission of the Words of Jesus: Thomas, Tatian and the Text of the New Testament* (Amsterdam 1983), 69 (originally published under the title “Op zoek naar de tekst van het Diatessaron,” in *Vox Theologica* 17 [1963], 107–119).



Its value for the textual criticism of the Gospels lies in the presence of many undoubted Tatianic readings which are embedded within its text. These Tatianisms show a remarkable affinity with similar readings preserved in other Eastern and Western witnesses to the Diatessaron.<sup>172</sup>

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The period examined in this chapter was a tumultuous one. The figure of Anton Baumstark looms large, both as a discoverer of new witnesses, and as an analyst. His pioneering and wide-ranging work has earned him a high place in Diatessaronic studies, but his legacy is tarnished by occasional lapses of candour and methodological weaknesses. Other scholars also introduced new witnesses: Kmosko drew attention to the *Liber Graduum*, and its status was independently confirmed by Rücker; Todesco edited the Venetian Harmony, while Vattasso and Vaccari published the Tuscan recension. The most enigmatic witness brought to light during this era was the Persian Harmony, whose text, although obviously not directly related to the Tatianic tradition, was nevertheless riddled with Diatessaronic readings.

During this period Curt Peters produced the second comprehensive survey of Diatessaronic research. Thematically, the period showed a concern with the extra-canonical element in the Diatessaron, and with the identification of new witnesses, especially those just coming to light: the Manichaean texts are an example. Method became a matter of greater concern for, with more witnesses available, it was apparent that more rigorous criteria were needed to weigh proposed readings. As 1951 drew to a close, Diatessaronic scholars were unaware that a major discovery, a find which would shape debate for the next two decades and beyond, had already taken place. In 1945, the Coptic *Gospel according to Thomas* had been discovered near Nag Hammadi.

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<sup>172</sup> Metzger, "Tatian's Diatessaron and a Persian Harmony," 120.

## CHAPTER SIX

### A HISTORY OF DIATESSARONIC STUDIES AND A DESCRIPTION OF DIATESSARONIC WITNESSES: FROM 1951 TO THE PRESENT

Although major manuscript discoveries are often thought of as a thing of the past, this has not been the case with Diatessaronic studies. They have continued, with the most recent—41 missing folios of Ephrem's *Commentary* in its original Syriac—taking place between 1984 and 1987. Studies also continued, with the most recent monograph on the Diatessaron (by Boismard) appearing in 1992.

Three characteristics of research since 1951 have been, first, the investigation of relationships between the Diatessaron and other early textual traditions, such as that in the *Gospel according to Thomas*; second, the “reinvention of the wheel,” for several positions already well-established—the Diatessaron's relationship to the *Heliand*, for instance, or its use of extra-canonical traditions—were reargued and reestablished; and, third, a growing awareness that more reliable methods for screening evidence were needed.

WALTER HENSS

SAELDEN HORT<sup>1</sup>

THE VITA BEATE VIRGINIS MARIE  
ET SALVATORIS RHYTHMICA<sup>2</sup>

A Germanist by training, Henss' dissertation was titled *Tatians Diatessaron im "Saelden Hort"*.<sup>3</sup> The *Saelden Hort* (“Des Glückes Hort,” or, in contemporary expression, “Geistliches Schatzkästlein”<sup>4</sup>) is an epic poem of 11,304 lines composed about 1300 by an

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<sup>1</sup> Edition: *Der Saelden Hort. Alemannisches Gedicht vom Leben Jesu, Johannes des Täufers und der Magdalena*, ed. H. Adrian, DTM 26 (Berlin 1927). In addition to Henss' study, see also: H. Adrian, *Das alemannische Gedicht von Johannes dem Täufer und Maria Magdalena* (Wiener Pap. Kod. 2841. *Karlsruher Pap. Kod.* 66.) (Strassburg 1908).

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, ed. A. Vögtlin, BLVS 180 (Tübingen 1888).

<sup>3</sup> Marburg 1953.

<sup>4</sup> *Der Saelden Hort* (ed. Adrian), p. vi, n. 1.

unknown author in Alemannic, a Germanic dialect found in the upper reaches of the Rhine valley, centering on Basel, but extending to Sankt Gallen and the Vorarlberg in the East, and Strasbourg and Schwabia in the North.<sup>5</sup> It survives in two codices (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbib., Cod. 2841, late fourteenth cent.; Karlsruhe: Badische Landesbib., Cod. Pap. Germ. 66; sixteenth cent. [?]). Specific features of its diction suggest composition in the vicinity of Strasbourg.<sup>6</sup> Until Adrian's 1927 *editio princeps*,<sup>7</sup> the poem had been known as the "alemannische Magdalenenlegende." Adrian renamed the work because in the first third of the poem (lines 1 to 3,845) the poet "behandelt . . . in der Hauptsache das Leben Johannes des Täufers, wobei er das Leben Jesu, soweit es zeitlich von jenem umfasst wird, ausführlich miterzählt."<sup>8</sup> Given its provenance (Sankt Gallen lies within the same linguistic area; Fulda is a bit to the north) and the genre of this first portion of the work (a harmonized "Life of Jesus"), it was not surprising that in 1953 Henss discovered Diatessaronic readings in its text, presumably from the anonymous composer's acquaintance with other vernacular "Lives of Jesus," which apparently acquired their Diatessaronic readings from contact with the Latin/Old High German/Middle High German harmonies.

Later, Henss reported that an early thirteenth century poem composed in Latin in southern Germany, probably in Bavaria, the *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, contained Diatessaronic readings.<sup>9</sup> He did not, however, investigate it; that task fell to R. van den Broek (see *infra*, 322–324.) Some of the readings in the *Vita Rhythmica*, as this source is commonly known, paralleled some of the readings in *Saelden Hort*, indicating a common source, obviously earlier, and probably in Latin.

In 1967, Henss published a monograph which was significant in several respects. Titled *Das Verhältnis zwischen Diatessaron, christlicher Gnosis und "Western Text"*,<sup>10</sup> it addressed the question of the Diatessaron's relationship to gnosticism, a matter which had become more pressing since the discovery of agreements

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. xiv.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. xxiii (author), xxvi, xxviii (provenance), xxvi (date).

<sup>7</sup> Cited *supra*, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Der Saelden Hort* (ed. Adrian), p. v.

<sup>9</sup> W. Henss, "Zur Quellenfrage in Heliand und ahd. Tatian," *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch* 77 (1954), 1 (reprinted in *Der Heliand*, edd. J. Eichhoff and I. Rauch [Darmstadt 1973], 191).

<sup>10</sup> BZNW 33 (Berlin 1967).

between Diatessaronic witnesses and the *Gospel according to Thomas*, which some called a gnostic gospel.<sup>11</sup> Henss' study also considered the long-standing problem of the relationship between the Diatessaron and the "Western Text" of the gospels. But perhaps its most interesting aspect was its point of departure: J.C. Zahn's 1816 study of Luke 7.42–43.

Recall that Zahn had noted a variant form of Jesus' question to Simon in the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis in Luke 7.42: "Which of the two did he (the creditor!) love more?" Recall that Zahn combined this variant form of the question in the Old High German with the Gothic version's deviating form of the answer, and concluded that Tatian and Ulfilas had known an early version of Luke, the point of whose variant reading had been *which of the two debtors was loved more by the creditor*. (In the canonical account, the question is: *The creditor was loved more by which of the two debtors?*)

The publication of numerous Diatessaronic witnesses since the time of Zahn—particularly the Papyrus Harmony in 1922, and the Persian Harmony in 1951—allowed Henss to see, first of all, if Zahn's hypothesized reading (based half on the reading of the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis, and half on the Gothic version) showed up in other Diatessaronic witnesses, and, if it did, to chart the dissemination of the reading. As it turned out, the reading seemed Diatessaronic: Zahn's acute textual sensitivity had been correct. Henss had no shortage of witnesses to establish the point. Against the *lack* of such variant readings elsewhere in the medieval and canonical traditions, Henss could point to the Papyrus Harmony, which read:

*'Now,' aske ich, 'Wheber loued he most?' 'Jch leue,' quop þe Pharisen, 'þat he forȝaf most.'*<sup>12</sup>

[Jesus asks Simon:] "Now," ask I, "which of the two did he love most?" "I suppose," said the Pharisee, "[him] that he forgave [the] most."

This was *precisely* the question *and the answer* that Zahn had hypothesized 150 years earlier as the text of the Diatessaron. One of the impressive aspects of this reading, indicated in a footnote in

<sup>11</sup> It now seems clear that *some* logia may be gnostic, but others are most certainly *not* gnostic.

<sup>12</sup> *The Papyrus Harmony*, ed. M. Goates, EETS O.S. 157 (London 1922), 32 (lines 30–31).

Goates' edition of the Papyrusian Harmony, is that the reading of the *prima manus*, "hym" ("Wheþer loved hym most": "Which of the two loved him most")—that is, the canonical reading—has been crossed out, and the Diatessaronic "he" written above it. The correction brings the reading into conformity with the Diatessaronic text.

This was not the only evidence from the Papyrusian Harmony which confirmed the variant in Luke 7.42–43; a complementary variant was found in Luke 7.47, part of Jesus' paraenesis. Here, where the canonical account reads "Therefore I tell you, her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much; but he who is forgiven little, loves little," the Papyrusian Harmony reads:

"... *þat many synnes ben hire forziuen. And þerfore ich loue hire mychel; for whi to wham þat most is forziuen, most is loued.*"<sup>13</sup>

"... that many sins are forgiven her. And therefore, I love her more, for he to whom the most is forgiven, is loved most."

Among the other Diatessaronic witnesses, one of the Latin harmonies (Munich Clm. 10 025) had a similar variant in Luke 7.47. While Codex Fuldensis (and the Vulgate) read in 7.47 "*cui autem minus dimittitur, minus diligit*" ("but he who is forgiven little, loves little"), Munich Clm. 10 025 read: "*cui autem minus dimittitur, minus diligitur*" ("but he who is forgiven little, is loved little").<sup>14</sup> This was the mirror image of a variant in one manuscript of Irenaeus' *adv. haer.* III.20.2: "*cui enim plus dimittitur plus diligitur*" ("for he who is forgiven the most, is loved the most").<sup>15</sup> The sentiment which underlies all these variants is also found in *Saelden Hort* (lines 8068–8070).

Among Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses, the Persian Harmony posed Jesus' question (Luke 7.42) as "*A chi ha fatto più bene?*" ("To which has he done the better?"); Simon's answer (7.43) is a conflation of the canonical text and the Diatessaronic: "*Così stimo che colui a cui ha donato più lo amò di più.*" ("Thus I suppose, that the one to whom he gave the most he loved him more.").<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 33 (lines 6–8).

<sup>14</sup> H.J. Vogels, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland*, NTA 8.1 (Münster 1919), 99.

<sup>15</sup> Irénée de Lyon, *Contre les hérésies, Livre III*, ed. F. Sagnard, SC 34 (Paris 1952), 340. The MS is London, British Library, Arundel 87.

<sup>16</sup> *Diatessaron Persiano*, ed. G. Messina, BibOr 14 (Rome 1951), 243, who notes the variants in vv. 42 and 43, but who—apparently unaware of Zahn's work and the other witnesses with the reading—can offer no explanation for it.

According to Henss, this evidence led to two conclusions. First, the reading of the Diatessaron had been correctly discerned by Zahn in 1816; second, because of certain similarities with variants in Codex Bezae (D)<sup>17</sup> and some of its allies, the Diatessaronic variant was somehow linked to the "Western Text."

Henss pointed out that the idea found in the Diatessaronic variant (that the person who is forgiven the most is loved the most) was also found in certain gnostic texts. He cited the *Pistis Sophia* (10.1ff.: Peter tells Mary Magdalena [!]: "Sister, we know that the Redeemer loved you more than the other women. . . . Therefore, he loved you more than us [disciples] . . .") and the *Gospel according to Thomas* (logion 107: the shepherd tells the lost sheep, who is also the "largest" [= the greatest sinner]: "I love you more than ninety-nine.").

With this evidence in hand, Henss ventured what he admitted was nothing more than a hypothesis. He recalled Eusebius' well-known report that Papias "reproduces a story about a woman falsely accused before the Lord of many sins. This is to be found in the Gospel according to the Hebrews,"<sup>18</sup> and pointed to the hypothesis that this "Gospel according to the Hebrews" was a sort of "Proto-Luke."<sup>19</sup> This might be one origin of the variant. Henss also acknowledged that the variant could have arisen within the canonical tradition. Whatever its origins, "Die Gleichnisbelehrung Lc 7.40–43 gab mit der Δ-[ =Diatessaron] Variante auf Lc 7.39 schlagkräftig Antwort."<sup>20</sup>

In evaluating Henss' study, one must remember that he examined only a single pericope. Additional examples would have to be found before the Diatessaron could be proclaimed a gnostic gospel. (In general, gnostic texts seem to have little to do with the Diatessaron.) The connexion noted by Henss between the Diatessaron and the "Western Text" was not a new discovery. Nevertheless, the study is useful as a model for fu-

<sup>17</sup> Bezae, in v. 42, omits αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup>, omits εἰπέ, inverts πλεῖον αὐτόν, and changes the orthography of πλεῖον to πλέον; in v. 47, it omits ὅτι ἡγάπησε πολύ.

<sup>18</sup> τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον (*h.e.* III.39.17).

<sup>19</sup> Henss, *Das Verhältnis*, 55–56; he cites P. Parker, "A Proto-Lukan Basis for the Gospel according to the Hebrews," *JBL* 59 (1940), 471–78. On Proto-Luke, see also B.H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels. A Study of Origins* (London 1924, here cited from the 4th revised impression of 1930), 199–222.

<sup>20</sup> Henss, *Das Verhältnis*, 57. He notes that the utter finality of the Diatessaronic version explains the omissions of vv. 47b and 47c found in many related manuscripts; the additional text only weakens the point made so devastatingly by the Diatessaronic version.

ture research, for his methods—although not articulated—are careful and self-critical. His study is also valuable for drawing attention to an important variant in the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis, noted 150 years earlier by Zahn. Like Zahn, Henss showed how a whole theological universe can lie hidden behind a seemingly innocuous variant in the Diatessaron's text. He confirmed Zahn's brilliant conjecture and demonstrated that sometimes, even when full evidence is lacking (as it was in 1816), the intuitive judgement of a sensitive textual critic can be a reliable guide.

#### JOHANNES RATHOFER (ANTON BAUMSTARK)

In 1939, Curt Peters referred to a "druckfertig vorliegenden Arbeit" of Baumstark on the Old High German Tatian;<sup>21</sup> in 1936 Baumstark himself had spoken of preparation of such a study "in absehbarer Zeit".<sup>22</sup> No such study had appeared, however, when he died in 1948. Eventually a manuscript was found among Baumstark's papers which matched the projected study. Lacking a title and without notes, it was entrusted to Rathofer, a Germanist and *Heliand* specialist, for publication. It appeared in 1964 under the title *Die Vorlage des althochdeutschen Tatian*.<sup>23</sup> After a brief description of the main witnesses and the *status quaestionis*, Baumstark presented about 80 pages of readings from the Old High German Tatian (*i.e.*, the German column of Codex Sangallensis), which he divided into four categories. First were the readings where the German column followed—and sometimes differed from—the Vulgate tradition. Second, there were readings in which the Old High German agreed with the Vetus Latina, but *disagreed* with Codices Fuldensis and the Latin column of Sangallensis. Where these variants agreed with Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses, Baumstark noted the fact. Third, he adduced readings from the Old High German which were not paralleled in *any* of the Latin traditions, but were found in sources such as Ephrem's *Commentary*, the Vetus Syra, and the Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses. Fourth and finally, Baumstark listed "Sonderlesarten" in the Old High

<sup>21</sup> C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, OrChrA 123 (Roma 1939; reprinted 1962), 184.

<sup>22</sup> A. Baumstark, "Die Himmelgartener Bruchstücke eines niederdeutschen 'Diatessaron'-Textes des 13. Jahrhunderts," *OrChr* 33 (= III.11) (1936), 82.

<sup>23</sup> A. Baumstark, *Die Vorlage des althochdeutschen Tatian*, herausgegeben von Johannes Rathofer, NdS 12 (Köln 1964).

German, which, however, had echoes in various Diatessaronic witnesses.

Baumstark's posthumous publication reiterated the point (first made by Schade in 1872<sup>24</sup>) that Sangallensis' Old High German column did not derive directly from either Codex Fuldensis or the Sangallensis' Latin column. There were too many deviations from both of them, and too many singular agreements with Diatessaronic witnesses—agreements *not* found in either of the Latin codices. Among the examples<sup>25</sup> adduced by Baumstark:

(1) At Luke 3.1, the Latin Tatian (Codex Fuldensis and the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis) has "*Galilee*," while the Old High German column of Sangallensis—joined by the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony, the Middle High German MS Munich Cgm. 532, and the Sinaitic Syriac—reads "*in Galilee*."<sup>26</sup>

(2) At Luke 5.2, the Latin Tatian (Codex Fuldensis and the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis) has "*retia*" ("nets"), while the Old High German column of Sangallensis—in agreement with the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony, the Latin MS Munich Clm. 7946, and the Peshitta—reads "*iro nezzi*" ("their nets").<sup>27</sup>

(3) At Luke 3.1, the Latin Tatian (Codex Fuldensis and the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis) has "*Abilinae*," while the Old High German column of Sangallensis reads "*in thero steti thi u Abilina uuas heizzan*" ("in that town which was called Abilene"), agreeing with Syr<sup>s.c</sup> ("*in the land of Abilene*") and perhaps echoed in the Arabic Harmony's "*in Abilene*."<sup>28</sup>

(4) At John 10.29, the Latin Tatian (Codex Fuldensis and the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis) reads "*rapere*" ("to steal") while the Old High German column of Sangallensis—together with the Middle Dutch Liège and The Hague Harmony, and the Arabic Harmony—reads instead "*neman*" ("to take").<sup>29</sup>

On the basis of readings such as these, Baumstark concluded that the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis was a much more important Tatianic witness than the individual readings might lead one to think. If the Old High German's Latin *Vorlage* were ever recovered, Baumstark predicted that it

<sup>24</sup> And reiterated by numerous scholars since: Grein, Th. Zahn, Vogels, Plooi, Baesecke, etc.

<sup>25</sup> See also the examples presented *supra*, 111–112.

<sup>26</sup> Baumstark, *Die Vorlage*, 71.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 71. Baumstark notes that "Ebenso ist wohl auch der blosse Konsonantentext von Ss [= Syr<sup>s</sup>] zu lesen."

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.



would be “weniger durchgreifend vulgatisiert . . . als alle erhaltenen lateinischen T[atian]-Texte.”<sup>30</sup> Rather than being one of the least important Diatessaronic witnesses, the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis was, in Baumstark’s opinion, one of the most important.

As can be seen from the list above, Baumstark’s evidence was of uneven quality: the interpolation of “in” in the first example (Luke 3.1) is a minor feature, whose origin might easily originate outside the Diatessaronic tradition; on the other hand, the interpolation of “in the town/land of Abilene” (the third example, also from Luke 3.1) is longer, more complex, and therefore more trustworthy as evidence: it is less likely to have arisen spontaneously in such a wide array of sources.

Baumstark’s tendency to cite the most subtle changes in grammar or syntax as evidence of Diatessaronic influence has been noted before, and he is guilty of the same sins here. Much of the evidence is feeble; as one expert remarked to me privately, he “overplayed his hand.” This justified criticism raises an important question, namely: How much evidence should be presented? Should one present a complete collation, adducing every possible Diatessaronic parallel? Doing so aids future scholarship by providing as complete a picture of the text as possible. It also prevents critics from charging that less-compelling evidence (which might suggest another explanation) has been suppressed (recall that Jülicher made this charge against Plooi). On the other hand, presenting a complete collation opens the door to another charge from critics, who—depending upon their disposition—may focus on the weak readings, dismiss them, and ignore the stronger readings which lie buried in the mass of collations.

Regardless of its flaws, Baumstark’s study was the most detailed examination until that time of the Old High German tradition, and—despite the many “weak” readings—the strong readings reinforced the work of earlier scholars: the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis had not been mechanically translated from either Codex Fuldensis or its neighbouring Latin column in Codex Sangallensis; rather, it had links with a lost “Old Latin” Diatessaronic tradition. The publication of this study in 1964 was serendipitous, for it assisted Gilles Quispel in a battle already joined concerning the *Gospel according to Thomas*, the Diatessaron, and the Old Saxon *Heliand*.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 99.

GILLES QUISPTEL

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THOMAS

THE HELIAND, AGAIN AT ISSUE

When the *Gospel according to Thomas* was discovered in 1945, it had no apparent relevance to Diatessaronic studies. Then, in 1957 (two years before the appearance of the *editio princeps*), Quispel, professor of Early Church History at Utrecht, published a study which paralleled variant readings in the *Gospel according to Thomas* with readings from Diatessaronic witnesses.<sup>31</sup> Among the readings adduced were the following:

(1) Logion 44 of *Thomas* reads: "He that shall blaspheme against the Father, it shall be forgiven him." The canonical text at Matt 12.32 reads: καὶ ὃς ἐὰν εἴπῃ λόγον κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ ("And if any man speaks a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him"). The *Thomas* reading is paralleled in the Tuscan Harmony ("*Chiunque dirà parola contra 'l Padre, gli sarà perdonato*").<sup>32</sup>

Quispel comments, "It seems reasonable to suppose that by some channel or another the wording of this Logion has influenced the Italian text."<sup>33</sup>

(2) Logion 47 speaks of sewing an "old patch on a new garment." This same order is found in the Persian Harmony: "*non il vecchio sul nuovo [vestimento]*."<sup>34</sup> The canonical parallel at Luke 5.36–37 gives the order as "new patch" on an "old garment."

Once again, the evidence pointed to a connexion with the Diatessaronic tradition.

(3) Logion 9 reproduces the Parable of the Sower, but speaks of the seed falling "on the road," rather than the canonical "beside

<sup>31</sup> G. Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," *VigChr* 11 (1957), 189–207 (= *Gnostic Studies*, II, 3–16).

<sup>32</sup> *Il Diatessaron Toscano*, edd. M. Vattasso and A. Vaccari, Pt. 2 of V. Todesco, et al., *Il Diatessaron in Volgare Italiano*, StT 81 (Città del Vaticano 1938), 244. It is also found in the commentary interleaved with the text of the Venetian Harmony ("*peccato contra lo Pare*") where, however, it is difficult to know if it should be taken as a gospel citation (*Il Diatessaron Veneto*, ed. V. Todesco, Pt. I of V. Todesco, et al., *Il Diatessaron in Volgare Italiano*, StT 81 [Città del Vaticano 1938], 59).

<sup>33</sup> Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," 192 (= *Gnostic Studies*, II, 5).

<sup>34</sup> *Diatessaron Persiano*, ed. G. Messina, BibOr 14 (Rome 1951), 56.

(παρά) the road" (Mark 4.4, par.). This Quispel compared with Justin's reading εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ("in the road"; *Dial.* 125.1).<sup>35</sup> Wellhausen<sup>36</sup> had noted that instead of the canonical text's παρά, one would expect εἰς, the reading which now cropped up in *Thomas*. Similarly, long before *Thomas*' reading was known, Matthew Black had suggested that the canonical reading was a misunderstanding of an underlying Aramaic preposition, ܠܐ, which could be translated as "by," "beside," or "on."<sup>37</sup> The reading of *Thomas* is found—among Diatessaronic witnesses or Syriac sources—in Ephrem's *Commentary*, the Arabic Harmony, and the Syriac Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* (III.14.7). (It is also found in some canonical manuscripts; see *infra*, 366.)

(4) A reading already mentioned in connexion with Titus of Bostra, the interpolation of "in the good seed" after "sowed weeds" at Matt 13.25, which also occurred in the Liège Harmony, was now found in the *Gospel according to Thomas* (logion 57) too.<sup>38</sup>

Parallels such as these led Quispel to conclude that *Thomas* somehow shared a textual tradition with the Diatessaron. But what tradition, and how had they come to share it?

Quispel's solution was not based solely on parallels between the Diatessaronic witnesses and *Thomas*. Rather, it lay at the intersection of four separate lines of inquiry. The first of these was the discovery that some *Thomas* logia were paralleled in the Pseudo-Clementines, whose connexion with Judaic-Christianity was a fact.<sup>39</sup> In addition to the preceding reading ("on the road"), which is also found in the Pseudo-Clementines, Quispel adduced other parallels with the Syriac Pseudo-Clementines, including the following from Matt 10.34 (par.):<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," 201–02 (= *Gnostic Studies*, II, 12). Later (see *infra*, 281), Quispel would adduce other parallels for this variant, including the Tuscan Harmony ("*alla via*"), the *Heliand* ("*an êna starca strârun*"), Zacharias Chrysopolitanus ("*super viam*"), the Arabic Harmony ("*sur le haut du chemin*"), the Georgian Version (Opiza and Tbet' MSS), and the Pseudo-Clementines; see G. Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas* (Leiden 1975), 176.

<sup>36</sup> J. Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci* (Berlin 1903), 31: "Man erwartet auf den Weg, nicht neben den Weg."

<sup>37</sup> M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford 1946), 120 (in the later edition of 1967<sup>3</sup>, p. 162), who cites Torrey.

<sup>38</sup> See *supra*, 228–229.

<sup>39</sup> On the Pseudo-Clementines, see G. Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen*, TU 70 (Berlin 1981<sup>2</sup>), and J. Irmscher and G. Strecker, "Die Pseudoklementinen," in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, II, Apostolisches Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*, ed. W. Schneemelcher (Tübingen 1989<sup>5</sup>), 439–47.

<sup>40</sup> G. Quispel, "L'Évangile selon Thomas et les Clémentines," *VigChr* 12 (1958), 189 (= *Gnostic Studies* II, 24).

<sup>43</sup> R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, ed. J. Payne Smith (Oxford 1903; photomechanical reprint 1957), 156 s.v. Tj. Baarda suggested to me that another explanation might be that the ambiguous ܪܬܡ was miscopied as ܪܬܡ ("war, fighting").

*Gospel according to Thomas*, log. 39:

Jesus said, 'The pharisees and the scribes have taken the keys<sup>44</sup> of knowledge and hidden them. They themselves have not entered, nor have they allowed to enter those who wish to. . . .'

The Syriac Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* also speak of the "hiding" of the key(s):

*Recognitiones*, I.54.6–7:

ܠܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ  
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ  
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

"The scribes, however, and the Pharisees, who were baptized by John, were thus persuaded that they hid the word of that truth that is like [or: in the likeness of] the key of the kingdom of heaven which they had received through Moses."

"Have hidden" is read for the canonical "have taken away" in Greek canonical MS D, seven Vetus Latina MSS (*a b c d e q r*<sup>2</sup>), Syr<sup>s.c</sup>, Ephrem's *Commentary*, and the Arabic Harmony. Thirteen<sup>46</sup> such parallels led Quispel to conclude that *Thomas* and the Judaic-Christian Pseudo-Clementines shared a textual tradition.

Quispel's second line of reasoning has already been presented in these parallels with the Pseudo-Clementines, namely, that some of the differences between the *Thomas* tradition and the canonical tradition can be explained by presuming dependence upon an Aramaic document. The canonical text had rendered ܥܠ and ܠܬܐ one way, while the tradition to which *Thomas*, the Pseudo-Clementines, and the Diatessaron were privy had rendered the ambiguous words differently.

The third line of evidence lay in *Thomas*' quotation of a passage not found in any canonical text, but found (according to Clement of Alexandria, who reproduces the citation twice) in the Judaic-Christian *Gospel according to the Hebrews*:

<sup>44</sup> *Thomas*' reading "keys" (plural) is also found in: Justin, Vetus Latina MS *q*, Syr<sup>s.c.p</sup>, Aphrahat, Ephrem's *Commentary*, and the Persian and Arabic Harmonies.

<sup>45</sup> W. Frankenberg, *Die syrischen Clementinen*, 60.

<sup>46</sup> G. Quispel, "L'Évangile selon Thomas et les Clémentines," 181–196 (= *Gnostic Studies* II, 17–29); some are convincing, while others are dubious.

Clement, *Strom.* II.9.45:

κἂν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίῳ ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει  
γέγραπται καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαύσεται.<sup>47</sup>

"And also in the Gospel according to the Hebrews is written: 'The one who was amazed will become king, and the one who became king will rest.'"

Clement, *Strom.* V.14.96:

οὐ παύσεται ὁ ζητῶν ἕως ἂν εὕρῃ· εὐρών δὲ θαμβηθήσεται·  
θαμβηθεὶς δὲ βασιλεύσει· βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐπαναπαύσεται.

"The one seeking will not rest until he finds, and the one who has found will be amazed; and the amazed will be king, and the one who became king will rest."

*Thomas*, log. 2:

Jesus said: "Let him who seeks continue seeking until he finds. When he finds, he will become troubled. When he becomes troubled, he will be astonished, and he will rule over the all."

This citation proves that *Thomas* used extra-canonical material. As to the nature of that extra-canonical material, this citation is from a Judaic-Christian gospel; recall also that both Jerome and Epiphanius describe (a) certain "Hebrew gospel(s)" used by Judaic-Christians as written "in Hebrew letters" (Jerome: *Ep. ad Hedibiam* [CXX] 8.1; *de vir. inl.* III) or "in the Chaldaic and Syriac language, but with Hebrew letters" (Jerome: *adv. Pelag.* III.2) or "in Hebrew and with Hebrew letters" (Epiphanius, *haer.* 30.3.7).<sup>48</sup>

The fourth line of evidence was the discovery of parallels between the *Gospel according to Thomas* and Manichaean texts. An example is *Thomas*, logion 5, cited here from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri:

*Thomas*, log. 5 (P. Oxy. 654, 27–31):

λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· γ[γῶθι τὸ |ἐμπροσ]  
θεν τῆς |δυσσεως σου, καὶ [τὸ κεκαλυμμένον]  
ἀπὸ σου ἀποκαλυφ(θ)ήσεται[αί|σοι· οὐ γὰρ ἐσ]

<sup>47</sup> Clemens Alexandrinus, *II, Stromata Buch I–IV*, edd. O. Stählin and L. Früchtel, GCS 15 (Berlin 1960<sup>3</sup>), 137.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *supra*, 39–41.

τιν κρυπτόν δ οὐ φανε[ρόν γενήσεται]  
καὶ θεθαμμένον δ ο[ὐκ ἐγερθήσεται].<sup>49</sup>

"Jesus said, 'Recognize what is in your sight, and that which is hidden from you will become plain to you. For there is nothing hidden which will not become manifest and buried which will not be raised.'"

*Kephalaia* LXV, 11. 28–29:

"Erkennet, was vor eurem Angesicht ist, und das euch Verborgene wird euch offenbar [werden]."<sup>50</sup>

A connexion between a "*Gospel according to Thomas*" (it is not always clear whether this is the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* or our collection of logia) and the Manichaeans is made explicit by various Patristic writers, who state that the Manichaeans used a *Gospel according to Thomas*.<sup>51</sup>

With this evidence in hand, Quispel sought a point where the lines intersected. It seemed that some of the variant readings (the sower's seed falling "on/beside" the road; Jesus came to bring "war/a sword") could be explained by assuming dependence upon an Aramaic text out of which ambiguous words were translated in one way by one branch of the tradition (= the canonical text), and in another way by the other branch (= the version of *Thomas* and Tatian). *Thomas'* quotation of a saying of Jesus attributed by Clement of Alexandria to the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (along with *Thomas'* citation of certain passages—some extra-canonical—in the same form as the Naassenes<sup>52</sup>) made it certain that *Thomas* had used sources other

<sup>49</sup> The *editio princeps* is: *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part IV*, edd. B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt (London 1904), 1–22. Reconstruction of its text has been aided by the discovery of the *Gospel of Thomas*; cp. *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2–7, together with XIII.2\**, *Brit. Lib. Or. 4926(1)*, and *P. Oxy. 1, 654, 655*, ed. B. Layton, NHS 20.1 (Leiden 1989), 115.

<sup>50</sup> *Kephalaia*, appearing in the series *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Band I, Parts 1–12, edd. C. Schmidt, H.J. Polotsky, and A. Böhlig (from Part 9-, Böhlig only) (Parts 1–10: Stuttgart 1935–39; Parts 11–12: Berlin/Köln/Mainz 1966); here, Parts 9–10, p. 163.

<sup>51</sup> So, e.g., Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis* IV.36 (Migne PG 33, 500); *ibid.*, VI.31 (Migne PG 33, 593); the *Decretum Gelasianum* (ed. E. von Dobschütz, TU 38.4 [Leipzig 1912], 11); for additional references, see *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2–7* (ed. Layton), NHS 20.1, 105–09.

<sup>52</sup> See E.M.J.M. Cornélis, "Quelques éléments pour une comparaison entre l'Évangile de Thomas et la notice d'Hippolyte sur les Naassènes," *VigChr* 15 (1961), 83–104. Also J.-É. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Thomas*, NHS 5 (Leiden 1975), esp. 25–27 ("Comparaison avec la manière de citer des Naassènes").

than the canonical gospels; in other words, *Thomas* had access to a collection of Jesus' sayings which was "independent" or "free" from the canonical tradition. The facts that one saying was apparently drawn from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (log. 2) and others found parallels in Judaic-Christian texts suggested that the character of at least one of the extra-canonical traditions *Thomas* drew upon was Judaic-Christian. That one of the logia in *Thomas* apparently came from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*—which Jerome may have known in a Hebrew-script edition—reinforced a conclusion Quispel had first reached on the basis of the apparent alternative translations: an Aramaic document lay behind part of *Thomas*. The finding of parallels between *Thomas* and Manichaean documents was best explained, said Quispel, by a Diatessaron (he cited the conclusions of de Beausobre, Polotsky, and Baumstark, all of whom found for Manichaean use of a Diatessaron; he ignored, however, Patristic reports that the Manichaeans had used a [our?] *Gospel according to Thomas*<sup>53</sup>). The character of *Thomas*' text—which generally lacks the type of harmonizations one finds in the Diatessaron—seemed to preclude *Thomas*' dependence upon a Diatessaron. On the other hand, the Diatessaron did not seem to be dependent upon *Thomas*, for none of *Thomas*' numerous and distinctive logia were found in the Diatessaron. Nevertheless, the common variants in *Thomas* and the Diatessaron were (generally speaking; but see *infra*, p. 280f.) not part of the canonical text; therefore neither *Thomas* nor the Diatessaron could have acquired them from the canonical tradition. By contrast, it was known that both *Thomas* and the Diatessaron were dependent upon extra-canonical traditions. Here, then, lay the avenue by which Tatian and *Thomas* had acquired the same variant readings.

Quispel used his evidence to assemble a profile of the document common to both *Thomas* and the Diatessaron: it was a Judaic-Christian gospel (perhaps the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*), written in Aramaic, whose readings stood in the Diatessaron. The lines of evidence converged in Tatian's "fifth source," which matched the profile exactly: it was a Judaic-Christian gospel—according to Epiphanius, written in Hebrew—which gave the Diatessaron the "light" at Jesus' baptism, and other extra-canonical material. Quispel concluded that "Tatian

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<sup>53</sup> See *supra*, n. 51.



must have known the Jewish-Christian Gospel tradition as transmitted by the Gospel of Thomas";<sup>54</sup> more specifically, either the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* or the *Gospel according to the Ebionites*<sup>55</sup> was the source from which both *Thomas* and the Diatessaron had acquired these traditions. A consequence of this was that wherever the Diatessaron's text was disseminated (in China in Manichaean texts, or in England in the Papyrus Harmony), agreements with *Thomas* might also be found. It is important to note, however, that Quispel did *not* assign all of *Thomas*' logia to this Judaic-Christian source. On the contrary, he argued that "... one thing is certain: not all of the roughly 114 sayings contained in [*Thomas*] have the same origin, not all of them are taken from the Gospel tradition of the Jewish-Christians."<sup>56</sup>

Between 1958 and 1964 Quispel published a series of articles detailing the links between *Thomas* and, variously, the Pseudo-Clementines,<sup>57</sup> the Diatessaron,<sup>58</sup> the "Western Text" of the New Testament,<sup>59</sup> and the Old Saxon *Heliand*.<sup>60</sup> In these, he developed his thesis that *Thomas* had made use of an extra-canonical, Judaic-Christian gospel tradition. According to Quispel, this was the same channel through which extra-canonical material (the "light" at the baptism, for example) had entered

<sup>54</sup> G. Quispel, "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," *NTS* 5 (1958/59), 286.

<sup>55</sup> Quispel was uncertain as to precisely which Judaic-Christian gospel had been used: sometimes he spoke of dependence upon the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" (for example, in his "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," 195-96, 198-200 [= *Gnostic Studies*, II, 8, 10-11]), while at other points he identified the source as the "Gospel of the Ebionites" (in his "L'Évangile selon Thomas et les Clémentines," *VigChr* 12 [1958], 194-95 [= *Gnostic Studies* II, 28]). This confusion is understandable, given the confused designations and assignments of the fragments (see *supra*, 40-41). Quispel's definitive statement on *Thomas*' sources is in his "The Gospel of Thomas Revisited," *Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi*, section "Études" (Colloque international sur les textes de Nag Hammadi), ed. B. Barc (Québec/Louvain 1981), 218-66.

<sup>56</sup> Quispel, "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," 282.

<sup>57</sup> G. Quispel, "L'Évangile selon Thomas et les Clémentines," *VigChr* 12 (1958), 181-196 (= *Gnostic Studies* II, 17-29).

<sup>58</sup> G. Quispel, "L'Évangile selon Thomas et le Diatessaron," *VigChr* 13 (1959), 87-117 (= *Gnostic Studies* II, 31-55).

<sup>59</sup> G. Quispel, "L'Évangile selon Thomas et le 'Texte Occidental' du Nouveau Testament," *VigChr* 14 (1960), 204-215; idem., "The Gospel of Thomas and the Western Text: A Reappraisal," in his *Gnostic Studies* II, 56-69.

<sup>60</sup> G. Quispel, "Der Heliand und das Thomasevangelium," *VigChr* 16 (1962), 121-153 (= *Gnostic Studies* II, 70-97).

the Diatessaron. The idea that Tatian had used such a source was certainly not a new position; it had been suggested by Grotius in 1641, and had enjoyed continuous support since.<sup>61</sup> However, Quispel's claim that this Judaic-Christian gospel tradition was in Aramaic and sometimes preserved the words of Jesus in a more primitive form than the canonical tradition provoked a strong reaction (see below, under "Critics of Quispel" [281–300]).

Another controversial aspect of Quispel's research was his discovery that *Thomas* shared readings with the *Heliand*. The connexion between the Diatessaron and the *Heliand* had been known since Schmeller first edited the Old Saxon poem in 1830–40; since then it had been confirmed by Windisch, Grein, and others.<sup>62</sup> Therefore, if *Thomas* shared a *Vorlage* with the Diatessaron, then it would be only natural to expect that *Thomas* might have some variants in common with the *Heliand*. Quispel presented his evidence in two tranches. The first consisted of readings in which the *Heliand* was paralleled *only* by Diatessaronic witnesses.<sup>63</sup> Collectively, these readings established to Quispel's satisfaction (1) the independence of the *Heliand* from Codex Fuldensis and the canonical manuscript tradition at these points, and (2) the dependence of the *Heliand* upon the Diatessaronic tradition at these same points. Quispel then proceeded to adduce parallels between the newly-discovered *Gospel according to Thomas*, the *Heliand*, and the Diatessaron. Among them were the following:

- (1) *Thomas*, log. 9 (Matt 13.3–8; Mark 4.3–8; Luke 8.5–8), mentions that some of the seed "fell on the rock and did not strike root in the earth and did not produce ears" (= Matt 13.5, Mark 4.5, and Luke 8.6). No canonical text contains "strike root in the earth." The *Heliand*, however, in lines 2391–92, reads that the seed "... *erðon ni habda, that it thar mahti uuahsan eftha wurteo gifāhan*" ("... did not have earth, that it there might grow or set root"). This Quispel compared with the reading of the Liège Harmony (89): "*sine wortele nit geplanten en conste omme ghebreke van goeder erden*" ("it could not plant its roots for lack of good earth"). The reading is not due to the forward migration of Matt 13.6 in the Liège Harmony, for that verse follows immediately.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> See *infra*, 440.

<sup>62</sup> See *supra*, 106, 107, 107–110.

<sup>63</sup> "Der Heliand und das Thomasevangelium," 121–153 (= *Gnostic Studies* II, 70–97).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 147 (= *Gnostic Studies*, II, 93–94).

(2) With *Thomas*, log. 9 (= Matt 13.4, Mark 4.3, Luke 8.5), the *Heliand* (line 2399) also states that the sower cast his seed "an êna starca strâtun" ("on a hard street"), with the Tuscan Harmony, Zacharias Chrysopolitanus' *Commentary*, Vetus Latina MSS *e d*, and Justin Martyr in the West, and Syr<sup>c</sup>, the Arabic Harmony, the Pseudo-Clementines, and the Opiza and Tbet<sup>c</sup> codices of the Georgian version of the gospels in the East (the reading, however, is also in a number of Greek gospel manuscripts; see *infra*, 366).<sup>65</sup>

(3) *Thomas*, log. 45, says that "an evil man brings forth evil things out of his evil treasure, which is in his heart, and speaks evil things." The canonical parallel (at Matt 12.35) lacks the reference to "in his heart" in connexion with the "evil man." Yet *Thomas*' reading crops up in the *Heliand*, lines 1755–58: "and from the evil man evil plans,/ bitter speech, as he keeps in his breast,/ cherishes in his heart ("umbi is herte")": always his mind/ announces his will with his words."<sup>66</sup>

Like Grein, Windisch, and others, Quispel's evidence pointed to the dependence of the *Heliand* upon the Diatessaron, specifically a Diatessaron which deviated from Codex Fuldensis. But his evidence also—for the first time—linked readings in the *Heliand* with the extra-canonical gospel tradition. This did not sit well with Germanists, who were not accustomed to having readings in the Old Saxon *Heliand*—one of the oldest, most revered jewels in the crown of Germanic literature—traced back to Aramaic, Judaic-Christian extra-canonical gospels.

#### CRITICS OF QUISPEL:

WILLY KROGMANN

CEBUS CORNELUS DE BRUIN

BONIFATIUS FISCHER

JACQUES-É. MÉNARD

TJITZE BAARDA

Reactions to Quispel's numerous studies and vigorous presentation were equally numerous and vigorous. In retrospect, this

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 146–47 (= *Gnostic Studies* II, 92–93). See also his *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, 176. Cp. the discussion in J. fon Weringha, *Heliand and Diatessaron*, SG 5 (Assen 1965), 97–99.

<sup>66</sup> Quispel, "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," 286. See also the discussion in J. fon Weringha, *Heliand and Diatessaron*, 95–97.

is surprising, for most of his positions were extensions of what had been deduced by earlier scholars. Quispel emphasized the extra-canonical, Judaic-Christian character of the "fifth source" used by Tatian—and now, apparently, by the author of the *Gospel according to Thomas* as well; but evidence for Tatian's use of such a source had first been adduced in 1641 by Grotius and then in the 1920s and '30s by Plooij (whom Quispel saluted for his insight), Phillips, Baumstark, and Peters. Quispel emphasized the dependence of the *Heliand* upon an unvulgarized, Old Latin Diatessaron, whose text deviated from that of Codex Fuldensis; but this had first been noted in 1869 by Grein, who had suggested that the Diatessaron used by the composer of the *Heliand* was more akin to Codex Cassellanus than Codex Fuldensis. Quispel argued that the ultimate source of most of the deviating readings in the non-Fuldensis harmonies had been an unvulgarized, Old Latin harmony. He also emphasized the deviating, "wild" textual complexion of the original Diatessaron's text—both Eastern and Western. But the existence of a deviating Old Latin harmony in the West was implicit in Grein's work (1869), and was explicitly suggested by Th. Zahn (1881). Textual evidence for such a harmony had been available since the time of Schade (1872), who had noted the Old Latin variants in the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis; the work of Vogels, Plooij, and Baumstark confirmed the existence of such a harmony; Plooij and Baumstark stressed the deviating nature of its text.

Quispel's work—which certainly had its own shortcomings (see *infra*, 331–333)—touched several raw nerves and became a lightening rod for a wide range of issues. Critics' reactions fell into four broad categories. The pious were appalled by Quispel's assertion that an extra-canonical, Judaic-Christian gospel might preserve some of the sayings of Jesus in a more ancient form than the canonical gospels. For them, all of *Thomas* had to be dependent upon the canonical gospels, which had to be our best and oldest source of Jesus' sayings. Such theological objections are irrelevant in scholarship, and need no response.<sup>67</sup> There were three sets of serious critics. First, there

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<sup>67</sup> It should be noted, however, that those who harbour theological objections, aware that their concerns will not be heard in the academy, often cloak them in the guise of objections which can legitimately claim scholarly attention. Quispel remarked more than once on the fact that Roman Catholics, who prized *traditio* and *scriptura* equally, were often more receptive of his ideas

were those who denounced his use of the Western witnesses to the Diatessaron. Their arguments were identical with those Sievers had lodged against Schade's work almost half a century earlier, and, to some degree, anticipated Rathofer's findings (see *infra*, 301–309). A second group of opponents were Germanists, who rejected Quispel's claim that the *Heliand* contained readings from an extra-canonical, Aramaic gospel. A third group of dissenters objected to one or another aspect of Quispel's proposal that the common source used by *Thomas* and Tatian had been an extra-canonical Judaic-Christian gospel composed in Aramaic. What proof was there that the variant readings in *Thomas* and the Diatessaron came from an extra-canonical source? Might they not stem from a deviating canonical tradition rather than an extra-canonical tradition? If such a source existed, then what proof was there that it was in Aramaic? Or might the Diatessaron depend directly upon *Thomas*? Or *Thomas* upon the Diatessaron? Each of these three groups of critics will now be examined in turn.

The critics who objected to the use of the Western Diatessaronic witnesses were of two sorts. First, there were those who, unfamiliar with the history of Diatessaronic research, were suspicious of the use of different sources in each reading to establish the Diatessaron's text.<sup>68</sup> Such an objection is, however, more a tribute to the erudition of the Diatessaronic expert than a criticism, for educating the critic will resolve the matter. The other variety were those who knew *a portion* of the Diatessaronic tradition well, but, for one reason or another, objected to linking that tradition to the whole. Bonifatius Fischer, Director of the Vetus Latina Institut at the Abbey at Beuron (Germany), was one such critic. He argued that the so-called "Tatianisms" in the Latin and Western vernacular harmonies did not stem from the Diatessaron, but from medieval exegetical and homiletical traditions:

Bei der Weiterverbreitung des lateinischen Diatessaron des Victor und bei etwaigen weiteren Umsetzungen in Volkssprachen waren stets zusätzlich Angleichungen an lokale Evangelientexte möglich, die nie

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than Protestants, for whom the canon and text of the New Testament were the sole point of reference and *summa* of their faith.

<sup>68</sup> Cp. B. Metzger, review of G. Quispel's *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, in *JThS* N.S. 27 (1976): "In the face of such diversity of texts it is not surprising that scholars differ in the estimate of the relationships of the documents among themselves and to Tatian's Diatessaron" (480).

und nirgends reine Vulgata boten, sondern immer eine mehr oder weniger grosse Anzahl von altlateinischen Lesarten enthielten; auch wenn diese harmonistisch sind, stellen sie deswegen noch keine Tatianismen dar. Ausserdem können exegetische und homiletische Traditionen und Absichten eingewirkt haben, die ihrem Wesen entsprechend meistens Parallelstellen berücksichtigen. Solange wir nicht sehr viel mehr wissen über die mittelalterliche Textgeschichte der Vulgata und sehr viel mehr Material zur Verfügung haben als bisher, fehlen uns einfach die notwendigen Grundlagen, um wissenschaftlich über ein etwaiges Nachleben eines altlateinischen Diatessarons, unabhängig vom Codex Fuldensis des Victor und von der kontaminierten Vulgata-Überlieferung, diskutieren zu können. Immer ist auch im Auge zu behalten, dass es all diese Jahrhunderte hindurch noch weitere Harmonistik gab, die nicht auf Tatian beruhte.<sup>69</sup>

He continued: "Daraus ergeben sich schwerste Bedenken gegen die Art und Weise, wie vor allem das Lütticher [Liège] Diatessaron gewöhnlich benützt wird." Fischer then named Plooij as an example of someone who had abused the Liège Harmony.<sup>70</sup>

Fischer's argument, which was purely rhetorical, received partial independent confirmation—supported by textual evidence—in the researches of J. Rathofer who, in 1973, reversed his earlier endorsement of Baumstark's *Die Vorlage des althochdeutschen Tatian* (see *infra*, 301–309). But note that while Fischer admits the medieval harmonies' dependence upon Codex Fuldensis, and Codex Fuldensis' relationship to the Diatessaron—including the Eastern witnesses, such as the Arabic Harmony—he would *deny* that *readings* came with this dependence. This is a very strange position, for where there is formal dependence (which Fischer admits), there is almost certainly textual dependence as well. Fischer offers no explanation for the numerous agreements between the Western and Eastern harmonies, such as the fact that despite Fuldensis' offering the standard Vulgate text, the Liège Harmony, the Stuttgart Harmony, the Tuscan Harmony, the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis (but not the Latin column, *N.B.!*), the *Heliand*, Ephrem's *Commentary*, and the Persian Harmony—and *only these sources*—all interpolate the word "first" ("the first male") at Lk. 2.23. Apparently one is to presume that this interpolation

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<sup>69</sup> B. Fischer, "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache," *Die alten Übersetzungen des neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland, ANTT 5 (Berlin 1972), 47–48.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48, n. 158.

is the result of chance and free-floating medieval exegetical traditions. Yet it is odd how, time and again, out of the thousands of canonical and Patristic sources which lay open to "chance" and "medieval exegetical traditions," they affected only a handful of texts, all (or almost all) of them Diatessaronic witnesses. Of course, Fischer has not explained how these presumably Western "medieval exegetical traditions" occur in the Syriac text of Ephrem, who wrote in the fourth century, or in the Persian Harmony. In short, Fischer's unsubstantiated speculations cannot account for this curious circumstance.

An objection similar to Fischer's came from C.C. de Bruin, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Leiden. He had first studied the Diatessaron 1934 when writing his dissertation, titled *Middel nederlandse Vertalingen van het Nieuwe Testament* (*Middle Dutch Translations of the New Testament*).<sup>71</sup> It is the definitive study of the *philological* evolution of the Middle Dutch Harmonies. But if one is interested in the *textual* complexion of the Middle Dutch Harmonies, then one is better served by Plooi, Baumstark, or Quispel. De Bruin's expertise lay with the Middle Dutch tradition; in his dissertation he acknowledges dependence upon Plooi for his treatment of the other Diatessaronic traditions, even those in the West.

Given that his expertise was confined to the Middle Dutch Diatessaronic tradition, it was odd when towards the end of his life De Bruin criticized the work of Plooi and Quispel in lectures. After his death in 1988, it was discovered that De Bruin had apparently destroyed the texts of almost all these lectures;<sup>72</sup> other than the few which had been published, none were found among his papers.<sup>73</sup> De Bruin's most concise printed statement survives in a small volume published about a decade before his

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<sup>71</sup> Groningen 1934.

<sup>72</sup> One of these lectures was delivered to the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences. Although all such lectures are normally published in the Academy's *Abhandlungen*, De Bruin's has not—an extraordinary circumstance.

<sup>73</sup> One which was printed, "Woorden voor het Onzegbare" (Leiden 1976), was De Bruin's *Afscheidscollege*, delivered upon his retirement from the Chair of Ecclesiastical History at the Rijksuniversiteit Leiden. It is traditional to publish such lectures. In this farewell address, De Bruin termed the hypothesis of Plooi and others that the Diatessaron and the Middle Dutch "Lives of Jesus" (the Liège Harmony and its allies) were related "a mistake" (37). He granted that the composer of the Liège Harmony knew Codex Fuldensis, but argued that, as he states in the manuscript's preface, the Middle Dutch composer worked from scratch, using the Vetus Latina, the Vulgate, vernacular gospel traditions, and incorporated medieval glosses and patristic exegetical traditions.

death for the popular religious market. It is—of all things!—an “updated” gospel harmony in which he arranged the text of the modern Dutch translation of the gospels in the sequence of the Liège Harmony, creating, in essence, a “translation” of the Liège Harmony from medieval into modern Dutch. In a brief postscript on the subject of gospel harmonies, he wrote:

There is only a thin thread which connects it [the Liège Harmony] with the primitive [*i.e.*, second-century] Diatessaron. The thread is the external structure of the story, nothing more. . . . The appellation “Diatessaron” which has been applied to the Dutch *Life of Jesus* [*i.e.*, to the Liège Harmony and its allied manuscripts: Stuttgart, Cambridge, etc.], must therefore serve as a generic name, signifying a narrative which is composed from four others. It cannot serve as the proper name [of the Liège Harmony], as if the Dutch gospel harmony was a representative of a *Vita Christi* from the second century.<sup>74</sup>

In lectures De Bruin championed the *Glossa Ordinaria* as the source of many of the readings Plooij and Quispel took as evidence that the Middle Dutch Harmonies were related to and dependent upon the second-century Diatessaron.<sup>75</sup> Given the vast amount of work invested by Vogels, Plooij, Baumstark, Leloir, Quispel, and others in seeking textual evidence to support their positions, one might suppose that De Bruin would have invested equivalent energy in finding readings to substantiate his assertions, but he did not. His failure to do so left col-

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<sup>74</sup> C.C. de Bruin, *Jezus: het verhaal van zijn leven* ('s- Gravenhage 1980), 204: “Er is slechts een dunne draad die het verbindt met het oer-Diatessaron. Die draad is de uitwendige structuur van het verhaal, meer niet. . . . De benaming diatessaron die op het nederlandse Jezusleven wordt toegepast, moest daarom als soortnaam dienen, met de betekenis van een verhaal dat uit vier andere is samengevlochten; zij kan niet dienst doen als eigennaam, als zou de nederlandse evangeliënharmonie een representant zijn van een *Vita Christi* uit de tweede eeuw. . . .”

<sup>75</sup> De Bruin appears unaware of the monograph by E. Schröter, *Walahfrids deutsche Glossierung zu den biblischen Büchern Genesis bis Regum II und der althochdeutsche Tatian* (dissertation, Halle; Halle 1926; reprinted: Walluf [bei Wiesbaden] 1973), which suggests Codex Sangallensis' Old High German column was translated by Walafrid Strabo (see *supra*, 87), to whom the *Glossa ordinaria* have incorrectly been attributed. Although Schröter's work does not directly support De Bruin's hypothesis, it suggests a non-Diatessaronic avenue by which these deviating readings entered the tradition. The arguments against even this position are given below: whether the deviating readings in the vernacular harmonies come from the *Glossa*, or from Walafrid, or from “free-floating” medieval exegetical traditions, the congruity of these traditions with variants in the Diatessaron suggests that the *ultimate* source of the variant lies in a Diatessaron.



leagues puzzled: If the *Glossa Ordinaria* and other medieval exegetical traditions were the source of readings in the Western harmonies which find their only other parallel in the Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses, then why did De Bruin not produce them?<sup>76</sup>

A team led by Prof. K. Froehlich is currently preparing the first critical edition of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, which have traditionally—but wrongly—been attributed to Walafrid Strabo.<sup>77</sup> This edition will provide the tools for investigating De Bruin's assertions. It should be noted in advance, however, that Diatessaronic readings have sometimes been found in non-Diatessaronic medieval works: the commentaries of the Venerable Bede offer a number of parallels,<sup>78</sup> as do the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* of Pseudo-Bonaventure.<sup>79</sup> However, even if it should be argued that (to take a hypothetical example) the Middle Dutch Harmonies acquired a given reading from Bede's commentaries (whose genre is entirely different), the question still remains as to whence *Bede* acquired the tradition. In those cases where the reading is found only in Bede and the Western and Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses, it would seem that

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<sup>76</sup> R. van den Broek, "Enkele opmerkingen over de Latijnse archetypus van het Middelnederlandse diatessaron," *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 70 (1977), p. 440, n. 21, gives an example, apparently taken from one of De Bruin's lectures. At Matt 27.27, De Bruin pointed to an intralinear gloss in the *Glossa Ordinaria* which reads "*populo Iudaeorum*" against the canonical "*universam cohortem*." The Middle Dutch harmonies read "and that *people*." De Bruin argued that the *Glossa* was the genesis of the reading. Van den Broek pointed out, however, that the *Glossa* could not have influenced the *Heliand* which read "people," as did the *Vita Rhythmica*, and the Venetian Harmony in the East, and the Persian Harmony and Syr' in the East (see *infra*, 325–326).

<sup>77</sup> Prof. Froehlich announced the project in a paper on 20 August, 1991, at the Eleventh International Conference on Patristic Studies at Oxford (England), titled, "Walafrid Strabo and the *Glossa Ordinaria*: The Making of a Myth."

<sup>78</sup> A century ago, J.R. Harris noted "some curious coincidences between the Ephrem Commentary [on the Diatessaron] and the Commentaries of the Venerable Bede, which suggest that the extreme East and West are in contact at some unknown Patristic point" (*Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron* [London 1895], 98). Harris is obviously closer to the truth than De Bruin or Fischer, for the agreements between Bede and Ephrem mean that there was a specific point of contact before 735 (Bede's death). De Bruin shows no familiarity with Harris' work.

<sup>79</sup> For example, Ps.-Bonaventure—with many Diatessaronic witnesses—interpolates "she recognized him and ran to hold him" at John 20.16/17 (see *infra*, 304f.). On Ps.-Bonaventure and the Diatessaronic tradition, see further R. van den Broek, "A Latin Diatessaron in the 'Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica,'" *NTS* 21 (1974), p. 110, n. 3; also J. van Amersfoort, "Tatianus en de Nederlanden. De invloed van het Diatessaron op enige Middelnederlandse levens van Jezus," *NedThT* 45 (1991), 34–45.

one must still—*pace* De Bruin—locate the genesis of the reading in the Diatessaron, even though its dissemination in the West might have been via Bede, and not via a lost Old Latin harmony.<sup>80</sup>

It is ironic that it was De Bruin, who rejected the Liège Harmony's relationship with Tatian's Diatessaron, who created the most recent addition to the Dutch family of Diatessaronic witnesses, for in 1980 he produced a new copy of Tatian's harmony. Much can be learned from that. Even though he denied the Tatianic ancestry of the Liège Harmony, De Bruin nevertheless assisted in its dissemination.<sup>81</sup> By using the modern Dutch gospels, De Bruin "Vulgarized" the Diatessaron once more—this time by stripping away its "non-standard" readings as measured against the modern Dutch gospel text. But he kept the order of the Liège Harmony and put it into the vernacular of the late twentieth century. He has infused Tatian's creation with new life for generations to come. Perhaps in the year 3500, De Bruin's updated version of the Liège Harmony will be seen for what it is: a latter-day Codex Fuldensis. History repeats itself—in this case, unbeknown to the historian who is repeating it!

A second source of criticism was Quispel's assertion that the *Heliand* contained readings which, by virtue of their presence in the Diatessaron and in *Thomas*, must have stood in the extra-canonical, Judaic-Christian gospel Quispel presumed to be the source of the agreements between the Diatessaron and *Thomas*. The Germanist Willy Krogmann was the most outspoken of this group of critics. While he acknowledged the *Heliand's* dependence on a Diatessaron like Codex Fuldensis, he denied that the Diatessaron contained "Lesarten . . . die nicht aus einem

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<sup>80</sup> There can be no question but that Diatessaronic readings crept into "non-Diatessaronic" medieval texts, and were transmitted by them "independently," as it were, of the main Diatessaronic tradition. Fulda seems to stand at the intersection of many of these traditions: Rabanus Maurus was Abbot there, and taught Walafrid Strabo; it was during his reign as Abbot that the bilingual Codex Sangallensis was probably copied (and translated?) in his Abbey; Codex Fuldensis was in his Abbey's library; Rabanus, who was born in 776 (or 784) and died in 856, may have known Liudger, who was born in 741 and died in 809; since Rabanus was a distinguished poet (*Veni Creator Spiritus* is often attributed to him) and deeply involved with the evangelization of Germany, he certainly knew the *Heliand*, which was composed between 822 and 840. Might he have known its composer as well?

<sup>81</sup> Is De Bruin perhaps doing just what Victor of Capua did fourteen hundred years earlier?

der vier kanonischen Evangelien stammen, sondern auf einem judenchristlichen Evangelium beruhen, das zugleich eine Quelle des Thomasevangeliums war."<sup>82</sup> In examining Quispel's readings, Krogmann used the same reasons Sievers employed almost a century earlier to dismiss Schade's findings (and, more recently, Fischer, also to dismiss Quispel's findings), namely, the poet's freedom and style. An example will suffice. At line 285, the *Heliand* reads: "*Thiu biu ic theotgodes*" ("I am the handmaiden of the God of men"), while the canonical text of Luke 1.38 reads ἰδοὺ ἡ δούλη κυρίου ("Behold, the handmaid of the Lord"). Quispel cited the interpolation<sup>83</sup> of "I am" in the *Heliand* as evidence that it deviated from the canonical text and, according to him, must be dependent upon the Diatessaron, "because [the same variant is] found also in other recensions of [the Diatessaron]."<sup>84</sup> This is correct, but Quispel, in what was probably a strategic misstep, did not produce these parallels in his original article. Krogmann, however, did not bother to seek out the parallels,<sup>85</sup> but asserted that Quispel "hat nicht berücksichtigt, dass der Heliand keine wörtliche Übersetzung der lateinischen Vorlage, sondern eine aus ihr gestaltete epische Dichtung ist."<sup>86</sup> Krogmann's implicit appeal to the freedom of an epic poet is plausible, but one must also gauge the likelihood of Krogmann's reasoning when there are no fewer than *three* agreements with Diatessaronic witnesses in just this one line: (1) The *Heliand*'s omission of "Behold" is also found in the East in the Persian Harmony and one manuscript of the Arabic Harmony, and in the West in the Middle Dutch and Old High German Harmonies, the *Vita Rhythmica*, and canonical Greek MS 1223\* (tenth cent.). (2) The interpolation of "I am" is found in the East in Ephrem's *Commentary* (Syriac and Armenian recensions) I.25, the Arabic and Persian Harmonies, and in a partial form in Syr<sup>[s.c]p.h.pal</sup> ("I") and the Armenian Version; in the West it is found in the Middle Dutch Harmonies, the Middle High German Zürich Harmony,

<sup>82</sup> W. Krogmann, "Heliand, Tatian und Thomasevangelium," ZNW 51 (1960), 267.

<sup>83</sup> It could also be a mistranslation of the canonical ἰδοὺ.

<sup>84</sup> G. Quispel, "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," 284.

<sup>85</sup> As a Germanist, he would have been poorly equipped for the task; here one sees the necessity of "spoon feeding" the reader the parallels, in order to make one's case.

<sup>86</sup> Krogmann, "Heliand, Tatian," 258.

<sup>87</sup> Or mistranslation, in which ἰδοὺ was translated as "I am."

the *Heliand*, *Saelden Hort*, and the *Vita Rhythmica*; it also appears in a lone Vulgate manuscript (*Vulgate* MS D, which contains other Diatessaronic readings; it should not be confused with Codex Bezae [05]). (3) The substitution of “God” for “Lord” is found in the East in Syr<sup>c</sup> and the Persian Harmony, and in the West in the Middle Dutch, Tuscan, Old High German, and Pepsysian Harmonies, as well as in the *Vita Rhythmica* and *Saelden Hort*. Except as noted above, these readings are otherwise absent from the canonical tradition.

If Quispel had adduced only one example, then the speculations of Krogmann (and others<sup>88</sup>) might warrant consideration. But time and again variants identical with those in the *Heliand* were found *only* in the same circle of Diatessaronic witnesses. This concrete *textual* evidence favours the *Heliand*’s dependence upon a deviating Diatessaron. Another example will illustrate the point. In John 18.16, Peter is admitted by τῇ θυρωρῶ (“a [female] porter”), while in the *Heliand* (line 4951) Peter is admitted by “*the portun uuard*” (“the gate-guard [masc.]”). Quispel again pointed to (but, again, did not reproduce) Diatessaronic parallels for having a *male* porter admit Peter. Krogmann argued that the change had been made by the *Heliand*’s composer who “auf die Anschauungen seiner Leser und Hörer Rücksicht nahm.”<sup>89</sup> Again, that is possible; but, as before, the Arabic Harmony (MS B), Syr<sup>[c]h\*</sup>, the Pepsysian Harmony, and the Stuttgart and The Hague Harmonies all have a *male* porter admit Peter, as does Greek canonical MS 060 (sixth cent.).

To summarize: The same deviations from the canonical text in the *Heliand* for which Krogmann continuously had to find new explanations (“I am the handmaiden of the God of men” was the result of poetic freedom; the male “porter” was the result of cultural expectations; etc.) are all found in numerous witnesses to a single source *which Krogmann himself* acknowledged to be among the *Heliand*’s sources: the Diatessaron. The real difficulty for Krogmann seems to have been Quispel’s contentions that the Diatessaron used by the *Heliand*’s author (1) deviated from the canonical text, and that (2) these deviating readings were found in the *Gospel according to Thomas*, and went back to an Aramaic (or Syriac) source.

The complaints of De Bruin, Fischer, and Krogmann have been

<sup>88</sup> See *infra*, nn. 90, 91, and 92.

<sup>89</sup> Krogmann, “Heliand, Tatian,” 259.

voiced by others as well: B. Metzger,<sup>90</sup> G.D. Fee,<sup>91</sup> and O.C. Edwards<sup>92</sup> have repeated the charges in reviews. The distinguishing feature of all of these critics, however, is their absolute failure to adduce textual evidence to support their assertions. *None* has produced a single source or collection of sources which would explain the readings in *Thomas* or the *Heliand* which Quispel attributed to the Diatessaron. None has adduced readings from non-Diatessaronic sources which would explain the agreements among the Western harmonized "Lives of Jesus" tradition, in all of its vernacular manifestations and forms (prose and poetry). It is clear that some readings Quispel (and others) claimed as Diatessaronic are not; attention has been drawn to many of these in charting the history of scholarship in the preceding chapters. However, invalidating "weak" readings does not invalidate *all* readings, for some are methodologically beyond reproach. In order to invalidate these "strong" readings, a critic must explain how, time and again, in diverse languages and geographic locations, and only in the same sources—all of whose genre is identical (*i.e.*, a harmonized "Life of Jesus")—the identical *lectiones variae* occur. In such a situation, it is difficult to imagine a critical mind being satisfied by appeals to "Kunst," "chance," or vague, unidentified "medieval traditions." As Plooiij remarked of such unsubstantiated rhetoric in 1925, "of course, in this way *all* agreements can be dismissed."<sup>93</sup> Until *specific textual evidence* is adduced in the form of *repeated* parallels found in the *same* non-Diatessaronic source, then the criticisms offered by De Bruin, Fischer, Krogmann and the rest are nothing more than idle speculations. They neither explain the

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<sup>90</sup> B. Metzger, review of Quispel's *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, in *JThS*, N.S. 27 (1976): "it is possible that such Tatianic readings are Old Latin variant readings that crept into the vernacular harmonies and other medieval texts during the course of their transmission. . . . in the case of the *Heliand* and Otfrid's *Liber Evangeliorum* one must certainly expect expansions that have arisen from the exigencies of their poetic and alliterative structure" (480–81).

<sup>91</sup> G. Fee, review of Quispel's *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, in *CBQ* 39 (1977): the readings "allow other possibilities (influence of exegetical traditions; common 'translational' variation)" (446).

<sup>92</sup> O.C. Edwards, review of Quispel's *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, *JBL* 96 (1977), 466: of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Jesu Christi*: "it is a life of Jesus in verse that would have many variants sheerly for poetic variation. Other variations, such as glosses and theological improvements, could occur for many reasons other than being copied from a MS."

<sup>93</sup> D. Plooiij, *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron* (Leyden 1925), 12.

evidence in hand (the known *textual* agreements), nor do they name a specific alternative.

The third and final point of contention was the extra-canonical, Judaic-Christian gospel Quispel posited as the source common to the Diatessaron and *Thomas*. Here, four interrelated issues were in debate. First, was it necessary to posit a common source for those readings which deviated from canonical text, but which were common to the Diatessaron and *Thomas*? Second, and as a subset of the first question, could the Diatessaron be dependent upon *Thomas*? In other words, could *Thomas*—and not some lost Judaic-Christian gospel—have served as Tatian's "fifth source"? Or, conversely, could *Thomas* have been dependent upon the Diatessaron? If the answer to the first question was "Yes, it is necessary to posit a common source," and the answer to the second question—in either of its formulations—was "No, the Diatessaron (or, conversely, *Thomas*) is not dependent upon *Thomas* (or, conversely, the Diatessaron)," then two further questions arise. The third question in our series of four is: Is there sufficient evidence to conclude that this common source was composed in Aramaic? The fourth and final question is: Is there sufficient evidence to claim greater antiquity for some of the Diatessaron/*Thomas* readings over the canonical reading?

Before considering each of these questions in turn, it must be stated that it is logically impossible to provide answers. We simply do not know enough about gospel traditions in the mid-second century to speak with certainty. For example, until the line between what was "canonical" and what was "extra-canonical" in the second century is known, it will be impossible to state with certainty whether the reading of the "light" at Jesus' baptism entered the Diatessaron from an extra-canonical Judaic-Christian gospel (recall that Epiphanius stated that the reading stood in "the Hebrew gospel" used by the Ebionites), or from a "canonical" gospel whose text was similar to that found in *Vetus Latina* MSS *a* and *g*<sup>1</sup>, manuscripts which are "canonical," but which offer this "extra-canonical" reading. Therefore, what follows is a *tour d'horizon*, setting out the evidence for the various positions and signaling what seems most likely, given our current imperfect knowledge; but it does not presume to give definitive answers.

The first question was to decide whether the Diatessaron and *Thomas* shared a common source. Quispel's evidence in favour of such a source was examined by A.F.J. Klijn, Professor of New

Testament in Groningen, in 1969.<sup>94</sup> Four possibilities existed, according to Klijn. (1) *Thomas* might be dependent upon the Diatessaron, or (2) the Diatessaron might be dependent upon *Thomas*. Both of these Klijn dismissed as unlikely. The only remaining option was dependence upon a common source—but that left open the question as to whether the common source was (3) the extra-canonical, Judaic-Christian gospel hypothesized by Quispel, or (4) a canonical gospel whose text had certain distinctive, non-standard readings. From Quispel's publications Klijn assembled a list of agreements between *Thomas* and the Diatessaron which deviated from the canonical text.<sup>95</sup> After examining them, he came to a more modest conclusion than Quispel: Klijn opted for #4: a canonical gospel, with non-standard readings. While the readings common to Tatian and *Thomas* were "very interesting" and "show some peculiar readings found in a number of writings which are all . . . related with Antioch or Edessa, . . . none of [them] need be explained by extra-canonical influence." So far, so good; Klijn was justified in pointing to the possibility that a deviating *canonical* gospel might lie behind *Thomas* and Tatian's common deviating readings. But Klijn went further: the readings were, he said, "readily explained by a particular Gospel text in Syria."<sup>96</sup> The agreements among the Diatessaron, *Thomas*, and other early—often Syriac—sources (*viz.*, the Pseudo-Clementines) showed that "before 150 in Syria a text existed which in many cases showed agreement with Tatian's Diatessaron. We can be sure that this was the same text used by the composers of the so-called Jewish-Christian Gospels. This text deviated widely from the text which we . . . call the 'neutral text'."<sup>97</sup> In essence, Klijn was substituting a pre-Diatessaronic Syriac version of the separate canonical gospels for Quispel's Aramaic "free" tradition. According to Klijn, it was this pre-Diatessaronic separate gospel text which spawned the Diatessaron, the *Gospel according to Thomas*, and the Judaic-Christian gospels.

There are strengths and weaknesses here. As noted above, Klijn's point that the shared deviating readings come from a deviating "canonical" text is well taken. Klijn also posed a le-

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<sup>94</sup> A.F.J. Klijn, *A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts, Part II*, NT.S 21 (Leident 1969), 8–16.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 8–22.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 25–26.

gitimate (and unanswerable) question by asking how one could determine—especially where the matter turned on only a word, or a few words—whether the reading was from an extra-canonical gospel (e.g. Quispel's Judaic-Christian source) or from a deviating "canonical" text. But Klijn's own answer to the question, which requires positing a deviating separate gospel text in Syriac "before 150" remains unsubstantiated and runs counter to the generally accepted premise that the Diatessaron was the first gospel in Syriac. Indeed, the fact that so many of these variants show up in *extra*-canonical sources (e.g., the Pseudo-Clementines) implies a certain *distance* from the canonical tradition. There is a second problem with Klijn's work, and that is the method he used. He limited his examination to variant readings common to *Thomas* and the Diatessaron; *in these* he found no compelling reason to conclude that the Diatessaron and *Thomas* had used the same *extra*-canonical source. That is true, *if* one confines one's examination to this class of readings. But by limiting his survey to "extra-canonical" passages common to the Diatessaron and *Thomas*, Klijn ignored the indisputable fact that both the Diatessaron and *Thomas* (as best as we are able to determine, and citing the consensus view) have used (1) extra-canonical material, which is (2) paralleled from a Judaic-Christian gospel, which—according to Epiphanius and Jerome—was (3) written in a Semitic language. This *circumstantial* evidence suggests dependence upon a common source, *despite* the fact that the number of *common agreements* in extra-canonical material between the two sources is small. To offer a parallel from medicine: It is possible that two people who (1) ate in the same restaurant (2) on the same night and (3) ordered the same dinner contracted their food poisoning from different sources; but any epidemiologist would immediately focus on the *known common denominator* between the two victims. In the case of *Thomas* and the Diatessaron, it is undeniable that both contain extra-canonical readings (e.g.: in the Diatessaron, the "light" at the baptism; in *Thomas*, logion 2), drawn from one or more Judaic-Christian gospels which Patristic writers state were written in a Semitic language. Klijn is correct in stating that "none of [the common, non-canonical variants] need be explained by extra-canonical influence";<sup>98</sup> rather, following Quispel's line

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 15.



of reasoning, it is the *combined weight* of (1) the *known* dependence of each source upon a Semitic language, extra-canonical Judaic-Christian gospel *and* (2) their demonstrable sharing of common variants with each other and with other documents indisputably privy to this same extra-canonical tradition (*e.g.*, the Pseudo-Clementines, the Manichaean documents) which commends such an explanation.

Another question which Klijn investigated was Quispel's claim that this extra-canonical source had been composed in Aramaic. Once again Klijn assembled a list of Quispel's evidence for an Aramaic source.<sup>99</sup> Quite naturally Klijn—who had found no need for such a source in the first place—once again found no compelling need to posit Aramaic as its original language. Klijn admitted apparent influence from a Semitic language in some of the readings, but suggested that Syriac, not Aramaic, could explain all the readings.<sup>100</sup> This echoed his suggestion that a pre-150 Syriac separate-gospel text was the origin of all of the readings. Earlier, Tj. Baarda came to a similar conclusion, suggesting that “Het is ons namelijk gebleken dat de tekst van de Koptische Thomas niet teruggaat op een (West-)Aramees, maar een Syrisch exemplaar.”<sup>101</sup> Recently, A. Guillaumont has classified the Semitisms in *Thomas* into Syriasms and Aramaisms.<sup>102</sup> He suggested that *Thomas*, which was transmitted from Syriac to Coptic without a Greek intermediary, preserves an ancient Aramaic tradition. When Quispel published his theory three decades ago, he was unaware of such distinctions.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 16–17.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>101</sup> Tj. Baarda in R. Schippers, *Het Evangelie van Thomas* (Kampen 1960), 155; also available in English in his *Early Transmission of the Words of Jesus. Thomas, Tatian and the Text of the New Testament* (Amsterdam 1983), 49: “it has become apparent to us that the Coptic Gospel of Thomas is descended, not from a (West-)Aramaic, but a Syriac text.”

<sup>102</sup> A. Guillaumont, “Le Sémitismes dans l'Évangile selon Thomas, Essai de Classement,” in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions presented to Gilles Quispel on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edd. R. van den Broek and M.J. Vermaseren, EPRO 91 (Leiden 1981), 190–204. The Semitisms which agree with the Old Syriac gospels Guillaumont calls Syriasms; the Semitisms which are not found in the Syriac tradition he calls Aramaisms, because they reflect Aramaic usage. Even here, however, note that—with the exception of distinctive Syriac words used in later centuries—Guillaumont's basis for classification is not philological, but rather agreement or disagreement with the Old Syriac gospels. Virtually every one of his “Syriasms” could also be an “Aramaism”: without the Old Syriac gospels one could not tell which was a Syriasm and which was an Aramaism.

The evidence for determining the original language of the extra-canonical source (if there is one) is meager. Klijn's explanation of the double readings (war/sword) as mistranslations from Syriac—and not Aramaic, as proposed by Quispel—is eminently plausible. Quispel's reasons for selecting Aramaic were (1) the reports of the church Fathers that the Judaic-Christian gospel was written in Aramaic or Hebrew, and (2) the lack of evidence of any pre-Diatessaronic gospel text in Syriac (see *supra*, 139–140). There is no convincing evidence on either side of this question; indeed, Guillaumont's work shows that both Syriac readings and non-Syriac Semitisms (called, by default, Aramaisms) are present in *Thomas*. This dispute should not obscure what is an important point: all parties agree that the source of these readings—whatever it was—was composed in a Semitic language. While the question of the original language—West Aramaic or East Aramaic (*i.e.*, Syriac)—is significant, the dispute is, linguistically, a sham, for virtually all Aramaisms (*e.g.*, in a Greek text) could also be called Syriasms—and vice versa.<sup>103</sup>

There were also critics who, after excluding dependence upon a common extra-canonical source, suggested that the common readings were to be explained by the Diatessaron's direct dependence upon *Thomas*, or *Thomas*' dependence upon the Diatessaron. The leading proponent of Diatessaronic dependence upon *Thomas* has been Jacques-É. Ménard, author of the best commentary to date on the *Gospel according to Thomas*.<sup>104</sup> Ménard's showpiece was logion 33b:

... for no one lights a lamp and puts it under a bushel, nor does he put it in a hidden place, but he sets it on the lampstand, so that all who come in and go out may see its light.

Ménard's argument is based on two theses (both of which will be examined below): first, that the *Thomas* logion was “plus primitif que les passages de *Mc* 4, 21 et de *Mt* 5, 15 / *Lc* 11, 33 = Q”; and, second, that the Diatessaron's version of this pericope (and here Ménard cited only the Liège Harmony's text) was “retouchée par Tatien,” that is, “Tatian” (= the Liège Harmony!) combined distinctive redactional features found in the canonical accounts with elements from *Thomas* to create his text.<sup>105</sup> There are difficulties

<sup>103</sup> I owe this observation to Dr. G. Mussies of Utrecht; see also the previous note.

<sup>104</sup> Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Thomas* NHS 5 (Leiden 1975).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 21–24; cp. his full treatment of logion 33 (pp. 130–32).

in Ménard's argument. His first thesis, that *Thomas'* version of the saying is "plus primitif" than the canonical passages, is not self-evident. He cites, for example, *Thomas'* omission of the Lucan (8.16) "or puts it under a bed" as evidence of *Thomas'* antiquity, for *Thomas* lacks a redactorial feature found in Luke; therefore, it must be earlier than Luke. But like *Thomas*, Matt 5.15 *also* lacks the "redactional" phrase found in Luke. The question presents itself: Could *Thomas* have been using Matthew at this point, and not Luke? The answer is, "Of course," and therein lies one of the fatal flaws in Ménard's theory. Second, his use of *only* the Liège Harmony, a manuscript dating from the thirteenth century, as his sole reference point for reconstructing the Diatessaron's text in this pericope (he detects elements from the canonical gospels in the text of Liège, along with elements from *Thomas*), betrays the hand of a novice in issues related to the Diatessaron. All Diatessaronic witnesses—including the Liège Harmony—have undergone Vulgatization, resulting in the addition of canonical elements to their text. Logically speaking, the Diatessaron's text can only be reconstructed reliably in the *conjunction* of readings which *deviate* from the canonical text.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, the fact that the Liège Harmony contains certain canonical readings tells us nothing about the text of the original Diatessaron; it tells us only that either the original Diatessaron's text agreed with the canonical text at these points, *or* that the text of the Liège Harmony has been Vulgatized at these points. In neither case does the evidence support the conclusion Ménard wishes to draw from it, namely, that the Diatessaron is dependent upon *Thomas*.<sup>107</sup>

The reverse position, namely, *Thomas'* dependence upon a Syriac Diatessaron, was also advanced, principally by Baarda<sup>108</sup> and Drijvers.<sup>109</sup> The fact that a Syriac Diatessaron once existed,

<sup>106</sup> These points are described in full in chapter seven (*infra*, 369; 373f.).

<sup>107</sup> The Diatessaron's dependence upon *Thomas'* was also considered by Klijn, who rejected it; see his reasoning (*infra*, 298).

<sup>108</sup> Baarda, *Het Evangelie*, 154: "Er schijnt echter alle reden te zijn om de mogelijkheid dat het Syrische Diatessaron op de (Syrische) tekst van het evangelie naar Thomas invloed heeft geoefend, volledig open te houden" (available in English in his *Early Transmission*, 49: "There appears to be every reason, however, to leave completely open the possibility that the Syriac Diatessaron had an influence upon the [Syriac] text of the Gospel of Thomas").

<sup>109</sup> H.J.W. Drijvers, "Facts and Problems in Early Syriac-Speaking Christianity," *SCen* 2 (1982), 173: "the much discussed problem of the common variants of the *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Diatessaron* can be solved within

and was perhaps the first gospel in the Syrian church, meant that all later Syriac traditions—including *Thomas*, the certainty of whose Syrian provenance has grown over time<sup>110</sup>—were infected with its textual peculiarities.

Like the puzzle of dependence upon an extra-canonical Judaic-Christian source, this puzzle (*Thomas* → Diatessaron, or Diatessaron → *Thomas*) still defies solution. Some general observations are, however, possible. First, most experts have dismissed the possibility of the Diatessaron's dependence upon *Thomas* (Menard's position). "It seems improbable," said Klijn, "because the parallels are limited to those of the synoptic type in the Ev. Th."<sup>111</sup> None of *Thomas*' striking *agrapha* crop up in the Diatessaron—although the Diatessaron contains other extra-canonical material. This fact argues strongly against the Diatessaron's dependence upon *Thomas*. But there is equally little evidence in support of *Thomas*' dependence upon the Diatessaron, as Schippers and Baarda suggested. The broad imprint which the Diatessaron left on virtually every text it touched is absent in *Thomas*, where the connexions are only traces—subtle and vestigial. *Thomas* lacks the harmonizations so typical of the Diatessaron and, when it does harmonize, its sequence is not Diatessaronic. Direct dependence—in either direction—seems unlikely. How, then, is one to explain the agreements? Only one possibility remains, namely mutual dependence upon a common textual tradition. From a structural

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the same context. Instead of assuming an independent Jewish-Christian gospel that was used as well by the author of the *Gospel of Thomas* as by Tatian, it seems a much simpler and more satisfying explanation to assume that the author of the *Gospel of Thomas* used Tatian's *Diatessaron*." Drijvers goes on, however, to observe that "It is of course quite possible that Tatian and, consequently, the author of the *Gospel of Thomas* knew and made use of extracanonical gospel traditions that can be old and authentic . . ." My criticism of Drijvers is that his solution is reductionistic: the "context" he is dealing with is Encratism and the related "Thomas" texts (*Acts of Thomas*, *Gospel of Thomas*, etc.), which he feels may have begun with the Encratite Tatian (172). He fails to address the objections already mentioned: (1) distinctive Diatessaronic harmonizations are missing from *Thomas*; (2) the links are strangely vague, yet elsewhere when the Diatessaron influences a work, its footprints are large (cp. Aphrahat's text, etc.). To these points one might also add that *Thomas* has a very low Christology (one could even say, *no* Christology), something which is hardly Tatianic (he began the Diatessaron with John 1.1!). *Thomas*' low Christology bespeaks a time much earlier than the Tatianic or—especially!—the post-Tatianic period.

<sup>110</sup> Cp. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Thomas*, 3.

<sup>111</sup> Klijn, *A Survey*, Part II, 8–9.

standpoint, the difference between Klijn's theory of common dependence on an early Syriac separate-gospel tradition and Quispel's theory of common dependence on an extra-canonical Judaic-Christian gospel is minor: the strength of both proposals is that they account for both the textual *distance* as well as the limited *dependence* between the Diatessaron and *Thomas*. As noted earlier, however, Klijn's theory of mutual dependence upon a pre-150 separated Syriac gospel is improbable, for it violates the generally accepted thesis that the Diatessaron was the first gospel in Syriac. By default, the surviving theory—Quispel's—becomes the working hypothesis.

Finally, the question of the antiquity of the traditions common to the Diatessaron and *Thomas* must be considered. Quispel claimed that these traditions occasionally appeared more ancient than those in the canonical text.<sup>112</sup> There is no intrinsic reason why this is not possible, but his evidence—which, in some specific instances, is admittedly weak—has not convinced all.<sup>113</sup>

In conclusion, answering the question of precisely how *Thomas* acquired readings which deviate from the canonical text, but agree with the Diatessaron, with Judaic-Christian gospels, with Manichaean texts, and with the Judaic-Christian Pseudo-Clementine literature is, given our present knowledge of the texts available in the second century, impossible. All of the suggestions given above are possible, but not all are equally probable. Ménard's suggestion that the Diatessaron depends upon *Thomas* has an unstable foundation. Baarda's suggestion that *Thomas* is dependent upon a Syriac Diatessaron is plausible, save for the fact that *Thomas* bears so faint an imprint of the

<sup>112</sup> An example is his claim that *Thomas*' version of the Parable of the Net is more ancient than Matthew's version (Matt 13.47–48): see Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, 95–107.

<sup>113</sup> See, e.g., the series of four articles by Tj. Baarda, all opposing Quispel's claim that *Thomas*' version of the Parable of the Net is older than the canonical version: "Philoxenus and the Parable of the Fisherman, Concerning the Diatessaron Text of Mt 13, 47–50," in *The Four Gospels 1992, Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, edd. F. van Segbroeck, C.M. Tuckett, G. van Belle, J. Verheyden, *BETHL* 100.2 (Louvain 1992), 1403–23; "'Chose' or 'Collected': Concerning an Aramaism in Logion 8 of the *Gospel of Thomas* and the Question of Independence," *HThR* 84 (1992), 373–97; "The Parable of the Fisherman in the Heliand. The Old Saxon Version of Matthew 13:47–50," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 36 (1992), 39–58; and "Clement of Alexandria and the Parable of the Fisherman. Matthew 13, 47–48 or Independent Tradition," in *The Synoptic Gospels. Source Criticism and the New Literary Criticism*, ed. C. Focant, *BETHL* 110 (Louvain 1993), 582–98.

harmony. Klijn's suggestion of dependence upon a pre-Diatessaronic Syriac separate gospel text is perhaps the best of these three suggestions, but it too requires that one posit the existence of such a text, thus rewriting the history of the gospel text in Syria. Quispel's theory, albeit battered and the oldest of the lot, still warrants consideration, for the agreements Quispel noted between *Thomas* and the Pseudo-Clementines, the Diatessaronic witnesses, the "Western Text," and the "Hebrew gospel" (log. 2), unquestionably indicate access to some written tradition. The agreement between *Thomas* and the "Hebrew gospel" and between *Thomas* and the Pseudo-Clementines in offering extra-canonical sayings of Jesus demonstrate that this tradition was extra-canonical, as defined by our present canon and canonical text. The bearings Quispel drew from these various textual landmarks intersected in an extra-canonical, Judaic-Christian source. His conjecture that the source was the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* or the *Gospel according to the Ebionites* is plausible, but beyond proof. What Quispel failed to consider in *his* theory, however, was the generally agreed proposition that much of the text of these extra-canonical gospels—especially where they parallel the canonical gospels—was derived *from* the canonical gospels. The argument at this point, then, is circular: the reading "on the road" in the Parable of the Sower in the Diatessaron and *Thomas* comes from an extra-canonical, Judaic-Christian gospel, but that gospel is dependent upon the (emerging? *Ur-*?) *canonical* gospels for the Parable.<sup>114</sup> In such a circumstance, the positions of Quispel and Klijn are virtually indistinguishable.

The most helpful procedure at this moment in scholarship is not to engage in endless discussion based on theories and rearrangements of known evidence, but to seek *new* evidence which could resolve the issue.

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<sup>114</sup> The alternate explanation, that the extra-canonical traditions are anterior to the canonical gospels (meaning that the canonical traditions are based on the extra-canonical gospels), is difficult to argue, given the frequent signs of secondary expansion in the extra-canonical gospels. A third alternative—that both traditions (the canonical and the extra-canonical) stem from early oral tradition, and were transmitted independently—is unattractive for the same reason: if the two traditions were transmitted independently from early oral tradition, why does the canonical tradition, on the whole, evidence less secondary expansion and elaboration? It must be emphasized here, however, that these are *generalizations*, and that in individual pericopes, the extra-canonical account may—or may not—be more ancient than the canonical.

JOHANNES RATHOFER, AN *ABKEHR* IN RESEARCH

In 1971 Rathofer published “‘Tatian’ und Fulda. Die St. Galler Handschrift und der Victor-Codex,” the first of two articles which would mark a turning point in Diatessaronic studies.<sup>115</sup> Rathofer’s findings not only called into question Baumstark’s work (which, remember, Rathofer himself had prepared for publication in 1964), but also articulated in its clearest form the question lurking in the minds of critics of Diatessaronic studies. In “‘Tatian’ und Fulda,” Rathofer made an astonishing disclosure. The standard edition of Codex Sangallensis, produced by the great Germanist Eduard Sievers, contained numerous errors. Some were simply typographical; others were errors in collating the manuscript. At other points, Rathofer discovered that an “apparatus” in Sievers’ edition which listed deviations from Codex Fuldensis was not based on a collation of Fuldensis, but upon the edition of Fuldensis published by Ernst Ranke in 1868. Incredibly, Sievers had reproduced the *text* Ranke printed, without taking into account the *corrigenda* Ranke included at the end of the volume. The cumulative result of these mind-boggling blunders was that a very high portion (some 60% to 70%) of the perceived differences between Codex Sangallensis (either the Latin or Old High German column) and Codex Fuldensis vanished. Some examples: at John 1.15, Codex Fuldensis reads “*in hoc mundo*,” and the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis gives the equivalent. But the Latin of Codex Sangallensis reads—according to Sievers’ edition—“*in mundo*,” omitting “*hoc*.” The Latin column of the physical manuscript (folio 44, line 24) reads, however: “*in hoc mundo*.” It is Sievers’ edition which has omitted “*hoc*,” not Codex Sangallensis. Again: at Luke 2.23, Codex Fuldensis reads the genitive “*domini*,” against the reading found in the Vulgate and both columns of Codex Sangallensis: the dative “*domino*.” Baumstark had noted the genitive (= Fuldensis) in two Vetus Latina MSS (*aur* [“*domini*”] and *c* [“*Dei*”]), the Stuttgart Harmony, and Munich Cgm. 532. Thus, according to Baumstark—basing himself on Sievers’ edition—Codex Fuldensis offered a Diatessaronic reading here, while the Codex Sangallensis fol-

<sup>115</sup> J. Rathofer, “‘Tatian’ und Fulda. Die St. Galler Handschrift und der Victor-Codex,” in *Zeiten und Formen in Sprache und Dichtung. Festschrift für Fritz Tschirch zum 70. Geburtstag*, edd. K.-H. Schirmer and B. Sowinski (Köln/Wien 1972), 337–56.

lowed a different tradition. But it is again Sievers who is at fault, this time for reproducing in his apparatus a typographical error in Ranke's edition of Codex Fuldensis: in reality, Codex Fuldensis reads "*domino*" too. A final example: at Matt 27.24, Ranke's edition of Codex Fuldensis' text reads "*lauit manus*." This agrees with the Latin of Codex Sangallensis, but against its Old High German column, which reads "*uuosc sino hentig*" ("washed his hands"), all readings which Sievers reproduced in his edition. But Sievers failed to note that Ranke had *corrected* his edition at this point, inserting in the *corrigenda* the true reading of Codex Fuldensis: "*lauit manus suas*"—a reading identical with the Old High German in Codex Sangallensis. The result was that *any* evidence taken from Sievers' edition—our *only* scholarly edition of Codex Sangallensis—was suspect, for it might be erroneous. (It is important to emphasize that—like anyone else who relied on Sievers' edition—Baumstark was an innocent victim of Sievers' carelessness.)

After presenting eleven such readings, Rathofer addressed the problem from a different, even more embarrassing angle. He noted that there were over 200 errors in Sievers' *second* edition of Codex Sangallensis, a clearly written Carolingian uncial manuscript, and that Grein's edition of Codex Cassellanus contained more than 360 errors. Now, said Rathofer, if Diatessaronic scholars held that the roughly 300 "deviations" in Codex Sangallensis from Codex Fuldensis proved it was not dependent upon Codex Fuldensis, then—*mutatis mutandis*—did not these 200 errors in Sievers' edition prove that it was not dependent upon what it was *an edition of*, namely Codex Sangallensis? Applying the same criterion, did not Grein's more than 360 errors establish that his edition was not dependent upon what *it* was an edition of, namely Codex Cassellanus? By means of this *reductio ad absurdum*, Rathofer delivered a stunning blow. But there was more to come.

Next Rathofer turned to the codicological aspects of Codex Fuldensis and Codex Sangallensis, which were—in view of the unreliable state of the editions—the only sure indicator of dependence or independence between the two manuscripts. Were Diatessaronic researchers correct when they asserted that Sangallensis was not dependent upon Fuldensis, or were they mistaken? Rathofer concluded they were mistaken. Four avenues of inquiry demonstrated conclusively that Codex Sangallensis was dependent upon Codex Fuldensis. First, both contained Victor's *Prefatio*; second, both contained the same Eusebian canons; third, they had the same



*capitularia* and text division; and, finally, they had the same numberings in the marginal "concordance" of the Eusebian canons. This last evidence—which was as not reproduced in Sievers' edition—was especially significant for Rathofer, for it entailed the copying of more than 30,000 numbers. Codex Sangallensis and Codex Fuldensis contain common errors in copying these numbers, the surest mark of a genetic relationship between manuscripts.<sup>116</sup>

Two years later, in 1973, Rathofer published a second article<sup>117</sup> in which he extended his criticism both of Baumstark's work and of the thesis that Codex Sangallensis was independent from Codex Fuldensis. Across fifty-two pages of clearly reasoned but dense scholarship, Rathofer made his case. Of the roughly 285 instances where the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis deviated from Codex Fuldensis, 16 were due to Sievers' unwitting adoption of typographical errors from Ranke's edition; at least another 85 instances were due to various blunders by Sievers. When he began to realize the degree to which the "differences" between the manuscripts were due to nothing more than scholarly error, the "Kluft zwischen beiden Hss. begann sich mir immer mehr zu schliessen."<sup>118</sup> But the real blow was the realization of what Baumstark and others had done with these errors:

Dass für eine ganze Reihe dieser *ausschliesslich zu Lasten der Editoren* gehenden 'Varianten', ja sogar für Druckfehler, die noch in den Corrigenda unserer Ausgaben gebessert wurden, sich Parallelen aus der östlichen und westlichen Diatessaron- und Evangelienüberlieferung beibringen liessen, die diesen Irrtümern die Qualität 'echter Tatianismen' verleihen sollten, diese bestürzende Tatsache konnte kaum dazu beitragen, das anfänglich gehegte Vertrauen in die Methode der Diatessaronforschung und deren Brauchbarkeit für die Lösung der mit Tahd [Tatian-althochdeutsch] verknüpften Fragen zu festigen.<sup>119</sup>

This was a knife through the heart of the "Methode der Diatessaronforschung" as practiced by Baumstark and others. If modern typographical and scholarly errors could, completely at random, generate readings which researchers pronounced to be "Tatianisms," then, *mutatis mutandis*, could not similar errors in

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 352–56.

<sup>117</sup> J. Rathofer, "Die Einwirkung des Fuldischen Evangelientextes auf den althochdeutschen 'Tatian.' Abkehr von der Methode der Diatessaronforschung," *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter* (Festschrift K. Langosch), edd. A. Oennerfors et al. (Darmstadt 1973), 256–308.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 266.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 266, italics added.

the past, in the long transmission history of the codices, have also, at random and without *any* relationship to the Diatessaron, have generated similar errors—which, like the modern editors' errors, would be proclaimed as "Diatessaronic readings" by researchers? Any dispassionate observer had to answer, "Yes, similar random errors must have occurred in the past, and, yes, they unquestionably had generated 'Diatessaronic' readings which had nothing to do with the Diatessaron."

Rathofer extended his earlier codicological work (which had led him to conclude that Codex Sangallensis was dependent on Codex Fuldensis) by searching for more common errors, this time in the text of the two manuscripts, not just in the numberings of the marginal concordance. He found them. For example, at Matt 21.26, all three texts (Codex Fuldensis, and both columns of Codex Sangallensis) omitted "*e caelo, dicet nobis: Quare ergo non credidistis illi? Si autem dixerimus,*" which follows "*si dixerimus,*" Rathofer—probably correctly—suggested that it had been omitted by homoioteleuton. Again: at John 13.31, all three texts omitted "*et deus clarificatus est in eo,*" an omission undoubtedly related to "*deus clarificatus est in eo*" in the next verse, John 13.32. In that verse (13.32) the three texts are "völlig isoliert in der Gesamtüberlieferung" (Rathofer means against all the Latins, the Old German Harmony Munich Cgm. 532, and the Arabic Harmony) in reading only "*Si deus clarificatus est in eo.*"

Turning to consider the extraordinary reading "*et occurrit, ut tangeret eum*" which Grein found in Codex Cassellanus at John 20.16 and in the *Heliand*, Rathofer observed that "alle mittelalterlichen lateinischen Evangelienharmonien . . . hier mit dem Cassellanus übereinstimmen."<sup>120</sup> That is, in addition to Codex Cassellanus, the same interpolation is offered by Munich Clm. 23 346, Reims A.35 (formerly numbered A.46), Leipzig Codd. lat. 192 and 193, and Berlin Phillipps 1707. However, Codex Fuldensis and both columns of Codex Sangallensis do *not* contain this interpolation. Thus, surrounded by Latin harmonies *with* the interpolation, Codex Fuldensis and both columns of Codex Sangallensis are exceptions.

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 272. The ellipsis in the quotation contains the words "ausser AD [= Munich Clm. 23 346]." They have been omitted, for Rathofer is in error: according to H.J. Vogels, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland*, NTA 8.1 (Münster 1919), 138, Munich Clm. 23 346 contains the interpolation. Here we see how easy it is for as astute a critic as Rathofer to make a misstep.

If the interpolation is indeed the reading of the Diatessaron, as most scholars have concluded (it is also found in Syr<sup>s[c].pal</sup>, the Middle Dutch Harmonies, the Middle High German Harmony [Zürich C 170], the *Heliand*, the *Vita Rhythmica*, the *Rijmbijbel*, *Saelden Hort*, and Ps.-Bonaventura's *Meditationes Vitae Christi*), then both Codex Fuldensis and Codex Sangallensis are equally distant from the "Diatessaronic" tradition at this point, against the majority of other Latin witnesses to the Diatessaron. Rathofer concluded that this negative evidence was one more argument for the dependence of Codex Sangallensis on Codex Fuldensis.

But Rathofer was still not done. With exemplary thoroughness, he examined six other separate-gospel manuscripts known to have been copied in Fulda, and compared their textual "deviations" with those found in Codex Sangallensis. The results were once again devastating. Exactly the same kind of Old Latin tincture which Baumstark had found in Codex Sangallensis—and pronounced to be evidence of its dependence upon an Old Latin Diatessaron—was found in these manuscripts.<sup>121</sup> Yet they were not harmonies, and had never been connected with the harmonized tradition. The inescapable conclusion was that certain specific traditions circulated in the scriptorium at Fulda; scribes had consciously or unconsciously incorporated them into texts copied there. Rathofer's ability to parallel from these lesser Vulgate manuscripts what Baumstark had pronounced to be readings found *only* in the Vetus Latina and the Old High German was an especially telling blow.<sup>122</sup>

With the evidence on his side, Rathofer once again charged (as Vogels' critics had) that Diatessaronic researchers were creating a "diatessaron imaginaire" from nothing more than Old Latin readings. He was careful to confine his critique to the area he had investigated, namely, the relationship of Codex Sangallensis to Codex Fuldensis. But, *mutatis mutandis*, was it not possible, from a purely methodological point, to wonder if similar failings of modern editors and over-enthusiastic researchers had not occurred elsewhere in Diatessaronic studies, resulting in the same sort of flawed conclusions? Once again, the disinterested observer had to assent. Rathofer was right.

Although he acknowledged the difficulty of the field, Rathofer noted the tendency for non-specialists to defer to experts (such as

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<sup>121</sup> Rathofer, "Die Einwirkung," 288–94.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 291.

Baumstark), allowing them to get away with careless scholarship, which would have been detected much sooner in a more accessible field. In closing, Rathofer cited with approval the findings of Bonifatius Fischer (see *supra*, 283–284), who concluded that there was only *one* original translation of the gospels into Latin which gave rise to a form of the text similar to that found in *k* (Codex Bobbiensis; fifth cent.).<sup>123</sup> This early African Vetus Latina manuscript had *fewer* Tatianisms,<sup>124</sup> according to Fischer, than the *later* Vetus Latina manuscripts. This suggested, said Rathofer (following Fischer), that the influence of the Diatessaron was later, and had crept into an already-existing Latin separate-gospel text. Other sources of *faux* Diatessaronic readings in the Western harmonies were, according to Fischer (and Rathofer), the ever-present tendency of scribes to harmonize deliberately or subconsciously, and the influence of medieval exegetical and homiletic traditions.

Every Diatessaronic researcher should read Rathofer's work in detail, for it is conspicuously *sine ira* and is written by a former member of the "Orden innerhalb eines Ordens," who knows the sources and the methods. Every Diatessaronic scholar should also *heed* Rathofer's warnings, and note his methodological criticisms.<sup>125</sup>

While Rathofer's critique is just, accurate, and substantiated, it is not without flaws. He is unquestionably correct in arguing that Codex Sangallensis is dependent upon Codex Fuldensis, and that the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis is probably—as Sievers argued—dependent upon its neighbouring Latin column. But there are two points here which need further discussion. First, there is the matter of the case (Codex Sangallensis) Rathofer uses to make his point, and, second, there is the question of how to define "dependence." Each is considered below.

When Rathofer chose to use Codex Sangallensis as his test case (something done not out of malice, but because of his familiarity

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 298–99; Fischer's position—here taken from his "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache," 45—should be contrasted with his earlier position, in which he asserted that "Die alte lateinische Bibelübersetzung entsteht allmählich im 2. Jahrhundert, vielleicht in Afrika, vielleicht in Rom oder Gallien, vielleicht an verschiedenen Orten, jedenfalls nicht als Einheit und nicht aus einem Guss und nicht von einem einzigen Übersetzer. Sie entwickelt und differenziert sich schnell . . ." (B. Fischer, "Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters," in *La Bibbia nell'alto Medioevo*, in the series *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo* 10 [Spoleto 1963], 521).

<sup>124</sup> This observation had been made before, by Jülicher (*supra*, 185); but see Plooi's rejoinder (*supra*, 190–191).

<sup>125</sup> These have led to the development of new criteria for weighing prospective Diatessaronic readings; see *infra*, 327, and 373–377.

with the Codex, owing to his work on Baumstark's manuscript) he chose one of the most tenuous, most difficult examples in Diatessaronic studies. Codex Sangallensis is a bilingual, parallel-columned manuscript, whose Latin column is closely related to Codex Fuldensis; the deviations are minor. Furthermore, our lack of other Old High German harmony manuscripts against which to compare the Codex Sangallensis' Old High German column prematurely terminates the inquiry. Rathofer's codicological work demonstrates that Codex Sangallensis is, indeed, dependent upon Fuldensis; his analysis of the "Diatessaronic" readings adduced by experts shows that many of them are what in medicine would be called "false positives." Nevertheless, it cannot be disputed that *some tradition other than Codex Fuldensis*—and not just a *Vetus Latina* tradition, or Fischer's nebulous "medieval exegetical and homiletical traditions"—influenced the medieval Latin and vernacular harmonies. This is evident not just from variant readings (*e.g.*: Jesus "sat" in a boat [Matt 15.39]; interpolation of "all [the cities]" in Matt 10.23; substitution of "a pure linen cloth" [Mark 15.46]; interpolation of "took the body from the cross and" [Mark 15.46]; interpolation of "my son" [John 2.5]; "Which of them did he love more?" [Luke 7.42; the reading noted by J.C. Zahn and W. Henss]; etc. [respectively, *supra*, pp. 171, 191, 233, 234, 249, 267]), but also the *structure* of some of these harmonies, which place John 1.1ff. at the beginning of the harmony, not Luke 1.1ff., as found in Codex Fuldensis and Codex Sangallensis. The Latin harmonies Munich Clm. 7 946, Munich Clm. 10 025, Leipzig Cod. lat. 192, Leipzig Cod. lat. 193, and Berlin theol. fol. 7, the Middle Italian Venetian and Tuscan Harmonies, the Middle High German harmonies Zürich C.170 and Munich Cgm. 532, and the Middle Dutch harmonies (Liège, Haaren, Cambridge, Stuttgart, The Hague, and Berlin Ms. Germ. Quart. 1091) all begin with John 1.1. In view of the report of bar Salibi and others (see *supra*, 59) that the Diatessaron began with John 1.1, and the fact that the Arabic Harmony commences with John 1.1, as do the citations from the Diatessaron in Ephrem's *Commentary*, and the fact that Aphrahat asserts "the gospel (sing.)" began with John 1.1, can one ignore this link between Eastern and Western witnesses—a link which clearly does *not* pass through Codex Fuldensis?

Once this has been admitted, then one must also admit that the *stronger* readings (examples of which have just been given) adduced from the Western Latin and vernacular harmonies by Grein, Vogels, Baumstark, and others, might also be dependent upon this

same tradition—especially if the readings are absent from the *Vetus Latina* and the “medieval exegetical traditions” proposed by Fischer. Many readings pass this test. What terminology, then, should be used to describe the relationship of these apparently genuinely Diatessaronic traditions to the Vulgatized form of the harmony found in Codex Fuldensis? Schade’s claim that the *Vorlage* of the Old High German column “could not be” the neighbouring Latin column, nor could it be Codex Fuldensis (an opinion repeated by Vogels, Baumstark, and others) requires nuancing. Rathofer’s work has shown that Codex Sangallensis’ *principal Vorlage* was Codex Fuldensis. But *probably* in the case of Codex Sangallensis—and *certainly* in the case of those harmonies which begin with John 1.1—there is *another* influence or *Vorlage*, and that was a Latin harmony with a *different sequence of harmonization* and a *different text* than Codex Fuldensis’. In varying degrees, *some* harmonies adopted the sequence and readings from this non-Codex Fuldensis Latin harmony, while other harmonies took over only occasional readings. Codex Sangallensis would seem to fall into this latter category, while Munich Clm. 10 025 and Munich Clm. 7 946 (both commencing with John 1.1) fall into the former. None of the examples presented above from Baumstark (*supra*, 270) nor from Schade (*supra*, 111–112) have been shown to be collation errors by Sievers or typographical errors by Ranke, nor have any of these readings been paralleled in other medieval manuscripts or traditions. Their sole known parallels lie in other Diatessaronic traditions (in a few cases, including the *Vetus Latina*).

These reservations do not diminish Rathofer’s findings in the least, for there is much to be learned from him. One must *always* look for other possible sources of Diatessaronic readings. Had Baumstark used this “peripheral vision,” then he would have noted that many of his readings were paralleled in other Latin sources and, therefore, probably not Diatessaronic readings. One should not base one’s case on textual trivia, that is, on readings so small that they might be nothing more than typographical errors in an edition. This means changes of tense, the singular versus the plural, etc., are intrinsically unsuitable for use as evidence in Diatessaronic research. Care must also be used in stating one’s conclusion; phrases such as “independent from” or “not related to” should be used only of a reading, not a whole codex. Furthermore, one must always seek evidence which would negate one’s own findings. Had Baumstark and others done so, then they too would have

noticed the codicological evidence which proves that Codex Sangallensis is *principally* dependent upon Codex Fuldensis. But at certain points, Rathofer's vision also proved too narrow, specifically in ignoring those strong, legitimate variants which find their only parallel in Diatessaronic witnesses, not in Codex Sangallensis' Latin column, nor in Codex Fuldensis.

## TJITZE BAARDA

## THE BAARDA FRAGMENT

Few scholars in the field of Diatessaronic studies have been better prepared or more meticulous than Tjitze Baarda. Trained at the Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam by Prof. R. Schippers, Baarda became Professor of New Testament at Utrecht. He later returned to the Vrije Universiteit where he is currently its Professor of New Testament and Dean of the Faculty of Theology. Baarda's long list of publications on the Diatessaron began in 1962 when he announced the discovery of a new fragment of Ephrem's *Commentary*. The Baarda Fragment consists of about a dozen lines of text, found in a Vatican manuscript (Borgia Syr. 82, ff. 325<sup>r</sup>–326<sup>v</sup>). In a letter from Andrew, bishop of Samosata, to Rabbula of Edessa (therefore dating the text to the early fifth century), Andrew cites a series of testimonies or arguments on the Christological question. Andrew states that the testimonies were present in the *Ecclesiastica* of Comes Irenaeus, a friend of Nestorius who probably died before 450. Although the recitation of testimonies to follow does not include the name of Ephrem, the seventh testimony is a quotation from Ephrem's *Commentary* on the Diatessaron. It concerns Jesus' death on the cross (Luke 23.46), and comes from the beginning of Chap. XXI.1 in the *Commentary*.<sup>126</sup> The Fragment was significant, for it was the first portion of the *Commentary* to be recovered in the original Syriac.<sup>127</sup>

Baarda's dissertation appeared in 1975. It was a comprehensive study of Aphrahat's gospel citations from John.<sup>128</sup> One of the prin-

<sup>126</sup> Tj. Baarda, "A Syriac Fragment of Mar Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron," *NTS* 8 (1962), 287–300 (= *Early Transmission of the Words of Jesus*, 51–64). In L. Leloir's Latin translation of the Armenian recension (*Saint Ephrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, version arménienne*, CSCO 145 [Armen. 2] [Louvain 1954]), the Baarda Fragment's text parallels—roughly—lines 9–19 on p. 222.

<sup>127</sup> One of the Fragment's variants has been independently confirmed: see L. Abramowski and A.E. Goodman, "Luke XXIII.46 ΠΑΡΑΤΙΘΕΜΑΙ in a Rare Syriac Rendering," *NTS* 13 (1966/67), 290–91.

<sup>128</sup> Tj. Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage*, 2 vols. (Meppel 1975).

cial aims of the study was to determine the type of gospel text Aphrahat used. Certainty is a rare commodity in Baarda's publications, and he was characteristically cautious about his conclusions. The evidence indicated, however, that Aphrahat had known a Diatessaron.

The circumstances that he [Aphrahat] did not mention the names of the Evangelists and apparently assumed that Jesus was the author of the Gospel seemed to suggest that his source could have been the Diatessaron. This possibility was confirmed by Aphrahat's notice that John 1,1 was the beginning of the Gospel and by the interesting fact that he could refer to passages in John and in the Synoptics as if they stood in the same Gospel book: these two facts seem to be almost decisive proofs of the author's dependence on the Syriac harmony. Other observations, such as his communications about "the Night of the Passover" and about the absence of Judas from the Last Supper, might point into the same direction.<sup>129</sup>

During the last two decades, Baarda has produced a steady flow of articles pertinent to Diatessaronic studies.<sup>130</sup> Over the years, three constants in his studies have been, first, a fastidious philological analysis; second, a defense of the value of the Arabic Harmony as a witness to the Diatessaron; and, third, a preoccupation with the reconstruction of individual pericopes in the Diatessaron.<sup>131</sup> A closer look at two of his articles will illustrate these points and his methods.

Baarda's defense of the Arabic Harmony was a reaction against the criticism that its Vulgatized text had been stripped of almost all Diatessaronic readings, making it next to useless for anything except reconstructing the *sequence* of the Diatessaron. In study after study, Baarda, who includes Arabic (as well as Persian and Armenian) among his languages, sought to demonstrate that this judgement was unduly negative. Careful work with the Arabic allowed one to recover significantly more from its text than most critics had allowed.<sup>132</sup> Baarda's analysis of the Arabic Harmony's text of John 15.1–2 (the "Parable of the Vine") is a case in point.<sup>133</sup> The

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 346.

<sup>130</sup> The reader is referred to the *Bibliography* for their titles, which are too numerous to list here.

<sup>131</sup> Regarding this latter point, Baarda's work stands in direct contrast to that of his colleague Quispel, whose work was Olympian in its (often correct) vision, but sometimes defective at the level of detail; see *infra*, 327–338.

<sup>132</sup> The poor editions and translations are insurmountable obstacles for the vast majority of scholars; see *supra*, 137.

<sup>133</sup> Tj. Baarda, "An Archaic Element in the Arabic Diatessaron? (TA 46:18 =



version of the passage found in the fourth century Syriac Fathers Aphrahat, Ephrem, and Cyrillona, established that the Diatessaron's version was different from the canonical text. Instead of ἄμπελος ("vine") in verse 1, these Syriac sources read ܐܬܪܐ (= ἄμπελών = "vineyard"): "I am the vineyard of truth" (v. 1). This metaphor was continued in vv. 2 ("Every vine planted in me . . .") and 5 ("I am the vineyard, you are the vines").<sup>134</sup>

This evidence allowed one to be quite certain of the Diatessaron's text at this point. Yet the Arabic Harmony seemed to present the standard canonical text: "[v. 1] I am the vine of truth, . . . [v. 2] Every branch planted in me . . . [v. 3] I am the vine, you are the branches . . ." Many scholars cited this instance of apparent Vulgatization as proof that the text of the Arabic Harmony was of little value as a witness to the text of the Diatessaron.<sup>135</sup> A more careful examination, however, showed that this was not necessarily the case.

Baarda was the first to notice certain telltale indications which suggested that, although the Arabic Harmony did not preserve the Diatessaronic variants, it had once contained them. The clue was the use of two different Arabic words for "branch": one (عود) in v. 2, and the second (شعبة) in vv. 4 and 5. And while the Arabic word used in vv. 4 and 5 was a sort of transliteration of the underlying Syriac ܐܬܪܐ ("branch"), the Arabic word used in v. 2 was not. This indicated to Baarda that the Arabic translator had found some Syriac word *other than* ܐܬܪܐ in v. 2 for his Syriac exemplar. Having set up a correlation between عود and a distinct Syriac word in v. 2, the translator was pedantic enough to employ a *different* Arabic word in vv. 4 and 5, *when he encountered a different Syriac word*. Baarda surmised that while vv. 4 and 5 had been Vulgatized in the Syriac exemplar known to the Arabic translator, vv. 1 and 2 ("I am the vineyard . . . Every vine planted in me") still contained the Diatessaronic reading. It appeared that the Arabic translator himself had Vulgatized vv. 1 and 2 in the process of making

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John xv 2)," *NT 17* (1975), 151–55 (also in his *Early Transmission of Words of Jesus*, 173–77).

<sup>134</sup> For the reconstruction of the passage and the evidence, see Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat*, I, 220–27.

<sup>135</sup> Baarda cites Preuschen and Schäfers; the latter specifically cites the Arabic's agreement with the canonical text as his reason for reserving judgement: "Man könnte dagegen geltend machen, dass die arabische Übersetzung dieses Diatessarons aber doch gegen diese Annahme spricht" (see *ibid.*, 152 [174 in his *Early Transmission*]).

his translation. He did so, however, with such fidelity to the different words used in his Syriac exemplar, that the difference can be detected even in his translation.

Baarda went on to point out that in the Sinaitic Syriac (Syr<sup>s</sup>), the process of Vulgatization has proceeded one step further, for v. 1 gave the canonical "I am the vine (ܐܬܝܢܐ) of truth." The text continues with a very tortured transition which betrayed the "shotgun marriage" of the canonical tradition (v. 1) and the Diatessaronic (v. 2): "Every vine (ܐܬܝܢܐ) in me . . ." In short, Syr<sup>s</sup> presents the impossible metaphor of the "vine" being both Jesus (in v. 1) and also those who were "in him" (in v. 2). Baarda also noted that the Arabic Harmony, like ten Western witnesses, introduced John 15.1ff. with the formula "And he said to them: . . ." A formula such as this was necessary because in all the harmonies John 15.1 was preceded by "and they went according to their custom to the Mount of Olives, He and his disciples" (Mark 14.26; Luke 22.39). Unless the speaker were identified, a reader of the Diatessaronic arrangement would not know who was speaking. The fact that the Arabic preserved this Diatessaronic feature increased the probability that the inconsistency in word choice for "branch" between v. 2 and vv. 4/5 reflected the Diatessaronic text of its Syriac exemplar. Further confirmation was found in verse 4 in two of the Arabic manuscripts (MSS B and E), which conflated the canonical "branch" (v. 4) with the genuine Diatessaronic reading "vineyard" (v. 1): "the branch (= canonical, v. 4), (wood) of the vineyard (= Diatessaronic, v. 1)." Baarda concluded that only a scholar who had not carefully studied the Arabic Harmony in Arabic would use its text as evidence *against* the reading of Aphrahat, Ephrem, and Cyrillona (together with a portion of the reading in Syr<sup>s</sup>), for while the text of the Arabic Harmony had indeed been vulgatized, remnants of the original Diatessaronic reading were still preserved in some manuscripts.

One of the most interesting reconstructions of an individual pericope in the Diatessaron is found in Baarda's 1986 article "The Flying Jesus,' Luke 4:29-30 in the Syriac Diatessaron."<sup>136</sup> He noticed that Aphrahat (*Dem.* II.20) says "He (Jesus) showed the power of his majesty when He was cast down from the height into the depth and was not hurt." Baarda found the

<sup>136</sup> *VigChr* 40 (1986), 313-341.

same assertion in no fewer than seven of Ephrem's hymns, and in nine places in Ephrem's *Commentary* on the Diatessaron. Ephrem's remarks include: "When they cast Him down from the hill, He flew in the air" (*Carm. Nisib.* 35.16); "He walked in the midst of the sea, and flew and circled in the air" (*Carm. Nisib.* 43.22); and "they cast Him downwards from above, downwards. But . . . through their midst He was found to pass by . . . by his rapidly moving to the height. . . . He rapidly moved upward in the air" (*Sermo de Domino Nostro* 21). These all reference the Rejection at Nazareth (Luke 4.16–30), which concludes *not* with Jesus being thrown from the hill, but with his mysteriously "passing through the midst of them." But the citations in Aphrahat and Ephrem indicated that their text said Jesus *was* thrown from the hill, and *flew* away. Did the Diatessaron contain this remarkable variant? Baarda's investigation showed that it did, for the reading also turned up in a Western Diatessaronic witness, Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* (lines 23440–23448: "*ons Heren spronc . . . [eñ] nederghinc*": "our Lord jumped . . . [and] went down/descended"); and in the mouth of the Manichaean Faustus in Augustine's *Contra Faustum* 26.2 ("... *de supercilio montis iactatus . . . inlaesus abierit*"; "thrown down from the height of the mountain . . . he went away unharmed"). "Remarkably enough," notes Baarda, "Augustin in his refutation does not mention the fact that Faustus used an argument for which [there] was no support in the canonical Gospels. We cannot, therefore, exclude the possibility that Augustin knew this very tradition from his Manichaean past."<sup>137</sup> On the basis of about twenty texts—all of which are related to the Diatessaronic tradition—Baarda reconstructs the Diatessaron's reading as follows:

Luke 4.29: . . . they stood up and they led Him out [from] the town and brought Him by the side of the hill [on which their town was built], in order to cast Him down.

Luke 4.30–31a: [When ?] they cast Him down from the height into the depth [and ?] He did not fall and was not hurt/harmed, through their midst He passed [and ?] He flew [in the air ?] and He descended [from above] to Kapharnaum . . .<sup>138</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 330. This conclusion supports the contention of Leloir and Quispel that Augustine sometimes quoted from a Diatessaron. See *infra*, 317; 334–336.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 331–32.

Baarda noted the *Toledoth Yeshu* reports that Jesus flew,<sup>139</sup> and the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* report that Simon Magus flew;<sup>140</sup> moreover, all of these accounts contain remarkable agreements in vocabulary, including “to fly,” “to descend,” “hill,” “the air,” “unhurt.” Baarda remarks that

One might explain this by assuming that there was a second century tradition of this kind that has influenced these sources in one way or another. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that it was the elaboration of the scene in Lk 4.29f. in the Diatessaron that gave rise to these other stories.<sup>141</sup>

Baarda’s reconstruction of Jesus’ flight—based entirely upon agreements among the various references in Aphrahat, Ephrem, and the other Diatessaronic witnesses—is a remarkable example of the freedom early Christians took with the text, for the detail was either added to the story, or, if it were original, then it was later suppressed. The passage is one more evidence of the value and antiquity of traditions found in the Diatessaron.

LOUIS LELOIR

EPHREM SYRUS, *COMMENTARY  
ON THE CONCORDANT  
GOSPEL* (CHESTER BEATTY  
MS 709A AND MS 709B)

At the same time that Quispel and his critics were locked in combat, a discovery of great significance was taking place, for a Syriac manuscript containing over half of Ephrem’s *Commentary* came to light. The name of Louis Leloir of the Abbey of Clervaux (Luxembourg) is inseparably linked with this manuscript. In 1953–54 he published the text and a Latin translation of the two Armenian manuscripts of the *Commentary*.<sup>142</sup> His edition is now standard, replacing the 1846 Mechitarist edition and the 1876 Aucher/Moesinger translation. Then in 1957, Sir Chester Beatty acquired the greater portion of a Syriac

<sup>139</sup> S. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen* (Berlin 1902), 43 (Strasbourg MS), 74 (Vienna MS), 119 (Jemen MS), 147 (Shemtov ibn Schaprut); cf. the commentary, 193, 223–35. Cp. G. Schlichting, *Ein jüdisches Leben Jesu* (Tübingen 1982), 118–19, 205.

<sup>140</sup> III.47.2, and III.60.1 (ed. Rehm and Paschke, 128 and 136, respectively).

<sup>141</sup> Baarda, “The Flying Jesus’,” 334

<sup>142</sup> *Saint Ephrem, Commentaire de l’Évangile concordant, version arménienne*, ed. L. Leloir, CSCO 137 (text) & 145 (Latin translation) [Armen. 1 & 2] (Louvain 1953 & 1954).

manuscript now catalogued as MS 709a in the Chester Beatty Library (Dublin, Ireland). A preliminary analysis was carried out by Mr. Cyril Moss, of the Department of Printed Books and Oriental Manuscripts of the British Museum. He dated the manuscript to the late fifth—or, at the latest, the early sixth—century. The 75 folios acquired were written in a bold Estrangelo hand, in two parallel columns. Moss determined that the manuscript fell into two portions: the first consisted of ten folios, which contained an exchange of letters between Severus of Antioch and Julien of Halicarnassus; the second portion consisted of 65 folios, which contained large portions of Ephrem's *Commentary* in the original Syriac. Leloir was invited to prepare an edition. At last, scholarship had access to most of Ephrem's *Commentary* in the author's own language. Leloir's edition of the Syriac text, accompanied by a meticulous Latin translation, appeared in 1963.<sup>143</sup>

The Beatty manuscript contained four significant lacunae: (1) the first folio of the commentary was missing, I.1–I.2; (2) a major gap existed between I.27 and IX.14 (the Valdivieso Fragment<sup>144</sup> supplied a single folio of this gap [I.31–II.4], and a later discovery would provide 41 folios [covering II.4 to II.14, II.20 to III.6, III.15–IV.2, IV.6 to VII.25, and VII.27 to IX.10] which filled most of this lacuna); (3) a single folio was missing at XVI.16–17; (4) another major gap existed between XVIII.3 and XXI.4 (the Baarda Fragment provided only a small part of XXI.1). Despite these gaps, the Syriac text was a boon to scholarship. Leloir's comparison of the Syriac with the Armenian translation shows the latter to be, all in all, a very careful rendering of the Syriac. At points, the Syriac illuminates the word choice of the Armenian translator; sometimes it allows one to correct the Armenian where obscure or wrong. Similarly, the Armenian translation permits one to correct corruptions in the Syriac. Leloir concluded that sometimes the Armenian, but then at other points, the Syriac, preserved the better text.<sup>145</sup> Because of the lengthy interpolations and omis-

<sup>143</sup> *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque*, ed. L. Leloir, CBM 8(a) (Dublin 1963). Photographs of four pages of the manuscript (ff. 1', 5', 9', 10') are printed at the beginning of L. Leloir, *Doctrines et méthodes d'Éphrem d'après les oeuvres éditées*, CSCO 220 [Subs. 18] (Louvain 1961).

<sup>144</sup> See *infra*, 318–319.

<sup>145</sup> *Ephrem de Nisibe, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant ou Diatessaron*, ed. L. Leloir, SC 121 (Paris 1966), 28–29.

sions in both the Syriac and the Armenian, it was apparent that the Armenian version had not been translated from the type of Syriac text found in Chester Beatty MS 709a.<sup>146</sup> Rather, it would seem that a *second* (and as yet, unrecovered) Syriac recension of the *Commentary* existed, from which the Armenian was translated.<sup>147</sup> Pressed to indicate which text he found more reliable in preserving the gospel text of the *Commentary*, Leloir was loath to choose, but finally gave the nod to the Armenian.<sup>148</sup>

Fortune continued to smile benevolently on Ephrem's *Commentary* and on Leloir, for 21 years after his publication of the Syriac text, five of the missing folios appeared. Prof. K.J. Cathcart, President of the Chester Beatty Library's Board of Directors, immediately purchased these in 1984. Then in 1986, an additional 36 of the missing folios came on the market, and were again purchased by the Beatty Library. Save for the absence of one folio,<sup>149</sup> the forty-one folios acquired in 1984 and 1986 were nearly consecutive, commencing at the point where the folio published by Valdivieso ended (in the first lines of II.4), and stretching to the first lines of IX.10. Appropriately, the Beatty Library entrusted publication of the additional folios to Leloir. His 1987 announcement of the find<sup>150</sup> contained the text of the first twelve folios (covering II.4–IV.2; save for the missing folio with II.14–II.20), accompanied by a Latin translation. He also provided a Latin translation of the next twelve folios (though V.12).<sup>151</sup> In 1988, he published additional extracts from the new discovery, covering the Sermon on the Mount (VI.1–21b),

<sup>146</sup> See L. Leloir, "Divergences entre l'original syriaque et la version Arménienne du commentaire d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, Vol. II, StT 232 (Città del Vaticano 1964), 303–31; W.L. Petersen, "Some Remarks on the Integrity of Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron," *StPatr* 20 (Louvain 1989), 197–202.

<sup>147</sup> L. Leloir, *Le témoignage d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron*, CSCO 227 [Subs. 19] (Louvain 1962), 236–37.

<sup>148</sup> Leloir, *Le témoignage*, 237–44.

<sup>149</sup> Which contained II.14 to just after the beginning of II.20.

<sup>150</sup> L. Leloir, "Le Commentaire d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron, Quarante et un folios retrouvés," *RB* 94 (1987), 481–518.

<sup>151</sup> The text and translation are found *ibid.*, 486–518. Leloir's identically titled articles ("Le Commentaire d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron. Quarante et un folios retrouvés," *Muséon* 102 [1989], 299–305; and "Le Commentaire d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron. Quarante et un folios retrouvés," *ParOr* 15 [1988/89], 41–63) lack the text and translation, and are only summaries of the discovery.

providing both the Syriac text and a Latin translation.<sup>152</sup> Finally, in 1990, less than two years before his death, the aged Leloir saw publication of his edition of all forty-one additional folios (now designated Chester Beatty MS 709b; the original holding of the Beatty Library, previously known as MS 709, was rechristened MS 709a),<sup>153</sup> with a Latin translation and a reprint of the Valdivieso Fragment. It was a fitting final act for a scholar who had invested more than forty years of his life in Diatessaronic research.

During his long association with the *Commentary*, Leloir produced a number of exceptionally useful tools for the Diatessaronic scholar. Principal among these is his *Le témoignage d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron*.<sup>154</sup> It is divided into three sections. The first excises the gospel citations from the *Commentary* (in the form of the Latin translation), with an apparatus noting differences between the three witnesses (Armenian MSS A and B, and the Syriac MS). The second section examines these citations one by one, commenting on any differences among the manuscripts, and comparing the citation with other Diatessaronic witnesses, canonical manuscripts (in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian), and a wide range of Patristic and apocryphal literature. It was in this section that Leloir became the first to note more than 30 agreements or approximations between the text of the Diatessaron and the gospel text cited by Augustine. (This point would later be explored by G. Quispel; see *infra*, 334–336.) Finally, in the last section, Leloir reconstructed the text of the Diatessaron as known through Ephrem's *Commentary*.

In another study,<sup>155</sup> Leloir examined the sequence of harmonization in the Diatessaron. He offered a synoptic table which set out in parallel columns the sequence of (1) Ephrem's *Commentary*, (2) the Arabic Harmony, (3) the Latin Tatian (Codex Fuldensis), (4) the Middle Dutch Tatian (the Liège Harmony), (5) the Venetian Harmony, and (6) the Persian Harmony. He

<sup>152</sup> L. Leloir, "S. Éphrem: Le texte de son commentaire du Sermon sur la Montagne," *Mémorial Dom Jean Gribomont (1920–1986)*, StEug 27 (Rome 1988), 361–91.

<sup>153</sup> *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709). Folios Additionnels*, ed. L. Leloir, CBM 8(b) (Louvain 1990).

<sup>154</sup> CSCO 227 [Subs. 19] (Louvain 1962).

<sup>155</sup> L. Leloir, "Le Diatessaron de Tatien," *OrSyr* 1 (1956), 208–231; 313–334.

concluded that—as Burkitt and others had noted—there seemed to be two “families” when speaking of sequence of harmonization, one Eastern, and one Western. The Eastern was represented by the *Commentary* of Ephrem, the Arabic Harmony, and perhaps the Dura Fragment; the Western order was evidenced principally by Codex Fuldensis and the Tuscan Harmony, and, to a lesser degree, the Middle Dutch and Venetian Harmonies.<sup>156</sup>

Leloir’s legacy to the field is unrivaled: exquisite editions, with literal translations in Latin; helpful studies of the text of the *Commentary* itself and the relationships among the manuscripts; and detailed analyses of not only the sequence of the Diatessaron, but also of the gospel citations presented in the *Commentary* and their relation to other Diatessaronic witnesses and the New Testament text at large. One of the first steps the astute Diatessaronic researcher makes is to consult Leloir’s *Témoignage*, for it will expedite research.

PEDRO ORTIZ VALDIVIESO

THE VALDIVIESO FRAGMENT  
OF EPHREM’S SYRIAC  
COMMENTARY

The Papyrological Seminar of the Facultad Teológica San Cugat del Vallés in Barcelona, Spain, possesses a single folio (inventory number 71), written in Syriac, which was edited by Valdivieso in 1966.<sup>157</sup> Although Leloir had published the Chester Beatty manuscript (MS 709a) of the Syriac version of the *Commentary*, it contained numerous lacunae. Paleographic and codicological comparisons showed that Valdivieso’s folio was folio 10 in the Beatty manuscript. Its text runs from the end of I.31 to the beginning of II.4. Biblical passages cited include Luke 1.78, 79; Matt 1.18, 19, 20. In dating the Fragment and fixing its provenance, Valdivieso likened its paleography to four manuscripts from the British Library, Or. Add. 12,150 (written in Edessa in 411<sup>158</sup>), Add. 14,571 (written in Edessa in

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 210–11.

<sup>157</sup> P.O. Valdivieso, “Un nuevo fragmento siríaco del comentario de San Efrén al Diatésaron (P. Palau Rib. 2),” *Studia Papyrologica* 5 (1966), 7–17; Valdivieso’s article was reprinted in L. Leloir’s edition of the 41 missing folios of the Syriac version of Ephrem’s *Commentary: Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l’Évangile concordant, texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709). Folios Additionnels*, ed. L. Leloir, CBM 8(b) (Louvain 1990), 145–57.

<sup>158</sup> This is the “Nitrian” MS of Eusebius’ *Theophania*, the character of whose gospel citations was debated by Burkitt, Baumstark, and Peters (see



519), Add. 17,176 (written in 532), and Add. 14,610 (written in 550/551).<sup>159</sup> Since the Fragment comes from Beatty MS 709, what pertained to the former also pertained to the latter. Valdivieso's analysis suggested that our Syriac manuscript of the *Commentary* was copied in or near Edessa between approximately 410 and 550. The article contained an edition of the text, a photograph of the folio (recto and verso), and a Spanish translation of the text.

JUW FON WERINGHA

THE *HELIAND* REEXAMINED

Many of Quispel's *promovendi* explored specific aspects of his debates with his critics in their dissertations. In 1965, fon Weringha (the name is Old Frisian; also spelt and sometimes catalogued under the contemporary Dutch spelling: Van Weringh) published a detailed textual examination of the relationship between the *Heliand* and the Diatessaron,<sup>160</sup> the point at which Krogmann had attacked Quispel.

Fon Weringha's study, written in English, is a model of methodological clarity, and offers a helpful introduction to the history of *Heliand* research. The reader is assisted by presentation of complete *lemmata* from Diatessaronic witnesses, as well as from the canonical Greek and Latin texts. Fon Weringha adopted Quispel's principle for identifying a genuine Diatessaronic reading: it had to be found in both Eastern and Western Diatessaronic witnesses. Where canonical manuscripts gave the proposed "Diatessaronic" reading, their *lemma* was also presented; all the texts were translated into English to facilitate comparison. Fon Weringha isolated 57 instances where the Old Saxon reading of the *Heliand* deviated from what it should have read, had it translated the Vulgate literally. Four of these had two variants in the same pericope, bringing the total of variation units to 61. Of these, 20 lacked Eastern parallels, and five lacked Western parallels. The Greek canonical tradition (principally Codex Bezae) paralleled six of the read-

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*supra*, 155, 223f.). The fact that Valdivieso considered the Syriac manuscript of Ephrem's *Commentary* to be so similar in its orthography to the Nitrian MS of the *Theophania* that he could use the latter to establish the date and provenance of the former, raises suspicions that the Nitrian MS might well contain Diatessaronic readings. Given the divided conclusions reached by earlier scholars, the MS warrants a careful and thorough reexamination.

<sup>159</sup> Valdivieso, *ibid.*, 10–11 (reprinted in Leloir, *ibid.*, 145–57).

<sup>160</sup> J. fon Weringha, *Heliand and Diatessaron*, SG 5 (Assen 1965).

ings, while ten turned up in *Vetus Latina* manuscripts, and 18 were found in the Syriac versions (some readings cropped up in two or all three canonical traditions). If one filtered out the readings with canonical parallels, then 13 readings remained; these 13 occurred *only* in the *Heliand* and Eastern and Western Diatessaronic witnesses. If the screen were expanded to admit readings in the *Heliand*, Eastern and Western Diatessaronic witnesses, *and* one or more canonical traditions (Greek, *Vetus Latina*, or Syriac), then an additional 16 readings were captured. Since the Syriac and *Vetus Latina* traditions are usually considered among the Diatessaronic witnesses, and Diatessaronic readings frequently crop up in *Codex Bezae* and a limited circle of Greek manuscripts as well, this procedure is not unduly liberal. Combining the two sets (13 + 16), 29 readings were found in the *Heliand* which *deviate* from the Vulgate, but are supported by Eastern and Western Diatessaronic witnesses. A few examples:

(1) At Matt 1.25, the *Heliand* (lines 332–333) reads: “*Uuas im uuilleo mikil, / that he sia sô hêlaglîco haldan môsti*” (“it was his strong desire that he might keep her so holy”). The canonical text, both Greek and Latin speaks only of “not knowing her.” The reading “*in sancitate habitabat cum ea*” is found in Ephrem’s *Commentary*, in the Persian Harmony, and, in the West, in the Cambridge Harmony and Jacob van Maerlant’s *Rijmbijbel*. The only canonical tradition which preserves it is the Curetonian Syriac: “and purely was dwelling with her.”<sup>161</sup>

(2) At Matt 6.15 (par. Luke 11.26), the *Heliand* (line 1621) substitutes “God” for the canonical “Father” (the reading of the Greek and Latin manuscript traditions in both gospels). The *Heliand*’s reading is paralleled in the Persian Harmony in the East, and in the Liège, Stuttgart, and Venetian Harmonies in the West. No canonical MSS offer the reading.<sup>162</sup>

By examining the union, intersection, and disjunction of the sets created by the various witnesses, von Weringha concluded that “the *Heliand* in its deviations from the canonical text is more closely related to the Western Tatian tradition than to the other branches”; furthermore,

rather than extending more or less uniformly to all sub-branches of T<sup>west</sup> [= the Western Diatessaronic witnesses] (as one would

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., 94–95.

expect in view of the common Latin background), [the *Heliand*] appears to be restricted particularly to the Dutch Diatessaron tradition. Hence we might say that, next to the unknown harmony source of the *Heliand*, the Dutch Tatian version is its nearest relative.<sup>163</sup>

Fon Weringha's contributions were two-fold: he had provided the first comprehensive examination of the *Heliand*'s text in relation to the Diatessaronic tradition; second, he had done so in a superbly constructed methodological framework, so that his conclusions elicited assent.

In 1979, a new fragment of the *Heliand* was discovered in Straubing, Germany.<sup>164</sup> The dialect of its 150 lines of text seemed to confirm a position taken by fon Weringha in his dissertation (and later opposed by Drögereit<sup>165</sup>) that the *Heliand*'s original language had been Old Frisian, a predecessor of Middle Frisian. What struck fon Weringha was that this Proto-Frisian was precisely the language spoken in the vicinity of Werden at the time of Bernlêf. In this fon Weringha saw confirmation that Bernlêf was the *Heliand*'s author.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>164</sup> B. Bischoff, "Die Straubinger Fragmente einer Heliand-Handschrift," *BGDSL* 101.2 (1979), 171–80. Also: B. Taeger, "Das Straubinger Heliand-Fragment," *BGDSL* 101.2 (1979), 181–228; idem, 103.3 (1981), 402–424; idem, 104.1 (1982), 10–43.

<sup>165</sup> R. Drögereit, "War der Dichter des Heliand ein Frieser?" in *Flect op 'e koai. Stúdzjes oanbean oan Prof. Dr. W.J. Buma*, Fryske Akademy-útjefte 382 (Groningen 1970), 11–27.

<sup>166</sup> J.J. van Weringh, *Liudger, Bernlef, Heliand en het Driekoningenverhaal in der Lage Landen taal van het jaar 815* (Muiderberg 1984). On the arguments for Bernlêf's authorship, see *supra*, p. 105, n. 86, and *infra*, 328f.

ROELOF VAN DEN BROEK

THE VITA BEATE VIRGINIS  
MARIE ET SALVATORIS  
RHYTHMICA<sup>167</sup>

LUDOLPH OF SAXONY'S VITA  
JESU CHRISTI<sup>168</sup>

THE AMSTERDAM  
LECTIONARY<sup>169</sup>

Van den Broek, another of Quispel's *promovendi*, is currently Professor of Church History and Dean of Theology at Utrecht. He wrote three articles in the mid-1970s on the mysterious "Old Latin" (or pre-Vulgate) Diatessaron hypothesized by Plooij (and before him, by Grein, Th. Zahn, Schade, and Vogels), and explored by Baumstark and Quispel. The articles appeared at a time when critics such as Fischer, Krogmann, and De Bruin were questioning the existence of such a document. Perhaps Van den Broek's most important contribution was the discovery of Diatessaronic readings—some of which agreed with readings in the *Heliand*—in an early thirteenth century Latin poem composed in southern Germany, the *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*,<sup>170</sup> and in the *Vita Jesu Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony (*fl.* 1345).<sup>171</sup> He presented nine readings, including the following:

(1) At Luke 1.38, the *Vita Rhythmica* read "*dei sum ancilla*" (line 1563: "I am the handmaiden of god"), instead of the standard Latin "*ecce ancilla Domini*" ("Behold, the handmaiden of the Lord"). The *Heliand* (line 285) read "*Thiu bium ic thotgodes*" ("I

<sup>167</sup> Edition: *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, ed. A. Vögtlin, BLVS 180 (Tübingen 1888).

<sup>168</sup> Edition: *Ludolphus de Saxonía, Vita Jesu Christi*, ed. L.M. Rigollot, 2 parts, 4 vols. (Paris/Romae 1870).

<sup>169</sup> The manuscript is catalogued as HS. I G 41 in the Library of the University of Amsterdam. Catalogue: *Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam. Catalogus der Handschriften, II. De handschriften der Stedelijke Bibliotheek met de latere aanwinsten*, ed. M.B. Mendes da Costa (Amsterdam 1902), 86, as item # 533. The harmonized fragments were first edited by C.G.N. de Vooy, "Twee mystieke traktaatjes uit de eerste helft van de veertiende eeuw," *TNTL* 40 (1921) 301–309. The entire manuscript was edited by C.C. de Bruin, *Het Amsterdamse Lectionarium*, CSSN ser. minor, tome II, vol. I (Leiden 1970).

<sup>170</sup> Here, he was following Henss' notice of the existence of such readings; see *supra*, 265.

<sup>171</sup> R. van den Broek, "A Latin Diatessaron in the 'Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica'," *NTS* 21 (1974), 109–132. The readings in Ludolph of Saxony were first noticed by Quispel: see *infra*, 330.

am the handmaiden of the God of men"). The two variants in the two poems (interpolation of "I am";<sup>172</sup> substitution of "God" for "Lord") were paralleled in Ephrem's *Commentary* ("*ecce ego ancilla sum Dei*"), and in the Persian and Middle Dutch Liège Harmonies.<sup>173</sup>

(2) At Matt 27.3, the canonical text reads Τότε ἰδὼν Ἰούδας ὁ παραδούς αὐτὸν ὅτι κατεκρίθη ("Then Judas, the betrayer of him, seeing that he was condemned..."). This passage lacks clarity; Tatian apparently resolved it by interpolating a subject for κατεκρίθη. We find "Dominus noster" in Ephrem, "Christ" in the Persian Harmony, "Jesus" in the Arabic, Pepsian, and Venetian Harmonies, as well as Ludolph of Saxony and Syr<sup>p</sup>. A very similar interpolation, "*sum dominum*," crops up in the *Vita Rhythmica* (line 4636). The reading is not found in any canonical manuscripts, nor in Codex Fuldensis.

(3) In the same verse (Matt 27.3), the *Vita Rhythmica* (line 4637) read "*mortique deputatum*" ("assigned to death") for the canonical "*quod damnatus esset*" ("that he was condemned"). As Van den Broek pointed out, "At first sight, the expression 'mortique deputatum' for the canonical 'quod damnatus esset' could be explained in terms of poetic freedom." But he continued: "And yet this would be a false assumption; for it proves to be an old, though probably only western, Diatessaronic reading."<sup>174</sup> This was proven by the presence of the identical variant in the *Heliand* (lines 5146–47): "*thô he ageban gisah/ is drohtin te dôde*" ("when he saw his Lord surrendered to death"), and in the Venetian and Pepsian Harmonies, as well as the Middle Dutch Stuttgart, The Hague, and Cambridge Harmonies, and the Middle High German Zürich Harmony.

The significance of Van den Broek's discovery was two-fold. First, it showed that, contrary to the assertions of Krogmann and others, poetic works such as the *Vita Rhythmica* and the *Heliand* were capable of preserving Diatessaronic readings. No longer could readings in the *Heliand* be dismissed as singularities, wrought by chance, *metri causa*, or (as Sievers had put it in the case of the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis) by "Übersetzungskunst." These unsubstantiated rationalizations could not be defended if a *second* poem, in a *different* language, with the *same* specific genre (a harmonized "Life of Jesus"), *also* preserved the *identical* variant readings—readings which in both poems agreed with other Diatessaronic witnesses. If the readings had occurred in only *one* poem, then it was con-

<sup>172</sup> This might be a mistranslation; see *supra*, p. 289, n. 83.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

ceivable that chance or "Kunst" caused these readings; but when the readings appeared in *two* poems, it meant that each poet—independently and spontaneously, and in different languages—had to have suffered the identical attack of "Kunst," and had "spontaneously" made the identical modification.<sup>175</sup> This was highly improbable, if not impossible. The second aspect of Van den Broek's discovery was to provide additional evidence for the existence of the Old Latin harmony first suggested by Schade, and defended so strongly by Plooij. Those readings in the *Vita Rhythmica* and Ludolph of Saxony which agreed with Diatessaronic witnesses could not have come from Codex Fuldensis, for it lacked them. Rather, just like the Liège Harmony, like the Latin harmonies studied by Vogels, and like the Old and Middle High German harmonies studied by Baumstark, these readings had to have been part of an Old Latin harmony, whose text had not yet been Vulgatized. As Van den Broek put it

[the *Vita Rhythmica's* text] shows so many readings corresponding to those of the western as well as the eastern Diatessarons that we can only conclude that its author made use of a Latin Harmony which deviated to a great extent from the Codex Fuldensis.<sup>176</sup>

In a second article Van den Broek examined the *Rijmbijbel* of Jacob van Maerlant from the perspective of Diatessaronic studies.<sup>177</sup> Since the time of Plooij—who had noted its common error with the Liège Harmony, and who sometimes appealed to its readings<sup>178</sup>—this poetic work, composed in 1271, had lain in the penumbra of Diatessaronic studies. Van den Broek was the first to examine its text in detail. He presented eight main and several minor readings to substantiate the connexion between the *Rijmbijbel* and the Diatessaronic tradition. It was known that one of Van Maerlant's sources was the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, which sometimes preserved Diatessaronic readings.<sup>179</sup> What caught Van den Broek's eye,

<sup>175</sup> This argument became even more unlikely when some of these same Diatessaronic readings were found in the Greek hymns of Romanos the Melodist; see *infra*, 341–343.

<sup>176</sup> Van den Broek, "A Latin Diatessaron," 111.

<sup>177</sup> R. van den Broek, "Jacob van Maerlant en het Nederlandse Diatessaron," *NedThT* 28 (1974), 141–164.

<sup>178</sup> See *supra*, 175.

<sup>179</sup> The *Historia Scholastica* of Comestor has received scant attention in

however, was that the *Rijmbijbel* sometimes offered gospel citations which agreed with the Middle Dutch family of harmonies (of which the Liège Harmony is the prime example). These readings, however, were *not* found in the *Historia Scholastica*. The question posed itself: whence had they come? Van Maerlant wrote in 1271, a decade or two before the copying of the Liège Harmony (usually dated *c.* 1280); hence, he could not be getting his readings from the Liège manuscript *even though he shared a common error with it*.<sup>180</sup> The evidence allowed only one explanation. Van Maerlant had used not the Liège Harmony, but its Middle Dutch archetype, which had also contained the error. Thanks to Van den Broek's work, Van Maerlant is now recognized as the oldest extant witness to the Middle Dutch harmonized gospel tradition. Like many of the readings in the Liège Harmony, many of Van Maerlant's variants—although found in other Diatessaronic witnesses, both East and West—were absent from Codex Fuldensis. Van Maerlant's readings, which come from a point nearer the archetype of the Middle Dutch tradition than those of any other witness, confirmed once again the necessity of hypothesizing an unvulgarized "Old Latin" Diatessaron.

Van den Broek returned to the subject of the oldest Middle Dutch harmonies and the "Old Latin" Diatessaron in a 1977 article, titled "Enkele opmerkingen over de Latijnse archetypus van het Middelnederlandse Diatessaron" ("Some Remarks on the Latin Archetype of the Middle Dutch Diatessaron").<sup>181</sup> Here he once again demonstrated his mastery of the earliest reaches of the Middle Dutch tradition, buttressing their evidence with parallel readings from the Latin *Vita Rhythmica*, the Old Saxon *Heliand*, and Ludolph of Saxony's Latin *Vita Jesu Christi*, and, of course, Eastern witnesses. This article presented more evidence demonstrating agreement among a wide variety of medieval harmonized sources against Codex Fuldensis. Against De Bruin, he pointedly observed that readings in the Western

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Diatessaronic studies. The Diatessaronic readings come from a subsection known as the *Historia evangelica* (Migne PL 198, 1538–1644). Plooij cited its variants in his monographs, and its readings crop up in the apparatus of Plooij's edition of the Liège Harmony. However, no article has been devoted to its gospel citations, which seem to derive from a non-Codex Fuldensis Latin gospel harmony.

<sup>180</sup> The reading "poorters" for "potters" at Matt 27.7; discussed *supra*, p. 145, n. 237, p. 183.

<sup>181</sup> *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 70 (1977), 434–458.

harmonized tradition which were also found in the *Heliand* could not have been transmitted through the *Glossa Ordinaria*, for the *Heliand* antedated the *Glossa*. He even went to the trouble of checking the *Glossa* for the variant readings he was finding in the Western harmonized tradition. With one exception (which was also found in the *Vetus Latina*), they were all absent from the *Glossa*.<sup>182</sup>

This article is noteworthy for adducing three readings<sup>183</sup> from the Amsterdam Lectionary (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Library, HS I G 41; dated 1348), a Middle Dutch text which contained substantial excerpts (on ff. 275<sup>r</sup>–296<sup>v</sup>; approximately equivalent to Chaps. 37–55 and 205–226 in the Liège Harmony) from a harmonized Life of Jesus. Some of the readings in the Lectionary agreed with traditions found in Van Maerlant. This meant that the Lectionary contained readings from the oldest strata of the Middle Dutch harmonized tradition.

JACOBUS VAN AMERSFOORT

VANDEN LEVENE ONS HEREN<sup>184</sup>

THE GOSPEL QUOTATIONS  
OF HILARY OF POITIERS

Another of Quispel's *promovendi*, Van Amersfoort also occupied himself with the medieval European Diatessaronic tradition. In addition to assisting Quispel in collecting material for the archives<sup>185</sup> on the *Heliand* and Augustine, Van Amersfoort focused his research on a Middle Dutch rhymed "Life of Jesus" titled *Vanden Levene ons Heren*.<sup>186</sup> Extant in a single complete manuscript (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek Hs. 1329; dated 1438), and eight sets of fragments, the work covers 4,937 lines, and is dated to the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>187</sup> Although composed by an anonymous author, its dialect fixes its provenance: the border region between East Flanders and

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 450.

<sup>183</sup> At Luke 24.13 (ibid., 448–49), Mark 12.42 (ibid., 453–54), and Luke 21.1 (ibid., 457).

<sup>184</sup> Edition: *Vanden Levene Ons Heren*, ed. W.H. Beuken, 2 vols. (Zwolle 1968).

<sup>185</sup> See *infra*, 330, 344.

<sup>186</sup> J. van Amersfoort, "De invloed van het Diatessaron op de middelnederlandse tekst 'Vanden Levene Ons Heren'," *Handelingen van het acht en dertigste Nederlandse Filologencongres* (Amsterdam/Maarssen 1986), 195–207.

<sup>187</sup> *Vanden Levene* (ed. Beuken), II, 147.



Brabant.<sup>188</sup> Van Amersfoort produced Diatessaronic readings from its text; the source of the readings in *Vanden Levene* was the same tradition found in the Liège Harmony, which remains the principal witness for the Middle Dutch tradition.

Van Amersfoort also noticed readings in Hilary of Poitiers which were paralleled in Diatessaronic witnesses.<sup>189</sup> The number of such readings is, however, very small. Upon closer examination it seems likely that these few readings do not stem directly from a Diatessaron or the harmonized tradition, for many of them also occur in the *Vetus Latina* and/or *Vulgate* traditions.

#### QUISPEL'S RESPONSE

#### THE *HOMILIES* OF MACARIUS<sup>190</sup>

Quispel answered his critics (among whom Rathofer did not figure) in a series of articles published in the 1960s and 70s. Krogmann, for example, was supplied with a long list of parallels between the *Heliand* and Diatessaronic witnesses.<sup>191</sup> And it was in this response that Quispel articulated one of the most important principles of Diatessaronic studies:

Im allgemeinen geht die Diatessaronforschung von der Regel aus, dass *eine Variante, welche sich sowohl im östlichen wie im westlichen Zweig der Tradition findet, eine echte Lesart Tatians darstellen muss*.<sup>192</sup>

This rule would become the first criterion for weighing prospective Diatessaronic readings.

Quispel's earlier studies on the *Gospel according to Thomas* and the "Western Text," the Pseudo-Clementines, and the Diatessaron were all preparatory for his definitive response, which appeared in the form of a monograph titled *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas. Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaron* (1975).<sup>193</sup> Due to the brevity of his argumentation and discur-

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., II, 120–24 (author); II, 147 (provenance).

<sup>189</sup> "Some Influences of the Diatessaron of Tatian on the Gospel Text of Hilary of Poitiers," in *StPatr* 15.1, ed. E.A. Livingstone (Berlin 1984), 200–205.

<sup>190</sup> Edition: *Makarios/Symeon. Reden und Briefe, Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B)*, ed. H. Berthold, GCS sans num., 2 vols (Berlin 1973). An English translation has just appeared: *Pseudo-Macarius, The Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the Great Letter*, ed. G.A. Maloney, CWS (New York/Mahwah 1992).

<sup>191</sup> Quispel, "Der Heliand und das Thomasevangelium," 121–153 (= *Gnostic Studies* II, 70–97).

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 129 (= *Gnostic Studies*, II, 78), italics added.

<sup>193</sup> Leiden 1975.

sive style, Quispel's studies were demanding of the reader; this book was no exception. It began with a theoretical reconstruction of the genesis of the Middle Dutch and Middle High German vernacular harmonies; proceeded to a study of specific readings which, in Quispel's view, supported the reconstruction; and concluded with 82 pages of collations, presented in three Appendices.

Steeped in European church history, Quispel was well equipped to sketch a scenario which can confuse those unfamiliar with spread of medieval Christianity in the Low Countries. One of the abiding mysteries in Diatessaronic studies has been the unvulgarized Old Latin harmony, which gave its readings to so many vernacular as well as Latin harmonies. Quite a bit was known about Codex Fuldensis: Victor of Capua's preface recorded how he stumbled on the manuscript from which he ordered Codex Fuldensis copied. It was even known how Codex Fuldensis arrived in Fulda: St. Boniface († 754) deposited the manuscript there sometime in the mid-eighth century.<sup>194</sup> What was unknown was how the *other* harmony—the unvulgarized, Old Latin harmony—arrived in Northern Europe. Quispel searched the history of the period, looking for a figure analogous to Boniface. It had to be a churchman who traveled, who was learned enough to appreciate the codex, and who was concerned with the common folk who did not speak Latin. Eventually he came across a likely candidate in a Frisian churchman named Liudger (Ludgerus). Born in 741, Liudger was a studious lover of books and a devoted missionary, who had studied at various of the medieval centers of learning including York and Utrecht. The son of a Frisian nobleman, Liudger's missionary activity brought him into contact with the blind Frisian bard Bernlêf, who is described by histories of the time as "an eminent poet." Forced to flee during a revolt in 784, Liudger went to Italy, where he remained for over three years. There he traveled widely, spending more than two years at Montecassino, where he copied the Rule of Benedict. In Rome he received relics from Pope Hadrian I. Quispel concluded that somewhere—either during his studies in York, Utrecht, or this enforced "Grand Tour" of religious Italy—the

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<sup>194</sup> Cp. B. Fischer, "Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters," 555: "Die Handschrift Victor's gelangte später in den Besitz des hl. Bonifatius; ob in England oder in Rom, ist zweifelhaft. Jedenfalls lag sie nach seinem Tod immer in Fulda." See also *supra*, p. 85, n. 3.

missionary-scholar Liudger acquired a gospel harmony for use in his evangelical and academic pursuits. This harmony was the deviating, unvulgarized harmony from which Old Latin and "Syriac" readings spread to the other Latin and vernacular harmonies; for example, it must have begun with John 1.1.

Quispel's supposition that Liudger was the man through whose hands the unvulgarized harmony passed turns on the Diatessaronic readings in the *Heliand*, and upon the relationship between Liudger and Bernlêf, for the latter has long been suspected of composing *The Heliand*—a supposition which recent research has strengthened.<sup>195</sup> Moreover, the dialect and orthography of *The Heliand* led Germanists to conclude it was composed in or near Werden<sup>196</sup> (now a southern suburb of the German city of Essen), where Liudger—who became bishop of Münster in 792—helped establish an Abbey. Upon his death in 809, Liudger was buried in this Abbey's crypt. Consequently, Liudger was—for Quispel—the prime suspect responsible for introducing the unvulgarized harmony into Northern Europe, for he was in the right place (Werden), at the right time (the late eighth century), had the right contacts (Bernlêf<sup>197</sup>), and traveled to places (Italy) where he might have acquired such a document.

Quispel's account thus far is nothing more than a fascinating historical recreation of a period little-known to the average New Testament or Patristic scholar. However, after this point, the remainder of his monograph presents readings to support his claims of (1) *Thomas'* dependence upon an "independent" (from the canonical gospels) Judaic-Christian gospel tradition; (2) Tatian's use of this same "independent" tradition as his "fifth source"; (3) this common source being the means by which *Thomas* shares readings with the Diatessaronic family of texts and, through the Diatessaron, the *Heliand* and the Western vernacular harmonies. After exploring these ideas and presenting examples in the prose section of the book (pp. 26–107), Quispel bombarded his critics with three Appendices listing agreements between the Diatessaron and (1) the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis;

<sup>195</sup> See *supra*, p. 105, n. 86.

<sup>196</sup> Cp. W. Krogmann, *Die Heimatfrage des Heliand im Lichte des Wortschatzes* (Seestadt Wismar 1937); R. Drögereit, *Werden und der Heliand* (Essen 1951).

<sup>197</sup> Bernlêf's blindness meant that he required an amanuensis; might his scribe have come from a circle common to the poet and the monk Liudger?

(2) the *Vita Jesu Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony,<sup>198</sup> and (3) the *Gospel according to Thomas*. Whatever one may think of Quispel's historical reconstruction, the textual evidence assembled (by Quispel and his assistant, Dr. J. van Amersfoort) in these Appendices stands on its own merit. It constitutes a valuable resource for future Diatessaron and *Thomas* studies. As C. Tuckett remarked, the value of Quispel's evidence is that he demonstrates "how Th[omas] has links with harmonized texts, many of which stem from a Syriac milieu."<sup>199</sup> Many of the readings are weak, for, like Baumstark's, they often turn on the most subtle points of syntax or grammar—difficult to compare across linguistic lines; at other points, the parallelism is close, but not exact. The problem here, however, is not of Quispel's making, for by presenting a collation of the text of these documents, he was obliged to present *all* perceived agreements, no matter how slight or tenuous. The file cards on which Quispel and Van Amersfoort recorded these collations are now housed in the Theological Institute of the Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, in the care of Dr. Van Amersfoort. Other scholars working on related texts have added additional agreements with other Diatessaronic witnesses.

In the *Vööbus Festschrift* (1976), Quispel published a paper which set out agreements between the Diatessaron and the Syrian ascetic, Macarius.<sup>200</sup> Earlier, Quispel had noticed agreements between the *Gospel according to Thomas* and Macarius,<sup>201</sup> it was not surprising, then, to find that the Syrian ascetic's *Homilies* also contained Diatessaronic variants. Presented in the style of a collation, Macarius' text was found to offer readings paralleled in the Middle Dutch, Middle Italian, Old High German, and Pepysian Harmonies, in addition to the Eastern witnesses. Although the identity of Macarius has been debated, the consensus makes him a (pre- ?) Messalian ascetic, who

<sup>198</sup> The *Vita Jesu Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony (\* c. 1295 – † 1378) is a commentary on the gospels, but it presents the material in a single harmonized account; Ludolph made extensive use of patristic and earlier medieval literature, whose citations abound in the text.

<sup>199</sup> C. Tuckett, "Thomas and the Synoptics," *NT* 30 (1988), p. 157, n. 99.

<sup>200</sup> G. Quispel, "Macarius and the Diatessaron of Tatian," in *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus, Studies in Early Christian Literature and Its Environment, Primarily in the Syrian East*, ed. R. Fischer (Chicago 1977), 203–09.

<sup>201</sup> G. Quispel, "The Syrian Thomas and the Syrian Macarius," *VigChr* 18 (1964), 226–35 (= *Gnostic Studies* II, 75–80). See also his "An Apocryphal Variant in Macarius," *OrLP* 6/7 (1976/76), 487–92.

lived in Syria or Mesopotamia in the fourth century. Greek appears to have been the original language of the *Homilies*.<sup>202</sup> This was a significant discovery, for if Quispel were correct in detecting Diatessaronic readings in Macarius, then Macarius was only the second Greek witness to the Diatessaron, the only other Greek witness known at the time Quispel wrote being the Dura Fragment—if it comes from a Diatessaron. Because Macarius wrote in Greek, Quispel surmised he used a Greek Diatessaron; given the documented bilingualism in Edessa,<sup>203</sup> this would not be as surprising as it might at first seem.

Reflecting on the to and fro between Quispel and his critics, it is apparent that certain oversights on Quispel's part contributed to the problems his theories encountered. Rather than introducing his work by means of a detailed history of scholarship, he rarely referenced earlier research, and when he did, it was in a footnote, without elaboration.<sup>204</sup> This did not help the reader acclimatize to an environment as exotic as Diatessaronic studies. Yet in this instance, such assistance was indispensable, for Diatessaronic studies was a very old and *recherché* field which had suddenly become of interest to non-specialists. Had Quispel laid out a series of examples—from Grein to Schade to Vogels to Plooi to Baumstark—and had he patiently guided the reader through them, demonstrating the continuity of research, then his audience might have been more receptive.

Another obstacle was Quispel's adoption of certain dubious terminology used by Baumstark, namely, Baumstark's indiscriminate use of "ausserkanonisch" (see *supra*, 230). It sometimes seems that Baumstark attributed *any* deviation from the canonical text—be it the omission of a conjunction, the interpolation of a pronoun, or the adding of as tiny a gloss such as "Jesus and his disciples left the city"—to Tatian's use of an extra-canonical source, which he took to be the "Hebrew gospel."<sup>205</sup> This is an excessive and unjustified use of the term

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<sup>202</sup> See *Makarios/Symeon. Reden und Briefe, Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B)*, ed. H. Berthold, GCS sans num., 2 vols (Berlin 1973); here, Vol. I, pp. ix–xiv. A convenient summary of the evidence is found in G.A. Maloney's introduction to his English translation of the *Homilies: Pseudo-Macarius. The Fifty Spiritual Homilies*, 6–9.

<sup>203</sup> See *supra*, p. 201, n. 164.

<sup>204</sup> Grein's work, for example, receives four lines and a footnote in Quispel's *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, p. 21, n. 7.

<sup>205</sup> See *supra*, 235f.

"ausserkanonisch." Used correctly, the term should be restricted to those readings which are either (1) cited and attributed by a Father to an "extra-canonical" gospel (e.g., Epiphanius' report that the "Hebrew gospel" tells of a "light" at Jesus' baptism), or (2) a specific *logion* or episode which is quoted several times in the identical form (e.g. the sayings collected in Resch's *Agrapha*; the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*' saying about "the good which is to come," which is also paralleled in the Manichaean Kephalaia), and which cannot be explained as simple textual modification. To use "ausserkanonisch" of every small deviation in the text is to trivialize the word. Baumstark is guilty of this, as is Quispel.

This free use of "ausserkanonisch" is related to another problem, which Quispel also shared with Baumstark, namely a failure to be critical of one's own findings. Like Baumstark, too many of Quispel's readings are trivial; consequently, rather than assuaging the reader's doubts, they arouse them. Claiming that "on the road" *must* come from an extra-canonical source is attempting too much with too little. It is possible that the reading comes from such a source; but it is also possible that it comes from any of the two dozen canonical manuscripts with the reading; or since (as Wellhausen put it) one would "expect" "on," the author of *Thomas* may have independently made the same alteration that other scribes felt they should make (cp. the canonical manuscripts which make the same change); or, since we are dealing with a translation—and prepositions are notoriously difficult to translate—our Coptic translator may simply have made an error or been using an idiom lost on us today. Any of these are possible; therefore, to argue from such a reading opens the door to critics who will use these weak readings as a pretext for dismissing all readings.

A final echo of Baumstark was Quispel's style. Sometimes it was difficult to follow; at other points, the brevity of his argument could confuse the reader. In some earlier articles—although certainly not in the Appendices to his 1975 monograph—textual relationships were often presented by citing only the keywords of a variant, without presenting the full quotation. Where a quotation was given, it was often done for only one source; the depth of evidence was not mentioned. Frequently, the canonical lemma was not offered for comparison, and *lectiones variae* within the canonical text were, as with Baumstark, ignored (cp. the example below, from Augustine, where "*cordis sui*" is found in Greek and Vetus Latina manu-

scripts). This left the reader with, first of all, the task of tracking down all the parallels, and then, second, of following a very spare argument which—while mounting the most positive case *for* the reading—frequently failed to anticipate objections or contrary evidence and show why the alternative explanations were defective.

Despite these weaknesses, Quispel's positions—and remember that they were only the most recent additions to a long line of scholarly investigations—have been either confirmed or, where confirmation is not possible, generally accepted. The work of fon Weringha, Van den Broek, Van Amersfoort, and others (see, respectively, *supra*, 319–321, 322–326, 326–327, and *infra*, 341–343) has demonstrated the ability of poetic sources to transmit Diatessaronic readings reliably (*contra* Krogmann), and underscored yet again the connexions between the Eastern and Western Diatessaronic witnesses (*contra* De Bruin, Fischer, Krogmann). Quispel's thesis that much of the Western harmonized tradition derived from a lost, unvulgarized, "Old Latin" harmony and not Codex Fuldensis (an extension of the work of Grein, Schade, Plooi, and Vogels) was confirmed by the work of fon Weringha on the *Heliand* and Van den Broek on the *Vita Rhythmica* (*contra* De Bruin and Fischer). The work of fon Weringha and Van den Broek also supported Quispel's claim—first made by Grein—that the *Heliand* contained readings from a source other than Codex Fuldensis (*contra* Krogmann). As for Quispel's claim that *Thomas* availed himself of an "independent," extra-canonical tradition, so circumpect a scholar as Robert McL. Wilson could, in his 1981 presidential address to the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, flatly state that "a majority of those who have investigated the question [of *Thomas*' relationship to the synoptic gospels] now favour the independence of *Thomas*."<sup>206</sup> One of the great ironies in the debate over the relationship of *Thomas* to the synoptics is that *Thomas* log. 2 (which Clement of Alexandria attributes to the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*) leaves no room

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<sup>206</sup> R. McL. Wilson, "Nag Hammadi and the New Testament," *NTS* 28 (1982), 297, who is paraphrasing G. MacRae, "Nag Hammadi and the New Testament," in *Gnosis* (Festschrift for Hans Jonas), ed. B. Aland (Göttingen 1978), 152: "It now appears that a majority of scholars who have seriously investigated the matter have been won over to the side of *Thomas*' independence of the synoptic gospels." See, however, the more reserved treatment (and literature cited) by C. Tuckett, "Thomas and the Synoptics," 132–57.

for debate: it *must* depend upon an extra-canonical source. The only open question is the *extent* of Thomas' dependence. One of the failings of Quispel's critics—and occasionally of Quispel himself<sup>207</sup>—was to speak of “Thomas” as a unity: “Thomas” either depended on an extra-canonical source, or “Thomas” was dependent upon the synoptics. One has to reckon with the possibility that “*Certain* logia in GTh...may be dependent upon one or another Version of the Synoptics. But such conclusions can be reached only after *individually examining* the textual history of *each* saying.”<sup>208</sup> Had each side been more reserved in their claims, closure might have been reached sooner.

Quispel also studied the matter of Manichaean use of a Diatessaron. A Latinist by training, Quispel focused much of his attention on Augustine's gospel citations. Recall that Leloir, in his *Témoignage*, had first drawn attention to agreements between the bishop of Hippo and Tatian's harmony. How had these come to be? Since Augustine was a Manichaean for nine years in his youth (from 373 to 382), and since the Manichaeans used a Diatessaron, Quispel suggested that the agreements were remnants of the Bible text of his Manichaean youth subconsciously “popping up” in his mature years, rather as an English speaker who grew up with the King James Version might instinctively cite its wording. With his assistant Van Amersfoort (who now maintains the files), Quispel again set about assembling an archive of cards logging such agreements. Several of these were adduced in *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*;<sup>209</sup> the vast majority, however, remain unclassified in the archives. Having examined them in a preliminary fashion, it seems to the present writer that the evidence is mixed. The *number* of agreements is impressive, however the *quality* of the readings is, on the whole, poor. Some are minor interpolations, substitutions, or omissions, which form a very shaky foundation for an argument. Others, however, are substantial changes. The principal flaw, however, is that in too many readings there is “interference” from earlier Latin texts which also contain the reading.

<sup>207</sup> But see his judicious statement quoted *supra*, p. 279 at n. 56.

<sup>208</sup> W.L. Petersen, review of M. Fieger's *Das Thomasevangelium. Einleitung, Aulegung, und Kommentar*, in *Bib.* 73 (1992), 292, italics added. See also his “The Parable of the Lost Sheep in the Gospel of Thomas and the Synoptics,” *NT* 23 (1981), 130: “Although the Gospel of Thomas may have undergone a gnostic redaction, it does not follow that all its logia must be gnostic.”

<sup>209</sup> Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, 58–68.



The consequence is that one cannot draw a clear line between Augustine and the Diatessaron, for the line of dependence might go no further back than the *Vetus Latina*—which Augustine unquestionably knew. Some examples will illustrate the difficulty in evaluating the evidence.

(1) At Matt 12.35 (par. Luke 6.45), Augustine (*De Trin.* I.31) interpolates "*cordis sui*": "*et malus homo de malo thesauro cordis sui profert mala.*" (Quispel had already noted this reading in the *Gospel according to Thomas* and the *Heliand*: see *supra*, 281, example #3.) The same interpolation occurs in the Persian and Arabic Harmonies, both manuscripts of the *Vetus Syra*, the Peshitta, the Venetian, Stuttgart, and Haaren Harmonies, one *Vetus Latina* MS (*gat*), as well as Ps.-Augustine, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Rufinus, and Tyconius.<sup>210</sup>

There are problems with this reading, however, for at the Lucan parallel (Luke 6.45), "*cordis sui*" is found in *Vetus Latina* MSS *c f q r*<sup>1</sup> and *e*, and among the Greek canonical manuscripts, the interpolation is found in MSS A C Θ Ψ *f*<sup>13</sup> ℳ. How, then, can one be sure Augustine took the reading from the Diatessaron? Furthermore, the presence of the reading in other Latin Fathers causes one to wonder if it was simply a "local text" in North Africa (note that the reading is found in *Vetus Latina* MS *e*—the lead witness to the *Afra* text).

(2) At Matt 3.10, in *Contra Faustum*, XII.35, Augustine interpolates "*Eccē*" at the beginning of the verse. The same interpolation is found in the Armenian recension of Ephrem's *Commentary*, in the Persian and Arabic Harmonies, in Syr<sup>s.c.p.</sup>, and the Armenian and Aethiopic versions. However, the same interpolation is also found in Ps.-Augustine, Jerome, Ps.-Jerome, Ps.-Isidore, and Rufinus. Again, the wide dissemination in Latin Patristic authors leaves the origin of the reading open to question.

(3) In *Contra Faustum* XIV.12, Augustine quotes Matt 10.28 (par. Luke 12.5) in a form which concludes "*in gehennam ignis.*" The Vulgate in both gospels reads only "*gehennam*," as do the Greek gospels. And, indeed, a reading equivalent to "*ignis*" is found in the Persian Harmony and the Venetian and Tuscan Harmonies. It is also found in the Pseudo-Clementines, and, in one

<sup>210</sup> Ps.-Augustine, *Serm.* 290.3 (Migne *PL* 39, 2295); Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Contra Serm. Festidiosi Ariani* (CChr.SL 91, 284), and *Ad Monimum* III.4.7 (CChr.SL 91, 57); Rufinus, *Regula ad monachos* (*Regula Sancti Basilii episc. Cappadociae*) (Migne *PL* 103, 514A); Tyconius, *Liber regularum* (*The book of Rules of Tyconius*, ed. F.C. Burkitt, TaS 3.1 [Cambridge 1894; reprinted: Nendeln 1967], 84).

Greek canonical MS (1424; at Luke 12.5). This reading has more promise as a Diatessaronic reading, but it is a very slight change, and may have been made spontaneously, to elucidate the Hebrew word. Additionally, it may be an intra-Matthean "harmonization," for the phrase γέεννα (τοῦ) πυρός also occurs at Matt 5.22 and 18.9.

The most convincing agreement between the Diatessaron and Augustine yet found is that discovered by Tj. Baarda, in which the outraged citizens of Nazareth throw Jesus downward from a hill, and he "flies" to Capernaum (Luke 4.29–30; see *supra*, 312–314).

That there are textual agreements between the Diatessaron and Augustine is not in question; it is the explanation for them which is debated. At present, no comprehensive, systematic examination has been undertaken. Given Augustine's desire to demonstrate the agreement of the gospels (*De consensu Evangelistarum*), one might presume that had he known the Diatessaron, he would have mentioned it, or that more blatant Diatessaronic readings would have surfaced in his copious oeuvre. Yet nowhere does he mention Tatian's creation, and examinations of his writings show a low number of readings which agree with the Diatessaron, especially when compared with other Fathers, who unquestionably knew the Diatessaron (Aphrahat, for example). This is circumstantial evidence *against* his *conscious* citation of the Diatessaron. A further problem is that the putative "Diatessaronic" readings in Augustine often turn up in the Vetus Latina or other African writers of the same period. The question of Augustine's citation of the Diatessaron—conscious or unconscious—remains *sub judice*. The evidence in hand argues against his conscious use of Tatian; a method by which *unconscious* use of sources can be proven has yet to be discovered.

In 1993, Quispel published his most recent statement on Manichaean use of a Diatessaron.<sup>211</sup> He adduced two new readings: one from Augustine, and one from a new Manichaean source. The Tebessa Codex (named after the place in Algeria where it was discovered in 1918; Paris: Bib. Nat., Nouv. acq. lat. 1114) is the only known Latin Manichaean text. At Matt 7.14 it shares a variant ("and few are those that go on it") with at least six Diatessaronic witnesses from both the East and West. This new evidence was consistent with Quispel's reconstruction of the

<sup>211</sup> G. Quispel, "A Diatessaronic Reading in a Latin Manichaean Codex," *VigChr* 47 (1993), 374–78.

dissemination of the Diatessaron in the West.<sup>212</sup> According to this, the Diatessaron was used by both the “catholic” Christians (*e.g.*, Ephrem, Aphrahat) and Manichaeans in the East. There, however, because the Diatessaron was also the “standard” gospel text of the Syrian church, the “catholic” line of transmission had the greatest influence on the Diatessaron’s text; Manichaean influence was comparatively small. And the “catholic” Christians, being part of the “Great Church,” were under constant pressure to bring the Diatessaron’s text into line with the normative Greek gospels. This pressure was already felt before Ephrem’s time.<sup>213</sup> Therefore, in the East the Diatessaron was subject to extensive Vulgatization at a very early date precisely because of its (quasi-) official status. The story in the West was quite different. While both Manichaeans and “catholics” used the Diatessaron in the East, *only* Manichaeans used it in the West: prior to Victor of Capua in 546, it appears to have been unknown to “orthodox” authors in the West.<sup>214</sup> Prior to the time of Victor (or whoever it was who Vulgatized the codex which came into his hand, if it was not Victor himself<sup>215</sup>), the Manichaeans had been the guardians of the Diatessaron in the West—and they, of course, were under no pressure to Vulgatize its text. On the contrary: they would have wanted to keep the Diatessaron as distinctive as possible, for Vulgatization would have been a sign of assimilation to the “Great Church.” Therefore, concluded Quispel, the Diatessaron used by the Manichaeans in the West was the most ancient recoverable version of the Diatessaron, for it had escaped Vulgatization longer than any other branch of the Diatessaronic tradition. Quispel used this explanation to account for two distinctive features of some Western Diatessaronic witnesses: variant readings not found in Eastern witnesses, and the unique sequence of harmonization. Both were inherited from the Manichaean Diatessaron, whose Vulgatization began only in the sixth century. Because of its unrivaled antiquity, said Quispel, the Manichaean Diatessaron was far “wilder” than the Diatessaron known to Ephrem: Baarda’s discovery

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<sup>212</sup> See *supra*, 282.

<sup>213</sup> Evidence also convinced Baumstark that the Diatessaron had undergone Vulgatization before Ephrem’s time; see *supra*, 221f.

<sup>214</sup> On this point Quispel’s thesis runs afoul of Baumstark’s discovery of “Diatessaronic” readings in the Roman Antiphonary (see *supra*, 220f.) and Novatian (see *supra*, 219f.).

<sup>215</sup> See *supra*, 127.

of the "flying Jesus" may be an example of a "wild" but ancient reading from the Manichaean Diatessaron. If Quispel's thesis is correct—something which awaits demonstration—then two conclusions follow. First, at many points, the Western Diatessaronic tradition would be more ancient and reliable than the Eastern Diatessaron. Second, the Western harmonized tradition would not rest upon a "domesticated" and "sanitized" "catholic" Diatessaron like Ephrem's, but upon a "wild" and unvulgarized Manichaean Diatessaron.

Regardless of whether Quispel's theoretical reconstruction of the genesis of the Western Diatessaronic tradition is correct or not, several important points emerge. Manichaean use of a Diatessaron continues to be confirmed by new readings, while critics have yet to explain the agreements. Quispel's stress on the significance of *who* (the "catholic" or Manichaean Christians) was preserving and transmitting the tradition is valuable. It places a premium on the recovery of readings from Manichaean sources, be they Eastern or Western.

IGNACIO ORTIZ DE URBINA

Earlier it was remarked that the first step the astute Diatessaronic scholar should make in researching a passage is to consult Leloir's *Témoignage*, the second step will be to consult the compendium of Syriac gospel citations published by the Spanish Orientalist and Jesuit Ortiz de Urbina as part of the *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia*.<sup>216</sup> He searched 19 Syriac Fathers and Patristic works (including the *Acts of Thomas*, Aphrahat, all of Ephrem's works including the Armenian version of the *Commentary* [Ortiz de Urbina's sole concession to non-Syriac sources], the *Liber Graduum*, Aba, the *Doctrina Addai*, the writings of Rabbula, as well as the *Vita Rabbulae*), and five translations of Greek texts into Syriac (Eusebius' *Theophania* and *h.e.*, Titus of Bostra' *contra Manichaeos*, Cyril of Alexandria's *De recta fide*, and the Pseudo-Clementine *Recog.*) for quotations from the Diatessaron.

The volume is divided into two parts, the first being the presentation of the individual citations in canonical sequence (pp. 3–205). Where there is multiple citation of a pericope, all citations are presented individually. Each of the 2,611 citations is

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<sup>216</sup> *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia. Series VI: Vetus Evangelium Syrorum et exinde excerptum Diatessaron Tatiani*, ed. I. Ortiz de Urbina (Matriti 1967).

numbered, and the edition from which it is drawn is given in a footnote. This portion of the volume is eminently clear and helpful; in many ways it is a *clavis Patrum syriorum*. The second part of the book (pp. 207–99) arranges these citations in the order of Ephrem's *Commentary*, attempting to reconstruct the text of the Diatessaron.

As helpful as the work appears, arbitrary decisions by Ortiz de Urbina have led to flawed results. In the first part of the volume (the collection of quotations and their arrangement in canonical order) these fall under three rubrics. First, no criterion is specified as to how the Patristic citations were selected. Any experienced researcher knows how difficult it is to decide what is a quotation, what is an allusion, and what is an echo or paraphrase. The experienced researcher also knows that a Patristic writer sometimes has to alter a quotation because of the context in which he presents it: a name must be substituted for a pronoun which no longer has an antecedent, or a time reference must be given to clarify the chronology. Nowhere does Ortiz de Urbina display awareness of these issues; the consequence is that one must go to the text itself, and examine the context to determine the validity of the citation presented.<sup>217</sup> Second, the manner by which Ortiz de Urbina collected these quotations was strictly mechanical. No effort was made to demonstrate that a quotation must have come from a Diatessaron. Rather, *any* gospel citation that shows up in *any* of the collated works is included. For example, twelve sources collated by Ortiz de Urbina quote John 1.29; all twelve are presented. One of them is Ephrem's *Hymn on the Nativity* XXIV.24, which reads ܐܡ ܠܡܢ ܠܡܢ ("siehe dieser ist es").<sup>218</sup> How Ortiz de Urbina determined that this quotation is from the Diatessaron is a mystery. Indeed, Ephrem knew and used the Diatessaron; but Ephrem knew and used the four *Greek* gospels (perhaps in a Syriac translation) as well.<sup>219</sup> Third and finally, the selection of texts collated is odd, to say the least. Ortiz de Urbina has—with the exception of the Armenian version of Ephrem's *Commentary*—limited the evidence to Syriac

<sup>217</sup> Tj. Baarda's *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage*, 2 vols. (Meppel 1975) time and again remarks on Ortiz de Urbina's failings in both method and results (e.g., see in Baarda, I, 49–53, 95, 131, 138).

<sup>218</sup> *Des heiligen Ephrem des Syrers Hymnen de Nativitate (Epiphania)*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 186 [Syr. 82] (Louvain 1959), 126 (text), 115 (translation).

<sup>219</sup> Ephrem cites "the Greek" text of the gospels five times in his *Commentary* (II.17; V.2; X.14; XV.19; XIX.17), and contrasts it with the Syriac. See *Éphrem de Nisibe, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant ou Diatessaron* (ed. L. Leloir), SC 121, 29–30.

sources. This of course ignores all of the Western witnesses, but also excludes the Persian Harmony and even the Arabic Harmony, which was translated from a Syriac Diatessaron.<sup>220</sup> Here a direct witness to the Diatessaron is ignored, while citations from Ephrem's oeuvre—which might be from the Greek gospels—are presented. This is a singularly uncritical manner in which to proceed. Furthermore, while deliberately ignoring all *non*-Syriac evidence, Ortiz de Urbina has also, perversely, disregarded valuable *Syriac* evidence: no readings from the Vetus Syra manuscripts are included, although it is acknowledged by all that they contain Diatessaronic readings.

Moving to the second part of the *Biblia Polyglotta* (the reconstruction of the Diatessaron's text), Ortiz de Urbina generally—but not always—uses the sequence of pericopes found in Ephrem's *Commentary* as his model. Not only is his failure to *consistently* follow Ephrem's sequence frustrating, but the entire procedure is simplistic, for the *Commentary* reproduces only a fraction of the Diatessaron's text, and where it does, there is no assurance that it is following the Diatessaron's sequence. Moreover, other witnesses give sequences which sometimes disagree with the *Commentary*'s.<sup>221</sup> In short, Ortiz de Urbina has approached the difficult problem of sequence with the same lack of sensitivity he displayed when deciding whether a citation was actually from the Diatessaron at all. These problems mean that the *Biblia Polyglotta* must be used with the utmost caution; blind reliance will lead to disaster. As serious as these failings are, they do not diminish the volume's usefulness as an arbitrary selection of Syriac Patristic references to a given pericope. Used in this manner, it serves as a helpful reference tool and point of departure for investigation of Eastern textual traditions.

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<sup>220</sup> An example of how this restrictive view of Diatessaronic witnesses can mislead is seen in Reading 188 (p. 16), where Ortiz de Urbina reconstructs Matt 2.18 from the one *non*-Syriac witness which he includes in his sources: the Armenian version of Ephrem's *Commentary*. Ortiz de Urbina reads: "Vox clamata est in Rama"; see however, Exhibit 4, *infra*, 384–390.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. L. Leloir's synoptic table comparing sequence of the various harmonies ("Le Diatessaron de Tatien," *OrSyr* 1 [1956], 208–31).

WILLIAM L. PETERSEN

ROMANOS THE MELODIST

MANICHAEAN TURFAN FRAGMENT M-18

SHEM-TOV'S HEBREW MATTHEW

TATIAN'S DEPENDENCE UPON JUSTIN'S  
PRE-TATIANIC HARMONY

In a study parallel with Fon Weringha's and Van den Broek's, the present writer, another of Quispel's *promovendi*, investigated the gospel text in the Greek hymns of Romanos the Melodist.<sup>222</sup> Described by Krumbacher as "der grösste Kirchendichter aller Zeiten,"<sup>223</sup> Romanos was the premier poet of the Byzantine church. Intrinsically interesting on other grounds,<sup>224</sup> Romanos' hymns had a crucial role to play in helping to decide several issues vexing Diatessaronic studies. If Romanos' hymns contained Diatessaronic readings (as Peters and Quispel had suggested<sup>225</sup>), then they would be the Eastern equivalent of the *Heliand* or the *Vita Rhythmica*—poetic witnesses to the Diatessaron. The significance of an *Eastern* poetic witness was that it would puncture the rhetorical argument assayed by Krogmann and others—namely, that the *Heliand*'s "Diatessaronic" readings were simply the result of "poetic license" or artistic touches. Those who wished to argue this position would have to explain the presence of the same variants in another Diatessaronic witness—this time in Greek, in the East. While remotely conceivable that some unknown but non-Diatessaronic local Western tradition (e.g., the unnamed "medieval exegetical traditions" of Fischer and De Bruin) had generated the

<sup>222</sup> W.L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist*, CSCO 475 (Louvain 1985).

<sup>223</sup> K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches* (München 1897<sup>2</sup>), 316.

<sup>224</sup> Tradition credits Romanos with the invention of the poetic form which is the jewel of Byzantine poetry, and which introduced the "accent metric" into Greek poetry, the *kontakion*. Romanos, who was bilingual, brought to Constantinople many fascinating textual traditions from his Syrian homeland: see S. Brock, "From Ephrem to Romanos," in *Studia Patristica*, Vol. XX (Papers Presented to the Tenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1987), ed. E.A. Livingstone (Leuven 1989), 139–51.

<sup>225</sup> C. Peters, "Die Entstehung der griechischen Diatessaronübersetzung und ihr Nachhall in byzantinischer Kirchenpoesie," *OrChrP* 8 (1942), 474–76; G. Quispel, "The Diatessaron of Romanos," *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis* (Festschrift B.M. Metzger), edd. E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee (Oxford 1981), 305–311.

common variants in the *Heliand*, the *Vita Rhythmica*, and the Western harmonies, such an argument foundered on linguistic grounds in the case of Romanos. He was an *Easterner*, born in Syria, who wrote in *Greek*, not Latin, in the *sixth century*. No *Western* traditions in *Latin* from the *medieval* period could be said to have influenced his hymns. As for the arguments of "poetic freedom" and "Kunst"—these might hold if the reading occurred in one, possibly two languages; but these reasons could not be used if the *identical* reading appeared in poems in three or four *different* languages. If Diatessaronic readings were found in Romanos, and if some of these readings also occurred in other *poetic* witnesses to the Diatessaron, then it would demonstrate conclusively that a poetic source could reliably transmit Diatessaronic traditions. Romanos would also be significant as one of the very few Greek witnesses to the Diatessaron; the only other known Greek witnesses were the Dura Fragment and Macarius.

After culling about 440 gospel quotations or allusions from Romanos' hymns (which cover five volumes in *Sources chrétiennes*), 28 were found to have a high probability of being Diatessaronic. The readings were filtered by a set of stated criteria or rules which sought to preclude the sort of objections which were raised against some earlier research. For example, a reading had to occur in both Eastern and Western Diatessaronic witnesses, and it should not be found in non-Diatessaronic sources. The readings were also reviewed so as to exclude cases of translational ambiguity, omissions, and changes necessitated by the context in which the verse was quoted. (The criteria are presented in the next chapter.)

The 28 readings which had a high probability of having stood in the Diatessaron were examined for common themes. Five were detected. First, most of the readings—other than those which were true harmonizations—seemed to be small interpolations. These were often no more than a pronoun, usually for clarity's sake. Second, there were some readings which seemed to serve exegetical—usually Christological—purposes. An example was the interpolation of "upon him" or "upon his shoulders" after the word "cross" in Mark 8.34. This facilitated the interpretation of the passage by linking it to Isaiah 9.6, where the "government shall be upon his shoulders." Third, some readings seemed to facilitate symbolic interpretation of the Diatessaron's text. An example was the reordering of the Magi's gifts to "gold, myrrh, and frankincense" (Matt 2.11). By the second century, these were being interpreted as representing kingship (gold), death



(myrrh), and divinity (frankincense).<sup>226</sup> The Diatessaron's order is rhetorically and aesthetically more pleasing than the canonical sequence, and mnemonically aids this interpretation, in which the gifts prefigure the path of Jesus' life. Fourth, certain readings presumably reflected the praxis of the community in which the Diatessaron was created and used. Finally, a few readings altered the historical account of Jesus' life.<sup>227</sup>

Several of the Diatessaronic readings found in Romanos seemed to indicate that Syriac had been the Diatessaron's original language. This led to a second publication which sought to bring new evidence to bear on this much-debated question.<sup>228</sup> Three lines of investigation were pursued. First, since subtle differences exist between the Hebrew/Syriac Old Testament and the Greek Septuagint, the original language of the Diatessaron might betray itself when an Old Testament citation was quoted in the gospels. If the Diatessaronic witnesses—especially the *Western* Diatessaronic witnesses—showed traces of the Hebrew or Syriac Old Testament, then it would preclude Greek as the Diatessaron's original language. On the other hand, if the Old Testament citations in the Diatessaron followed the form they had in the Greek gospels (which is generally LXX), then it would suggest Greek as the original language. The results of this line of inquiry were not clear cut. Two readings were found which followed the Hebrew/Syriac Old Testament; unfortunately, one was an omission, and the other was open to ambiguous interpretation.

The second line of investigation targeted the translations of Hebrew words sometimes offered by the Greek gospels (e.g., "Rabbi, that is, 'Teacher'"). If the translations were missing from Diatessaronic witnesses, then it would argue for a Syriac original Diatessaron, for such explanations would be redundant in Syriac. One such instance was found: the explanation ("which means sent") of the name of the pool, Σιλωάμ, in which the blind man was to wash (John 9.7) was omitted in the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony, as well as in the Eastern witnesses. While the omission among the Eastern witnesses was understandable, it

<sup>226</sup> Cp. Irenaeus, *adv. haer.* III.9.2; Origen, *contra Cels.* I.60.

<sup>227</sup> Petersen, *The Diatessaron*, 161–62.

<sup>228</sup> W.L. Petersen, "New Evidence for the Question of the Original Language of the Diatessaron," *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments zum 80. Geburtstag Heinrich Greeven*, ed. W. Schrage, BZNW 47 (New York/Berlin 1986), 325–343.

was inexplicable in the Liège Harmony if the Diatessaron had been composed in Greek or Latin. This too, however, was an argument based on an omission; as such, it could not bear much weight.

The third line of investigation screened the text of the Diatessaronic witnesses *in the West* for features of Semitic syntax. If these were found in Western witnesses, then it would argue for a Syriac original. This investigation yielded substantial results. Numerous passages were found in which Western witnesses imitated their Eastern Diatessaronic relatives by using the *waw consecutivum* and finite verbs of the Semitic languages. They were at variance with the entire Greek and Latin manuscript tradition which subordinated clauses to a principal verb. The presence of the features of Semitic syntax in Western Diatessaronic witnesses was inexplicable if the Western witnesses were dependent upon an archetype composed in Greek or Latin, and which had been created from the Greek gospels, which subordinated the verbs.

On the other hand, it was easily explicable if one presumed the Diatessaron were composed in a Semitic language, such as Syriac, and then translated into the Western languages. (An example of such a passage will be presented in the next chapter, as Exhibit 5 [see *infra*, 390–397].) While rhetorical arguments have been made for Greek or Latin as the original language, the textual evidence assembled in this study and in earlier studies by Plooj and Baumstark unanimously points to Syriac.

Another study by the present writer examined the alleged Manichaean use of a Diatessaron. Although Baumstark had published Diatessaronic readings found in the Manichaean Homilies and Kephalaia as long ago as 1935, and new readings were adduced by Quispel in 1972, doubts remained.<sup>229</sup> Some of this skepticism was justified for, as has been noted, not all of the evidence was convincing.<sup>230</sup> Publication of the full dossier lies in the future, but a preliminary sample appeared in the *Klijn Festschrift*,<sup>231</sup> and is

<sup>229</sup> See *supra*, p. 226, n. 45.

<sup>230</sup> See *supra*, 225 on the reading δικαίου at Matt 27.24, adduced by Baumstark, and *infra*, 361–363, on the reading “I/He will send/give you another Paraclete” at John 14.16 (actually, John 16.7–8), adduced by Quispel.

<sup>231</sup> W.L. Petersen, “An Important Unnoticed Diatessaronic Reading in Turfan Fragment M-18,” *Text and Testimony, Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A.F.J. Klijn*, edd. Tj. Baarda, A. Hilhorst, G.P. Luttikhuisen and A.S. van der Woude (Kampen [the Netherlands] 1988), 187–192.

presented in the next chapter as Exhibit 6; see *infra*, 398–403). It suggests that the Manichaeans knew and used the Diatessaron in their writings.

In 1988, G. Howard produced the first edition of a Hebrew translation of the Gospel of Matthew found in the twelfth book of Shem-Tov's *Evan Bohan* ("The Touchstone").<sup>232</sup> Extant in nine manuscripts, the *Evan Bohan* was a polemical treatise against Christians, composed in the late fourteenth century. Shem-Tov, a Jew living in Spain, apparently had used earlier Hebrew Matthews in creating his version. Howard drew attention to certain readings which paralleled various Diatessaronic witnesses. He took these as evidence of the antiquity of the tradition in the Shem-Tov's Hebrew Matthew. In a review of Howard's edition and introduction, the present writer noted that many of the readings Howard attributed to the Diatessaron had parallels in the Vulgate or Vetus Latina tradition. It was not necessary to hypothesize Diatessaronic dependence for these readings; only a few of the readings Howard claimed as dependent upon the second-century Diatessaron warranted that distinction. There was a fascinating aspect to the text, however. Careful analysis showed that many of its deviating readings had unique agreements with a particular subset of Diatessaronic witnesses, namely the Western Diatessaronic tradition. In particular, Shem-Tov's Hebrew Matthew preserved readings whose only known parallel was in the Liège Harmony and allied witnesses.<sup>233</sup> These extended even to the Liège Harmony's conflation of the Diatessaronic reading with the canonical reading; an example is Shem-Tov's reading at Matt 8.4, where it reads "Go to the priests and offer your gifts as Moses commanded in your Law."<sup>234</sup> Since Shem-Tov's dependence upon the Middle Dutch tradition can be excluded on linguistic grounds, it would appear that somewhere in Shem-Tov's textual ancestry lies a harmony—probably in Latin—which was closely related to the archetype of the Liège Harmony. Plooijs demonstrated that the text of the *In unum ex quatuor* known to Zacharias Chrysopolitanus belongs to this same tra-

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<sup>232</sup> *The Gospel of Matthew according to a Primitive Hebrew Text*, ed. G. Howard (Macon [Georgia]/Louvain 1987).

<sup>233</sup> W.L. Petersen, review of G. Howard's *The Gospel of Matthew according to a Primitive Hebrew Text*, in *JBL* 108 (1989), 722–726.

<sup>234</sup> Liège's reading has been given *supra*, 23–24; Shem-Tov: *The Gospel of Matthew* (ed. Howard), 32–33.

dition, as does the Pepysian Harmony, and some of the Middle High German harmonies and fragments. Therefore, Shem-Tov's Hebrew Matthew appears to be another witness to that Western Diatessaronic tradition whose transmission was by and large independent from Codex Fuldensis.

It is worth noting that a connexion between the "Old Hebrew" translation of the gospels (found in the editions of S. Münster [1537] and J. du Tillet [1555]<sup>235</sup>) and the specific Diatessaronic tradition found in the Liège Harmony had been known since the time of Plooij, who cited the "OHeb" (= Old Hebrew) in the apparatus of his edition of *The Liège Harmony*. Therefore, it was not surprising that Shem-Tov's Hebrew Matthew should also offer readings which parallel the Liège Harmony.

An examination of the relationship of the Diatessaron to Justin's ἀπομνημονεύματα is the present writer's most recent study of the harmonized tradition.<sup>236</sup> Since Tatian was Justin's student, and since the best evidence suggests that Justin's "memoirs of the apostles" were a gospel harmony, the possibility of textual dependence existed, at least in theory. Agreement was already a well-known fact in one passage: the "light" at Jesus' baptism. Using criteria developed in researching Romanos' gospel text, Justin's text was filtered for agreements with Diatessaronic witnesses. Eleven instances of clear agreement were found. Six of these were presented as "Primary Evidence," for the evidence was clear-cut. The other five cases were adduced as "Secondary Evidence"; here there was agreement, but dependence could not be proven because of the *type* of the reading (an omission, etc.). The parallels (one of which is presented in the next chapter as Exhibit 9) offer textual support for the long-theorized<sup>237</sup> dependence of Tatian's Diatessaron (almost certainly composed in Syriac) upon Justin's Greek "memoirs of the apostles"—whatever their form, and whatever

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<sup>235</sup> For these and other "Hebrew Matthews," see *The Gospel of Matthew* (ed. Howard), 160–76. Howard provides examples of how these Hebrew texts, just like Diatessaronic witnesses, have been Vulgatzied.

<sup>236</sup> W.L. Petersen, "Textual Evidence of Tatian's Dependence upon Justin's ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ," *NTS* 36 (1990), 512–534.

<sup>237</sup> In one form or another, this was suggested by J.C. Zahn, H. Olshausen, J.R. Harris, Lippelt, Baumstark, and D. Bertrand. Each has offered his own permutation, but the theories can be reduced to two: some have suggested direct dependence; others have said the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was a common source. The permutations are almost endless.

their name.<sup>238</sup> The parallels also refuted the unsubstantiated assertion of Georg Strecker that "Nennenswerte Verbindungslinien [from Justin's hypothesized harmony] zum *Diatessaron* Tatians bestehen nicht."<sup>239</sup>

Two unexpected findings emerged from this study. First, fully half of the six readings common to Justin and the Diatessaronic witnesses adduced as "Primary Evidence" were, according to the reports of later Fathers, said to be variants found in heretical gospels.<sup>240</sup> In the most technical sense of the term, then, these readings were "extra-canonical." Previously, two possibilities had been entertained: either Tatian had used a "fifth source," a Judaic-Christian gospel, now lost, or Tatian had used an early redaction of the incipient canonical gospels, which contained these "deviating" readings. Now a third possibility must be added to this list: Tatian may have used *Justin's harmony* (whose title J.C. Zahn, Lippelt, and many others suspected was the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*), which *already* contained these "deviating," "Judaic-Christian" readings.<sup>241</sup>

The second unexpected finding was that four of the six readings adduced as "Primary Evidence" were found in the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony. Three of the five readings presented as "Secondary Evidence" also showed up in the Liège Harmony (all three

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<sup>238</sup> Tj. Baarda believes "it was absolutely necessary for Tatian, in order to produce a Syriac text of his harmony, to make first a Greek synopsis of his sources—mainly the four Gospels that were known in Rome in those days—which were actually written in Greek. The next step was to combine and harmonize all the textual elements of his harmony, which then could be translated into Syriac" ("A Staff Only, Not a Stick," 332). I agree with Baarda, in principle: Tatian obviously began with Greek source materials. However, since it now appears that Justin's Greek harmony may have been used by Tatian, might it have served as the "Greek synopsis" hypothesized by Baarda? Why would Tatian go to the considerable effort of creating a synopsis when his teacher already possessed one? Perhaps revised, augmented, and annotated, could not Justin's harmony have served as the Greek "skeleton" upon which Tatian built his Syriac harmony?

<sup>239</sup> G. Strecker, "Eine Evangelienharmonie bei Justin und Pseudoklemens?" *NTS* 24 (1977-78), 315.

<sup>240</sup> At Matt 3.15/16, the "fire" in the Jordan at Jesus' baptism (Epiphanius says this is the reading of "the Hebrew gospel"); at Matt 3.16, the interpolation of "in the form/likeness of" (Epiphanius also quotes this reading from "the Hebrew gospel"); at Matt 19.17, the interpolation of "the Father, who is in heaven" (Irenaeus says this is the reading of the gospel used by the Marcosians; Hippolytus says it is the reading of the gospel of the Naassenes).

<sup>241</sup> So named because they are extra-canonical, and the Fathers (independently from the Diatessaron) state they stood in one or another Judaic-Christian gospel; cf. *supra*, 257-259.

were omissions, and therefore not eligible for consideration as "Primary Evidence"). Often the Liège Harmony was the only Western Diatessaronic witness with Justin's reading. This high degree of agreement between Justin's mid-second century gospel text and the late thirteenth-century Middle Dutch harmony is astonishing. It suggests that Justin's harmony was not "interred with his bones"; rather, its text had an abiding influence on the Western harmonized tradition in general, and upon the Liège Harmony in particular. If this finding is confirmed by other researchers,<sup>242</sup> then it is of considerable import for Diatessaronic studies, for it would mean that *two* harmonized traditions were in play in the West, that of Justin, and that of Tatian. The Western harmonized tradition, then, would consist of *three* traditions: (1) those which stem directly from Justin's harmony; (2) those which stem from Justin's harmony as incorporated into and transmitted through Tatian's Diatessaron; and (3) those which stem from the Diatessaron's own unique structure and text (*i.e.*, the result of Tatian's own inventive literary activity).

The evidence that indicates Tatian knew Justin's harmony and incorporated its readings into the Diatessaron pushes back the origins of the harmonized tradition: in some cases it would, perhaps, be more correct to speak of "Justinisms," not "Tatianisms." And rather than assuming that the harmonized gospel tradition began with Tatian about 170, we can now be certain that at least some of its harmonized readings were in Justin's "memoirs of the apostles," whose origin must be earlier than 160, and is probably earlier than 150.

#### M.-É. BOISMARD

In 1992, M.-É. Boismard of the École biblique et archéologique française in Jerusalem—with the collaboration of A. Lamouille—published a monograph titled *Le Diatessaron: De Tatien à Justin*.<sup>243</sup> In it he set out an exceptionally complex and speculative theory of origins for the harmonized gospel tradition, including the Diatessaron. The theories, however, outrun the available evidence. Although his comprehensive explanation is flawed, the

<sup>242</sup> Within two years of publication, M.-É. Boismard (*Le Diatessaron: De Tatien à Justin*, EtB N.S. 15 [Paris 1992], 67–70) announced that he had independently arrived at a similar conclusion; see, however, *infra*, 348–356.

<sup>243</sup> EtB N.S. 15 (Paris 1992).

study contains several new and helpful insights.

One of Boismard's positive contributions is his analysis of the character of the Pepsian Harmony, especially its sequence. As noted above in chapter four, the Middle English Pepsian Harmony has been one of the more neglected and disparaged Diatessaronic witnesses.<sup>244</sup> Boismard, however, noticed a remarkable degree of agreement in sequence between the Pepsian Harmony and the Arabic Harmony.<sup>245</sup> An example is found in the Temptation of Jesus. Here, both the Pepsian Harmony and the Arabic Harmony—against all other Diatessaronic witnesses—insert Mark 1.13b between Matt 4.1c and Matt 4.2a.<sup>246</sup> (Other examples will be offered below.) Boismard noted that the Pepsian Harmony and the Arabic Harmony often gave preference to the chronology of Luke and John, while Fuldensis (Boismard's proxy for the rest of the Western tradition) preferred the Matthean sequence.<sup>247</sup> While the unique features of the Pepsian Harmony were often lacking from the principal Western witnesses, they were sometimes paralleled in Peter Comestor's *Historia evangelica*, and occasionally in the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony and the Middle Italian Venetian Harmony. Boismard concluded that the Pepsian Harmony offered "presque aucun contact" with the text and/or sequence of Codex Fuldensis. On the contrary, its readings and sequence were closest to the Diatessaron of Tatian (Boismard—for reasons which will be made clear below—used the Arabic Harmony as a proxy for the "Diatessaron of Tatian"). So far, so good. Boismard's points are well taken, and his evidence is of high quality: unique sequences of harmonization, or distinct variant readings. By demonstrating the textual importance of the Pepsian Harmony and drawing attention to its often unique agreement with the Arabic Harmony, Boismard opened a new avenue of investigation. But Boismard went beyond this, and here the problems begin.

Building on the observation that the Pepsian Harmony was sometimes joined by the Liège and Venetian Harmonies, against the "Diatessaron of Tatian" (= the Arabic Harmony), Boismard asked a rhetorical question: What can explain these agreements? The concord among the Pepsian, Liège, and Venetian Har-

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<sup>244</sup> See *supra*, 169.

<sup>245</sup> See the tables given in Boismard, *Diatessaron*, 30–31, 35, 37–38.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, 51–53.

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

monies, said Boismard, “est le reflet d’une harmonie à la fois proche et différente du Diatessaron de Tatien.”<sup>248</sup> He then set out to prove the existence of this gospel harmony which was “plus ancienne que le Diatessaron de Tatien, connue de Justin, et que l’harmonie P[epys’ archetype] en dépend directement, au même titre que le Diatessaron.”<sup>249</sup> He argued that the Papyrusian Harmony did not descend from “Justin’s Harmony” (which was the oldest harmony, “stage one” in his schematic); rather, the Papyrusian Harmony’s archetype, like Tatian’s Diatessaron, descended from a *revision* of “Justin’s Harmony.” This revision Boismard called the “Syro-Latin Harmony” (it represents “stage two” in his plan). This harmony was disseminated in Greek, Latin, and Syriac. As a revised and augmented version of “Justin’s Harmony”, the “Syro-Latin Harmony” was used in the East by Aphrahat, Ephrem, and parts of it were preserved in the Syriac versions, especially in Syr<sup>s</sup>. In the West it left its mark on the Vetus Latina, and was known to Hilary of Poitiers.<sup>250</sup> This is the tradition which survived in the Papyrusian Harmony, although glimpses of its text and sequence were also found in the Middle Dutch and Italian Harmonies (especially the Liège Harmony and the Venetian Harmony). In the third stage, “Justin’s Harmony” (*not* the “Syro-Latin Harmony”) was revised, augmented, and translated into Syriac by Tatian. This was one of two harmonies commented upon by Ephrem (the other was the “Syro-Latin Harmony” [see below]); its sequence was captured in the Arabic Harmony, whose text, unfortunately, has been extensively Vulgatized. This Syriac Diatessaron of Tatian gave priority to the Lucan and Johannine sequence of pericopes, as did “Justin’s Harmony” and the “Syro-Latin Harmony.” In the fourth stage of development, Tatian’s Syriac Diatessaron was translated into Latin and passed to the West, where it underwent profound changes, including the reordering of pericopes to follow the Matthean sequence. This was the harmony which Victor of Capua encountered, and which—with its variant readings replaced with Vulgate readings—is now found in Codex Fuldensis. Finally, in the fifth stage of evolution, the Western vernacular harmonies came into being. In general, with one exception, they stem from

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<sup>248</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> Hilary’s use of a Diatessaron had been suggested by J. van Amersfoort; see *supra*, 327.



the Latin translation of Tatian's Syriac Diatessaron (stage four), preserving a greater or lesser number of Old Latin (pre-Victor's Vulgatization) readings, mingled with readings from the pre-Tatianic "Syro-Latin Harmony" (stage two). The sole exception is the Pepysian Harmony, whose principal line of ancestry does not go back through the Latin translation of Tatian's Diatessaron (with its Matthean sequence), but to the pre-Tatianic "Syro-Latin Harmony" (stage two) whose sequence was principally Lucan and, especially, Johannine. The rest of Boismard's monograph is devoted to using the various agreements between the Pepysian Harmony and, on the one hand, the other Western witnesses, and, on the other hand, the Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses, to demonstrate the existence of these various distinct harmonies. A look at his manner of analyzing one group of witnesses is instructive.

As part of his evidence for the existence of the "Syro-Latin Harmony," Boismard investigated the Multiplication of the Loaves (Matt 14.15–21; Mark 6.30–43; Luke 9.12–17; John 6.5–13) in Syr<sup>s</sup>, which presents a harmonized version of the events. Boismard offered eleven<sup>251</sup> agreements between Syr<sup>s</sup> and the Pepysian Harmony. Reviewing them will give a taste of Boismard's work, and permit a critique.

(1) The first of the eleven readings is the interpolation at Matt 14.18 of "the five loaves and two fishes," after the words "bring me." This interpolation is found in the Pepysian Harmony, the Tuscan Harmony (all of its MSS add "the five loaves"; only three MSS give the full interpolation), and the Arabic Harmony. The Liège Harmony offers a mitigated form of the interpolation, in which Jesus asks that "the loaves" be brought to him (no number of loaves; no mention of fish). There is no Syriac support here, although Boismard included it in his section on the Old Syriac, because he presumed it must have been read there at one time, owing to its presence in the Arabic and Pepysian Harmonies.<sup>252</sup>

(2) At Mark 6.40a, the Pepysian Harmony and Codex Fuldensis speak of "parting among" the folk by hundreds and fifties, rather than "distributed." The reading has no apparent link with the Syriac versions.

(3) "But" is interpolated in John 6.10b ("but there was plenty of grass there") in the Arabic Harmony and Syr<sup>s</sup>. It is found in no other witnesses.

(4) The Pepysian Harmony, the Arabic, and Syr<sup>s</sup> all interpolate

<sup>251</sup> He actually presents twelve, but two of them have been collapsed into one, for they are identical (number one, in our reprise of the readings).

<sup>252</sup> Although this is possible, such a procedure is dubious.

"on the grass" after Jesus' instructions to "Make them sit down." (This detail is, however, found in Matt 14.19 and Mark 6.39.)

(5) The Arabic, the Papyrusian Harmony and Syr<sup>s</sup> all give the Lucan (9.15a) version of what happened next: "They did so . . ."

(6) The Arabic and Codex Fuldensis present all of Mark 6.40; Liège truncates the verse slightly. However, the Papyrusian Harmony and Syr<sup>s</sup> omit the verse.

(7) Syr<sup>s</sup> "est quasi identique à Liège contre Arabe" in quoting Matt 14.19b (the Arabic paraphrases).

(8) Syr<sup>s</sup> with the "Western Text" (D a d ff<sup>2</sup> l q r<sup>1</sup> Marcion) have Jesus pronounce his blessing "upon them" (Luke 9.16), i.e., the loaves and fish. The Papyrusian Harmony makes what is blessed explicit: "the loaves and the fishes."

(9) With minor variants, the Arabic Harmony, Syr<sup>s</sup>, Codex Fuldensis, and the Papyrusian Harmony all combine John 6.11's "distributed" (διέδωκεν) with the Synoptics' "to the disciples," resulting in the following reading: "and he distributed them to his disciples, and they gave it to the multitude." Also, Syr<sup>s</sup> and the Arabic use the phrase "placed it before them" for "gave" in the reading.

(10) The Papyrusian Harmony and Syr<sup>s</sup> both omit Matt 14.20a (= Mark 6.42a); the text is *not* omitted in the Arabic Harmony, Codex Fuldensis, and the Liège Harmony.

(11) At John 6.15a, the Liège and the Papyrusian Harmony, together with Syr<sup>s</sup> contain a common variant. Against the canonical text ("Jesus therefore knowing that they were about to come and seize him that they might make him king, departed . . ."), the Liège Harmony and Syr<sup>s253</sup> (with minor variations in Syr<sup>s</sup>) read "Then they agreed that they would seize him by force and make him king over them, and when Jesus knew that. . ." With Liège and Syr<sup>s</sup>, the Papyrusian Harmony—while paraphrasing—transposes mention of Jesus from the beginning to the end of the verse.

Boismard concluded from these eleven readings that Syr<sup>s</sup> offers

des affinités beaucoup plus marquées avec Papyrus qu'avec les autres harmonies. Elle [Syr<sup>s</sup>] ne va que deux fois avec Arabe contre tous les témoins occidentaux. Aux autres cas où elle est d'accord avec Arabe, c'est en compagnie de Papyrus. Enfin elle se retrouve à plusieurs reprises seule avec Papyrus, ou avec Papyrus et Liège, contre Arabe et Fulda . . . on peut en conclure que la source première de Syr<sup>s</sup> est une harmonie apparentée à l'harmonie P[apyrus' archetype] plus qu'au Diatessaron de Tatien.<sup>254</sup>

<sup>253</sup> *The Liège Diatessaron* (ed. Plooi), 196–97; *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, (ed. Burkitt), 543 in the apparatus.

<sup>254</sup> Boismard, *Diatessaron*, 113.

There are severe problems here. Let us begin by acknowledging again that Boismard's discovery of agreements—especially in sequence—between the Arabic and the Pepsian Harmony is new, important, and valuable. However, the eleven agreements cited above are a very mixed bag. The first two readings have no link with Syr<sup>s</sup>; one wonders why they were presented. Two of them (#6 and #10) are omissions, from which nothing can be proven.<sup>255</sup> Also, the inferences which can be drawn from a reading depend upon the support the reading has: for example, readings #3 and #4 are simply agreements between Syr<sup>s</sup> and the Arabic Harmony. What can this prove, other than the well-known fact (which Boismard himself acknowledges in his description of the witnesses<sup>256</sup>) that the Syriac archetype of the Arabic Harmony has been Vulgatized with Syriac readings—in this case, two Old Syriac readings? If one were to look beyond this pericope, one would find hundreds of Old Syriac readings in the Arabic Harmony. How they arrived there is no mystery.

Ignoring the omissions (readings #6 and #10), agreements between Syr<sup>s</sup> and the Pepsian Harmony occur in reading #3 (supported by the Arabic), reading #9 (supported by the Arabic and Fuldensis), and perhaps also in #8 (supported by D, the Latins, and Marcion) and #11 (supported by Liège). Since there are no unique agreements, it is hard to see how Boismard concludes that Syr<sup>s</sup> depends on the hypothesized harmony P (= the Pepsian Harmony's archetype, which derives from "Syro-Latin Harmony") and not the Diatessaron of Tatian. Note that (contrary to Boismard's conclusion) Syr<sup>s</sup> agrees with the Arabic in readings #s 3, 4, 5, 9, and 11, or more so than with any other witness. This is exactly what one would expect. In short, although it was Boismard who chose the test passage, the evidence neither supports Boismard's conclusions, nor does it offer new insights. The agreements between Liège and Syr<sup>s</sup> have been known since the time of Plooi; the agreements between the Pepsian Harmony and Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses—including the Arabic and Syr<sup>s</sup>—have been known since Plooi called attention to it as a Diatessaronic witness in 1926. The lone instance where the Pepsian Harmony, unsupported

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<sup>255</sup> To his credit, Boismard is aware of this danger, and acknowledges it (*ibid.*, 80). Nevertheless, a large number of his readings are omissions (see, e.g., *ibid.*, 45, 69, 72, 74, etc., etc.).

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

by any other Western witnesses, agrees with the Eastern witnesses (reading #4) is easily explicable by the process of Vulgatization: the Pepysian Harmony is the lone Western witness to the Diatessaron (there is no need to postulate a clutch of other harmonies) to have escaped Vulgatization at this point. Elsewhere in his study, Boismard's enthusiasm takes him overboard. An example is found in reading #8 from the Multiplication of the Loaves. In addition to the variant noted above (Jesus pronounces his blessing "upon them"), the Pepysian Harmony adds "gave thanks/grace" ("Jesus looked toward the heaven and gave thanks to his father and blessed the loaves and the fishes and broke them"). Consider Boismard's evaluation of this variant: "Pepys est le seul à noter que Jésus 'rendit grâces', verbe attesté en Jn 6,11 et qu'il glose en ajoutant 'à son Père'. Ce détail est certainement primitif."<sup>257</sup> How does Boismard *know* that this gloss is "certainement primitif"? He admits it is unattested elsewhere; how, then, can antiquity be proven from its presence in this lone fifteenth century manuscript?

The roots of Boismard's problems lie in his method. First, one cannot use evidence from omissions when building a case, unless the omission is so striking as to alter significantly the events of the story. Second, in the case of his comparison of Syr<sup>s</sup> and his hypothesized, non-Diatessaronic ancestor of the Pepysian Harmony, he examined only selected readings from one small passage (the Multiplication of the Loaves). Global conclusions cannot be drawn from examination of only one pericope. Third, although it is true that—in the readings he presents, even including omissions (readings #6 and #10) and proximate agreements (readings #8 and #11)—Syr<sup>s</sup> agreed with the Pepysian Harmony six of nine times, that is a stilted comparison. Syr<sup>s</sup> also *disagrees* with the Pepysian Harmony and *agrees* with the Arabic Harmony many more times than the four of nine instances Boismard has indicated, *if* one examines the *entire* pericope, and not just Boismard's eleven selected test cases. How could it be otherwise? The Arabic is translated from a Syriac text profoundly influenced by Syr<sup>s</sup>!<sup>258</sup> Note carefully: the argument is not that if a Diatessaronic witness displays greater agreement with the canonical text (as all do) than

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<sup>257</sup> Ibid., 108–09.

<sup>258</sup> See *supra*, 137–138.

with other Diatessaronic witnesses, then the canonical text is the source of all the witness' variants. Rather, the point is that when trying to discriminate between *two* harmonized traditions—the Diatessaron, and Boismard's hypothesized non-Diatessaronic ancestor of the Papyrus Harmony—*then* such numeric comparisons mean little, and must be assembled with a scrupulously even hand. This has not been done. Had Boismard totaled all the agreements between the Arabic and Syr<sup>s</sup>, they would far outweigh the few agreements—always supported by other Diatessaronic witnesses, *N.B.!*—he found between the Papyrus Harmony and Syr<sup>s</sup>. This is why Boismard uses the Arabic as a “marker” for the entire Eastern Diatessaron, for examining the (divergent) sequence and readings of other witnesses would subvert his thesis.

Boismard has not presented any positive evidence to commend his elaborate reconstruction, nor has he presented any evidence to show why the demonstrable phenomenon of Vulgatization cannot account for the pattern of readings noted. Although an expert in early gospel traditions, he is unfamiliar with the field of Diatessaronic research, the points of reference established by earlier studies, and the logical pitfalls of the work.

A case in point is Boismard's suggestion (following his theory of multiple harmonies in the early church) that in its present form Ephrem's *Commentary* is actually the fusion of *two* commentaries, each on a different harmony. He adduces one example, concerning the Temptation of Christ (Matt 4.1–11 and par.). Satan's words are given in two variant “lemmas”: at *Comm.* IV.7 they are given in the Lucan form, but at IV.10 and IV.12 they are in the Matthean form. While it is possible that this is due to Ephrem's acquaintance with two harmonies, it may also be nothing more than a reflection of a single harmony's text which—of course—*harmonized* the temptation accounts. Consider the text of the Liège Harmony, for example, which first offers the Matthean text, then the Lucan version of the temptation:

(Matt 4.3–5) Then the evil spirit came to him and spake to him thus: If thou art, says he, God's Son, say then that these stones be changed into loaves. Then Jesus answered him thus: It is written. . . . Then the evil spirit took him and carried him into the (Luke 4.9–12) city of Jerusalem; and set him on the roof of the temple, which rose high from the ground, and said thus: If thou art God's son, then let thyself fall down: For it is

written that he has commanded his angels concerning thee that they [should] protect thee in all their ways; and they shall receive thee in their hands, so that thou shouldst not dash thy foot against the stones. Then Jesus answered him: It is written, Thou shalt not tempt. . . .<sup>259</sup>

Here one finds both the Matthean *and* the Lucan text in the same harmony. It is not necessary to hypothesize two commentaries to explain the present text of Ephrem's *Commentary*.

Because of his lack of familiarity with the problems of Diatessaronic research, Boismard's monograph has not made the case for his complex theory of origins. He has, however, increased the stature of the Pepsian Harmony among Diatessaronic witnesses and raised once again the problem of the relationship between Justin's harmony and the Western Diatessaronic tradition.

\* \* \*

With Boismard's monograph, we have arrived at the present day—1993. It was during the period surveyed in this chapter that the question of method—raised by Rathofer, Krogmann, Fischer, De Bruin, and others—became a pressing issue. Diatessaronic studies responded in two ways: first, by adducing new witnesses in support of old readings and positions (*e.g.*, Van den Broek's introduction of the *Vita Rhythmica*; Quispel's use of Ludolph of Saxony and Macarius), and, second, by developing new methods which insured a higher quality of evidence (*e.g.*, von Weringha's study of the *Heliand*; Baarda's study of Aphrahat's citations from the Gospel of John). The discovery of new witnesses (the Persian Harmony; the Syriac of Ephrem's *Commentary*; etc.) enlarged the evidence available for reconstructing readings, but they also complicated the task of plotting a neat stemma of the Diatessaron's transmission. Where, for example, should one locate the Persian Harmony's text? Finally, the whole matter of the *Gospel according to Thomas* and its relationship to the Diatessaronic tradition, and the question of the relationship between Justin's harmony and Tatian's harmony remain open questions, ripe for study and new discoveries.

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<sup>259</sup> *The Liège Diatessaron*, edd. D. Plooi, C.A. Phillips, A. Bakker, et al., VNAW 31.1–8 (Parts I & II are erroneously labeled VNAW 29) (Amsterdam 1929–70), 47–49.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### USING THE DIATESSARON

As the foregoing history has made clear, the techniques of Diatessaronic research, the identification of genuinely Diatessaronic readings, and their textual and historical value have often been contested. Lacking universally accepted criteria, each scholar decided what readings were "Diatessaronic." Critics quite properly disparaged some of these readings because of flawed evidence or logic. On the other hand, critics have sometimes been just as rash in dismissing legitimate findings.

This chapter will attempt to guide the reader through an introductory course in working with Diatessaronic witnesses. First, examples are presented which illustrate the traps which await every researcher. Next, the logic and presuppositions of Diatessaronic research are described, as are criteria for weighing prospective readings. Finally, the reader is invited to go on a hunt for Diatessaronic readings. The first of the nine Exhibits has been chosen to show how our criteria can screen out dubious readings. The remaining eight Exhibits are readings which have a high probability of being Diatessaronic. They have been chosen to illustrate the claims made in our Introduction for the antiquity of the Diatessaron's text, its value for church historical work, for New Testament textual criticism, its use by the Manichees, and its original language.

#### I. PROBLEMS

While working through the previous chapters, the reader has probably wondered: "But *how* did Harris, Plooi, or Baumstark determine that a variant was Diatessaronic?" The acute reader has noted that even when the criteria by which that decision was made were discernable, they often varied from reading to reading. They certainly varied from scholar to scholar. One of the more frequent shortcomings of Diatessaronic research has been its failure to entertain alternative explanations for a read-

ing. In a few instances, it has even appeared that evidence which suggests another origin for a variant might have been deliberately withheld from the reader. The whole matter boils down to something which has troubled Diatessaronic studies from the outset: the question of method. By what criteria can one determine that a reading is (or is not) Diatessaronic?

H.J. Vogels made the first attempt to bring order to the field when he stated that a reading which was supported by the *Vetus Syra* and the *Vetus Latina*—but absent from the Greek—was Tatian's text.<sup>1</sup> But what of a reading which showed up in the *Vetus Syra*, the *Vetus Latina*, and one Greek manuscript: Codex Bezae (D)? And what of a reading found neither in the *Vetus Syra* nor the *Vetus Latina*, but in the Arabic Harmony, Ephrem, and the Liège Harmony? While both examples might well be Diatessaronic, they would be disallowed under Vogels' rule.

Baumstark made the second attempt to provide a guide when he suggested that the reading which deviated the most from the Greek text (or was the "wildest" reading) was that of the Diatessaron.<sup>2</sup> Such a rule, however, is not only vague, but opens the path to abuse: sometimes the "wildest" reading is simply a scribal blunder.

Curt Peters formulated a different criterion, which proposed that a reading found in Eastern Diatessaronic sources but *not* in the Peshitta was the reading of the Diatessaron.<sup>3</sup> We know, however, that sometimes the Peshitta preserves Diatessaronic readings. Even more telling, it would be quite extraordinary if *all* non-Peshitta readings in Eastern witnesses were Diatessaronic! Peters' rule fails to allow for the corruptions which arose within the transmission history of the individual witnesses.

Quispel proposed that the reading of the Diatessaron was to be found where there was agreement between Eastern and Western Diatessaronic witnesses.<sup>4</sup> This principle, a refinement of Vogels' idea, is very helpful, for it references *Diatessaronic witnesses*, not versions of the gospels—and it is the Diatessaronic witnesses in which we are interested.

Quispel's rule was extended by Fon Weringha, who added a second test: the reading also had to be absent from the bulk

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<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, 164.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, 238.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, 253.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, 327.



of the Greek and Latin canonical tradition.<sup>5</sup> This refinement corrected a flaw in Quispel's rule, which did not exclude the possibility of influence from variant readings within the canonical tradition upon the Diatessaronic witnesses.

It is obvious that methods have been evolving, becoming ever more sensitive to the evidence and the demands of critics for more subtle means of identifying readings which have a high probability of having stood in the Diatessaron. Using some of the examples presented in the preceding chapters, let us examine some of the most common snares which await the unwary—and sometimes, even the wary!

#### A. ARGUING FROM OMISSIONS

An argument from an omission is, of course, *e silentio*. Therefore, it *cannot* be used as *primary* evidence. Once a pattern of dependence has been established by identical interpolations, substitutions, and sequence, *then* one may use omissions as evidence of a second order, which the reader may accept or reject. The case being argued, however, cannot rest upon omissions.

Unfortunately, some genuine Diatessaronic readings undoubtedly are omissions. They will, however, be extremely difficult to prove beyond dispute. Because Diatessaronic research is difficult, the scholar will sometimes be tempted to use omissions: since only about five percent of the readings examined will finally pass muster as Diatessaronic, why not inflate the number by including omissions? This temptation is to be resisted under all circumstances.

An example of arguing from an omission is Plooi's linking the Liège Harmony with the Arabic Harmony and Syr<sup>[c]</sup> because they all omit "and" in Luke 1.43.<sup>6</sup> Another is Baumstark's citation of the Manichaean Kephalaia's omission of a conjunction such as the Matthean οὐτως or the Lucan γάρ (Matt 7.17; Luke 6.43) as evidence of Diatessaronic dependence, for the same omission is also found at Matt 7.17 in Aphrahat, Syr<sup>[c]</sup>, Codices Fuldensis and Sangallensis, three of the Middle Dutch Harmonies, the Latin harmony found in Munich Clm. 23 346, and canonical Codex Bezae (D).<sup>7</sup> These are obviously fragile

<sup>5</sup> See *supra*, 319–320.

<sup>6</sup> See *supra*, 171.

<sup>7</sup> See *supra*, 227.

cases from which to establish Diatessaronic dependence. The omissions could have arisen from any number of causes: a scribal error, chance, context. Unlike the assertive act of *commission* required to create an interpolation, substitution, or resequencing of a passage, the reason for an omission can rarely—if ever—be stipulated unequivocally.

## B. ARGUING FROM TRIVIAL READINGS

The example just cited—the omission of “and” at Luke 1.43—is the sort of trivial reading which should also be avoided.<sup>8</sup> A conjunction—especially at the beginning of a sentence—is especially vulnerable to interpolation or omission.

Another example of such minor readings are the interpolation of pronouns in Eastern witnesses: they abound in the Semitic languages because of the prevalence of suffix pronouns. Agnes Smith Lewis made this point in telling fashion in a pamphlet criticizing Vogels’ *Die altsyrischen Evangelien in ihrem Verhältnis zu Tatians Diatessaron*. She observed that

Dr. Vogels hat keine Rücksicht auf eine wohlbekannte grammatische Eigenschaft der syrischen Sprache genommen, nämlich, die Einschleppung von Fürwörtern und fürwörtlichen Suffixen an jeder möglichen Stelle.<sup>9</sup>

As with omissions, the addition of pronouns *may* be Diatessaronic, but among Eastern witnesses, caution must be exercised.

Other such “trivia” are the substitution of proper names for pronouns. Different verb tenses and the interpolation of pronouns should be treated with special care, and admitted only when the supporting evidence is immaculate, or when a distinctive pattern has been detected.

“Trivial” readings such as these will not impress readers or convert skeptics: “I find many of the individual cases produced

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<sup>8</sup> The probability that an omission is Diatessaronic is increased when, as in this case, the Liège and Arabic Harmonies, Syr<sup>4P</sup> and the Syriac version of Ephrem’s *Commentary* all give the same reading. However, because omitting a word can be a passive act, it is more difficult to argue.

<sup>9</sup> A. Smith Lewis, *Zu H.J. Vogels Schrift Die altsyrischen Evangelien in ihrem Verhältnis zu Tatians Diatessaron* (Leipzig 1913), 3.

by the experts too niggling and unimpressive";<sup>10</sup> "... some of the coincidences in small similarities between [Diatessaronic] witnesses may have originated accidentally or from independent exegetical modifications."<sup>11</sup> It was Burkitt who observed nearly a century ago that "it is necessary to begin with well marked variations. . . . [for not much of a case] can be built on variations between πατήρ and πάτερ, ἀναλύσει and ἀναλύση."<sup>12</sup> If convincing readings cannot be found, then the thesis must be abandoned, or more work must be invested to recover "well marked" readings.

### C. ARGUING FROM THE WRONG LEMMA; THE DANGERS OF QUOTATIONS

Because of the structure of harmonies and commentaries, it is sometimes hard to determine the precise canonical parallel for a passage. On occasion scholars have selected the wrong lemma in the canonical text. The results have been disastrous. A further complication can crop up in quotations in commentaries or other works where the portion of the text cited may lack certain information (e.g.: a name, the time of day) given earlier in the canonical account; often the quotation will be altered to supply the missing information. An example is Quispel's handling of a reading from the Manichaean Kephalaia.<sup>13</sup> On folio 14 he noticed a reading which deviated from what he took to be the canonical parallel, John 14.16. The text of the Kephalaia is as follows:

<sup>10</sup> R. Murray, "The Gospels in the Medieval Netherlands," *HeyJ* 14 (1973), 312.

<sup>11</sup> B. Metzger, review of G. Quispel's *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, in *JThS* N.S. 27 (1976), 481.

<sup>12</sup> F.C. Burkitt, in his "Introduction" to P.M. Barnard, *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria in the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles*, TaS V.5 (Cambridge 1899), p. xi.

<sup>13</sup> This is one of Quispel's prime pieces of evidence, used repeatedly: see his "Mani et la tradition évangélique des Judéo-Chrétiens," *RSR* 60 (1972), 144-47; also his "Mani the Apostle of Jesus Christ," *Epektasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, ed. J. Fontaine and C. Kannengiesser (Paris 1972), 670-71 (= *Gnostic Studies* II, 235); and his *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas: Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaron* (Leiden 1975), 63-66.

6 . . . . wie der Heliand  
 7 gesagt hat: Wenn ich gehen werde, werde ich euch den  
 Parakleten schicken,  
 8 [und wenn] der Paraklet kommen wird, wird er die Welt  
überführen [über]  
 9 [die Sünde und] wird mit euch reden über die Gerechtigkeit  
 und  
 10 [über die Sünde und über das] Gericht. Über die Sünder,  
 die glauben  
 11 [...] <sup>14</sup>

The “variants” which caught Quispel’s eye were “ich” (“I”) and “schicken” (“send”) in line 7. Quispel wrote: “For some reason Tatian changed the text here: instead of ‘He (God) will give you another Paraclete,’ he read: ‘I (Christ) will send you another Paraclete.’”<sup>15</sup> He continues: “This variant is attested by Ephrem’s commentary on the Diatessaron, by the Persian Diatessaron, by the Syriac *Liber Graduum*, and by many other Oriental witnesses,” to which he referred the reader in a note. Quispel felt he had discovered another parallel between the Kephalaia and the Diatessaron.

A close comparison of the Manichaean Kephalaia with the canonical text shows, however, that the Kephalaia are not quoting John 14.16 at all, but John 16.7c–8, commencing at the point where the asterisk is inserted in the following text:

(7) Nevertheless I tell you the truth: it is to your advantage that I go away, for if I do not go away, the Counselor (ὁ παράκλητος) will not come to you; but [\*] if I go, I will send (πέμψω) him (αὐτόν: i.e., “the Counselor/Paraclete”) to you.  
 (8) And when he comes, he will convince the world (κόσμον) concerning sin (ἁμαρτίας) and righteousness (δικαιοσύνης) and judgement;

That this, and not John 14.16, is the correct lemma is obvious. The “I” Quispel found in the Kephalaia (and in his Diatessaronic witnesses) is here, as is “send.” The text of the Kephalaia follows the canonical Gospel of John very closely: both speak next of “convincing the world” (l. 8) of its “sin(s)” (l. 9—admittedly restored), and go on to talk about the

<sup>14</sup> *Kephalaia*, in the series *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Band I, Parts 1–12, edd. C. Schmidt, H.J. Polotsky, and A. Bölig (from Part 9–, Böhlig only) (Parts 1–10: Stuttgart 1935–39; Parts 11–12: Berlin/Köln/Mainz 1966), 13–14.

<sup>15</sup> Quispel, *Tatian and Thomas*, 64.

“righteous(ness)” (l. 9). The “variants” Quispel took to be “Diatessaronic” are found in the canonical text.

Once the correct lemma has been found, one can intuit how even a researcher as experienced as Quispel was misled. While the canonical text reads “him” (“send him to you”), the Kephalaia has “send the Paraclete to you.” Quispel probably seized on “Paraclete,” and looked for a passage which spoke of sending “the Paraclete.” He found one in John 14.16. Why did his search not locate the correct lemma, John 16.7c? Because that verse lacks “Paraclete.” Instead, it speaks of sending “him to you.” Now, while the context makes it clear that John 16.7c is the correct lemma, what can explain the Kephalaia’s replacement of the canonical “him” (“send him to you”) with “Paraclete”? The answer is simple: the context. The Kephalaia begins its quotation from John in the middle of the passage, meaning that the antecedent for the canonical text’s pronoun “him” (“I will send him”) is missing. Since our Manichaean author commenced quoting mid-thought, clarity demanded that he substitute the missing antecedent (“Paraclete”) for the canonical text’s pronoun.

Special care must be exercised with the multiple parallels found in the synoptic gospels. When one cannot determine from which of the gospels a given passage comes, judgement must be withheld.

#### D. ARGUING FROM TOO LITTLE EVIDENCE

Sometimes, especially in the work of earlier scholars, but also in the work of Baumstark, one finds a reading in one witness singled out as that of the Diatessaron. An example is Baumstark’s argument that since Jerome’s *Gospel according to the Hebrews* contained Luke 24.39, and the Syriac translation of Titus of Bostra agreed with this *Gospel according to the Hebrews* at Luke 24.39, therefore Titus’ variant reading at Luke 24.13 must also have come from this same *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.<sup>16</sup> Another example is Boismard’s recent assertion that the interpolation of “gave thanks” from John 6.11 into the synoptic Multiplication of the Loaves—something found only in the Pepsian Harmony—is “certainement primitif.”<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See *supra*, 230–231.

<sup>17</sup> See *supra*, 354.

Such leaps of logic (Baumstark) or “intuitive” but textually unsupported assertions (Baumstark, Boismard) do not inspire confidence. Rather, they are more likely to convince one that Diatessaronic studies are akin to projecting one’s ideas on a Rorschach ink blot.

#### E. ARGUING FROM WHAT MAY BE “LOCAL TEXTS”

All too often, a reading claimed as Diatessaronic occurs in only one geographic region, or is paralleled in the common textual tradition of a single region. For example, one must be especially cautious of a reading in the Western Harmonies which also is found in the Vulgate, but not in the *Vetus Latina*—or, if found in the *Vetus Latina*, not in the Eastern Harmonies—for, in these cases, the possibility exists that the variant originated in the Vulgate (or the *Vetus Latina*), and spread from there into the Western vernacular harmonies. In that case, the reading is a “local” variant in the West, which may have nothing to do with the Diatessaron.<sup>18</sup>

#### F. ARGUING FROM A SELECTIVE VIEW OF THE TEXTUAL TRADITION

No matter how convinced the researcher may be of the Diatessaronic status of a reading, he or she must advise the reader of contrary evidence. The term “full disclosure” applies here as well as in finance. An example of how the failure to present the full textual tradition in a single reading can taint an entire study is Baumstark’s failure<sup>19</sup> to inform his readers that the omission of τοῦ δικαίου in the Manichaean Homilies (which he claimed as “Diatessaronic” because the same omission appeared in the Arabic and Liège Harmonies, and Syr<sup>s</sup>) also occurred in the canonical Greek, Latin, and Syriac manuscript tradition at the parallel passage (Matt 27.24, supported by at least 25 MSS, including  $\aleph$  A f<sup>1.13</sup> 33 *aur* f r<sup>2</sup> Syr<sup>p,h</sup>). Another example is Baumstark’s failure to inform his readers that the *entire* Latin tradition (at Matt 7.17) supports the “Diatessaronic”

<sup>18</sup> Admittedly, the variant might be Diatessaronic but have survived only in Western witnesses. But in that case, how can one prove it? A critic will charge that the variant is simply a reading from a “local text” in the West.

<sup>19</sup> The reading is discussed in detail, *supra*, 225–226.

reading he “discovered” in the Manichaean Kephalaia (paralleled in Aphrahat, Codices Fuldensis and Sangallensis, three Middle Dutch Harmonies, and the Latin harmony in Munich Clm. 23 346): “good:good::bad:bad.”<sup>20</sup> The result is that the reader wonders what other mitigating textual information Baumstark has ignored or withheld. One thinks, “If this is the best Baumstark can come up with, then his case must be incredibly weak.” A hypercritical attitude is engendered in the reader, and the entire field is placed under a cloud of suspicion. This skepticism is especially unfortunate in the case of the Manichaean documents, for other evidence Baumstark presents (*e.g.*, the harmonization of Matt 7.17 with Luke 6.43 in the Kephalaia) is sound.

The failure here is one of candour and self-criticism. If a reading is dubious, if it cannot be traced directly through an “immaculate” line of textual transmission to the Diatessaron, then it must be discarded as *evidence* of dependence on the Diatessaron. It should, however, be presented in a collation of the text. Although no argument can be made from the reading, recording *all* of the agreements may assist future scholarship in a manner unforeseen at present.

#### G. ARGUING FROM GRAMMATICAL, SYNTACTIC, OR ORTHOGRAPHIC TRIVIA

Each language has its own quirks, either grammatical, syntactic, or orthographic. It is important that the researcher recognize these, and guard against the unwitting use of an “agreement” which is dubious. An example of how difficult this can be is shown in a reading given previously, in chapter one. There the agreement of several Diatessaronic witnesses was noted in the reading “go to the priests and offer a gift as the Law commands.” Plooi cited the plural “priests” as a Diatessaronic reading because it was found in the Syriac (Syr<sup>c.[s].p.pal</sup>) and in the Liège and Arabic Harmonies, and Vetus Latina MS ff<sup>2</sup>.<sup>21</sup> To this list may now be added both the Syriac and Armenian versions of Ephrem’s *Commentary*, Isho’dad of Merv, and the Venetian Harmony. In another example, the plural “keys” in Luke 11.52, in the Syriac versions, most Eastern Diatessaronic

<sup>20</sup> See *supra*, 226–227, 246–247.

<sup>21</sup> D. Plooi, *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron* (Leiden 1925), 55.

witnesses, as well as the *Gospel according to Thomas*, Justin, and others, has been cited as a Diatessaronic variant, against the singular “key” found in the canonical text.<sup>22</sup> The problem with both these readings is that in Syriac, the singular and the plural are written identically, save for the tiny orthographic device of the *š’yāmē* dots (sin = ܣܝܢ, sing = ܣܝܢܐ; key = ܟܝܬܐ, keys = ܟܝܬܐܐ), which copyists could omit through carelessness or add at will. In forms where the root remains the same and only the (unwritten) vowels change, confusion between singular and plural is common in Syriac sources. Therefore, it is possible that the Syriac “witness” is simply an orthographic slip, and not a genuine Diatessaronic reading; alternatively, if the Diatessaron were originally composed in Syriac (as seems likely), then the confusion could have easily arisen within the transmission history of the Syriac Diatessaron itself.

Many of Baumstark’s arguments turned on tenses or voices of verbs; sometimes he used prepositions. Other researchers have followed suit. Quispel’s citation of the sower’s seed falling “on” the road in the *Gospel according to Thomas* rather than the canonical “along” the road is an example. In cases such as these, there is a legitimate reluctance on the part of the reader to accept the readings at face value, for there may be other explanations. First, there are the grammatical and syntactic conventions of each language to consider; in some languages, a certain form may be required. Second, the changes are often so slight (e.g., “sin” to “sing” in Syriac) that errors of eye or ear will be the rule, not the exception. Third, prepositions are notoriously difficult to master in a second language, for they are so idiomatic. Consequently, some leniency must be accorded to our sources: “Il est dans la rue” could be translated into English as either “He is in the street” or “He is out in the street.” Fourth, on such minor points, the manuscript tradition is often either ambiguous (think of the *š’yāmē* dots in Syriac, marking the plural), or divided (see above, “F. Arguing from a Selective View of the Textual Tradition”). In the case of Quispel’s “on” the road, he fails to inform his readers that *Thomas*’ reading (ἐπί) is also found in Mark 4.4 in MSS 7 28 33 827 1241, and in Luke 4.5 by MS R (027; sixth cent., making it the oldest manuscript with the reading). A reading

<sup>22</sup> See G. Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*, 180–81.



such as this is doubly dangerous, for not only is the syntactic (or grammatical or orthographic) basis for the reading slender, but both readings also occur in the gospel manuscript tradition. It is therefore possible that the reading arose from reasons unconnected with the Diatessaron, or entered the Diatessaronic witnesses from a manuscript of the canonical gospels.

#### H. ARGUING FROM A DUBIOUS TRANSLATION

No scholar will live long enough to master all of the languages necessary for studying the Diatessaron. Caution must be used when settling upon a translation for making comparisons. While this sounds relatively simple, it can be quite difficult. For example, the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony reads "*Ic vare te minen vader*" ("I am going [?] to my Father") at John 20.17. Leloir<sup>23</sup> adduced it as a Diatessaronic variant (against the standard Greek "ascending": ἀναβαίνω), which may agree with Aphrahat, who reads "going" (𐤆𐤊𐤍). "Go" is also found in Romanos Melodos (*Fourth Hymn on the Resurrection*, XLIII.15), Ephrem's *Commentary* (Syriac and Armenian), the Venetian Harmony, Epiphanius (*Ancor.* 27.7), and Novatian (*de Trin.* 26.10). The convergence of these witnesses suggests that, indeed, the Diatessaron may have read "go" at John 20.17; but can the Liège Harmony be cited as evidence for this reading? While "*vare*" means "go, travel" in Middle Dutch (think of the related "*fahren*" in modern German), reference to a Middle Dutch dictionary shows that at the time the Liège Harmony was written it could also mean "fly, soar": for example, it was used of birds in flight.<sup>24</sup> This meaning is very close to the canonical Greek's ἀναβαίνω ("ascend, go up"). Consequently, although the variant appears to be Diatessaronic (this is demonstrated by the agreement of the Diatessaronic witnesses *other* than the Liège Harmony), the evidence of the Liège Harmony must be treated cautiously,

<sup>23</sup> L. Leloir, *Le témoignage d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron*, CSCO 227 [Subs. 19] (Louvain 1962), 230.

<sup>24</sup> *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, edd. E. Verwijs and J. Verdam (s'Gravenhage 1929), VIII, 1250–1254. The first meaning is "gaan, reizen" (1251), but "*Varen wordt ook gebruikt van het zwemmen van visschen en het vliegen van vogels*" (1254). Among the examples given of "the flying of birds" is the *Spiegel Historiel*, I<sup>8</sup>, 4, 1: "Nu quamen die duvelen . . . boven in der lucht gevaren."

for it could be rendering either the canonical “ascending” or the Diatessaronic “going.” Only after determining what words the Liège Harmony used elsewhere to translate ἀναβαίνω and ἔρχομαι (or ἀπέρχομαι) would one be in a position to decide whether its witness should be counted in this instance or not.

Another example comes from John 4.28. The canonical text says that the Samaritan woman “went” (ὑπῆλθεν) into the village to tell her friends she had met the Messiah; Romanos Melodos says that she “runs” (τρέχει) to the village, which appears to agree with the reading of the Liège Harmony (“*liep*”) and the Tuscan Harmony (“*andonne*”). Upon closer examination, however, both the Liège and Tuscan readings are inadmissible, for both are ambiguous: they can mean *either* “go” or “run.”

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Having set out the problems and pitfalls of the field, let us now define the goal of Diatessaronic studies, and how it can be pursued.

## II. THE GOAL

The goal of Diatessaronic research is the reconstruction of the harmony’s text. Sometimes this is done to secure a theological or historical insight; sometimes to recover a witness to the second-century gospel text; sometimes to see if a particular document is related to the Diatessaron. In this last instance, the test passage need not be of any theological or historical import; its sole purpose is to serve as a point of comparison with other Diatessaronic witnesses. Regardless of the reason the research was undertaken, the procedures—described below—remain the same.

### A. LOGICAL PRINCIPLES

Seven logical principles guide Diatessaronic studies; they inform the universe within which the research will take place.

1. Large portions of the Diatessaron's original text agreed verbatim with the text now found in the principal gospel manuscripts.

2. Because of this, the text of the Diatessaron can be recovered with certainty *only* when it *deviates* from the vast majority of gospel manuscripts.<sup>25</sup>

3. Other than sequence of pericopes (which will be dealt with separately, below), only three types of variant readings are found in the Diatessaron:

(a) genuinely Tatianic variants, that is, those created and introduced by the Diatessaron's composer;

(b) variants which Tatian took over from the second-century gospels which served as his sources; in these specific readings the gospels he used deviated from the text of our present canonical gospels;

(c) variants which arose within the transmission history of the Diatessaron itself, through scribal errors, translation, revision, Vulgatization, etc.

4. When a variant has been discovered, it is very difficult—although not impossible—to decide which of these three types of variants has been found.

5. Therefore, each and every variant reading in the Diatessaron must be examined individually, and its textual value—or lack thereof—determined independently.

6. In order to remain on a sound methodological footing, Diatessaronic research must always begin with the assumption that (1) the original Diatessaron was composed in Greek, and that (2) its original text agreed exactly with the scholar's collation base. The researcher then looks for evidence which would *invalidate* that assumption. Put differently: Diatessaronic research is always a search for what should *not* be in the text.

7. Positive or negative pronouncements about the Diatessaron or its witnesses should not be made without having undertaken the obligatory, painstaking preparatory research, namely, collations.

A few glosses are in order.

Apropos of 1 and 2: Given that Tatian created the Diatessaron from the canonical or proto-canonical gospels, this should be self-evident; nevertheless, it is astonishing how often this principle has been ignored.

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<sup>25</sup> Since our critical editions of the NT all base themselves on these principal gospel manuscripts, what this means in practice is that the Diatessaron's text can be recovered only when it deviates from the major textual lines preserved in the major manuscripts and, consequently, in our critical editions.

Apropos of 3: The three types of variants are also self-evident. An example of a genuine Tatianic variant would be the Encratitic readings, which seem to be singularly Diatessaronic, and are presumed to come from the hand of Tatian, an Encratite.<sup>26</sup> An example of the second type of variant is the “light” at Jesus’ baptism; here, because the reading antedates Tatian, it appears he has taken it over *unaltered*<sup>27</sup> from the mid-second century gospels known to him. The Diatessaron appears to have transmitted this second-century reading *unaltered*; it is the *canonical* tradition which seems to have undergone modification since Justin’s (and Tatian’s) time.

Apropos of 4: Since it is very difficult to determine the contours of the pre-Tatianic gospel text (the “light” at the baptism, read by Justin and the *Sibylline Oracles*, is a fortunate but rare exception), it is always difficult and often impossible to tell whether a given variant in the Diatessaron springs from Tatian himself, his sources, or the transmission history of the Diatessaron itself. Many scholars have failed to discriminate among these possibilities. They have supposed that *either* the variants in the Diatessaron are Tatianic corruptions of the “true text” (and, consequently, of little or no value), *or* the variants are part of the primitive “true text.” In reality, the Diatessaron contains both types of variants. The problem is to decide which is which; this is a time consuming and sometimes disconcerting task. It is much simpler and neater to either dismiss the Diatessaron’s value for research with a stroke of the pen (it is nothing but a corrupting influence, constructed out of later texts: so von Soden, Sievers), or to proclaim that it preserves the *Urtext* of the gospels (so Baumstark). Both positions are overly simplistic.

Apropos of 5: Because of the complexity of the matter and the impossibility of making generalizations, each variant must be examined independently from all other variants. Even in the case of the Encratitic variants, care must be exercised, for there is no assurance that all of the changes—although simi-

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<sup>26</sup> Tj. Baarda pointed out to me that two other possibilities exist: (1) Tatian might have used gospels which were already tainted with Encratite readings; (2) if Tatian composed the Diatessaron before he became an Encratite, then these readings would probably be later, non-Tatianic interpolations into its text.

<sup>27</sup> Here, I take the difference between “light” and “fire” to be a variation within the original interpolated tradition.

lar—were executed at the same time, by the same person, for the same reason.

Apropos of 6: It has already been remarked that the Diatessaron's text can only be fixed with certainty where it deviates from the vast majority of gospel manuscripts; it follows that when evaluating its readings, one must always take Vulgatization into account. If only a few Diatessaronic witnesses give a deviating reading while the majority of Diatessaronic witnesses agree with the standard canonical text, then the *deviating* reading must be presumed the *original* reading (of the Diatessaron) until *disproven*.<sup>28</sup> How else could there be agreement among the widely dispersed Diatessaronic witnesses which deviate identically from the vast majority of gospel manuscripts, *unless* the deviating reading were the original Diatessaronic reading? *When the standard canonical reading appears in the other Diatessaronic witnesses, it must be regarded as the result of Vulgatization.* Ignoring this principle led Kraeling astray when examining the Dura Fragment. He cited its *agreements* with the Greek canonical manuscript tradition as evidence that the Diatessaron was composed in Greek. He ignored, however, the phenomenon of Vulgatization, which can explain these readings.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, Kraeling also ignored those places where the Dura Fragment—which, according to Kraeling, *depended solely on a Greek line of transmission, back to a Greek original Diatessaron*—contained variants found *only* in the Syriac tradition! Whence come these *Syriac* readings in the *Greek* Dura Fragment, if the Fragment's transmission history was—as Kraeling argued—entirely through *Greek* ancestors, back to a *Greek* original? It is the *negative* evidence of these *Syriac* readings—which should *not* be there—which (1) invalidates Kraeling's argument of a Greek original (*despite* his finding of agreements with the Greek

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<sup>28</sup> This is not meant to imply that *any* deviating reading is to be held out as "original"; rather, it is the logical presupposition from which one begins testing by the three criteria set out below. These criteria will quickly signal whether or not the deviating reading has a reasonable chance of proving Diatessaronic.

<sup>29</sup> Recall that Vulgatization is not a theory, but an empirically demonstrable phenomenon which we *know* happened to all Diatessaronic witnesses: the *Capitularia* of Codex Fuldensis; Baethgen's observation that the Syriac Diatessaron must have been Vulgatized sometime between the 800s and 1000, between the time Isho'dad of Merv used it (or its traditions) in a more primitive form, and the time the Arabic version was translated; Baumstark suggested that the Diatessaron has already undergone a revision before Ephrem wrote his *Commentary*.

tradition [which can be accounted for by Vulgatization]), and (2) argues for a Syriac original Diatessaron.

Finally, apropos of 7: Too often claims of Diatessaronic dependence have been made or denied by scholars who, apparently, have not undertaken the careful, nuanced investigations necessary to make or deny such claims. The denials are especially numerous and embarrassing: (1) Sievers' dismissal (1892<sup>2</sup>) of Schade's *empirical* evidence that the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis was dependent not just upon the neighbouring Latin column, but also upon an unvulgarized Old Latin harmony; (2) Krogmann's denial (1960) of *Heliand's* dependence upon the Diatessaron—a dependence noted by Schmeller (1840) in the second volume (containing the lexicon) of the first edition of *Heliand*, and demonstrated by *empirical* evidence produced by Windisch, Grein, Baumstark, Quispel and, later, Fon Weringha; (3) Strecker's assertion (1977/78) that no evidence existed to suggest that Tatian's harmony was dependent upon Justin's harmony, although evidence to the contrary had appeared in the apparatus of Plooi's edition of the Liège Harmony (1929–70); (4) Tardieu's assertion (1987) that Manichaean texts are not dependent upon the Diatessaron, despite evidence to the contrary adduced by Baumstark (1935 and 1938), Quispel (1972), and others.

It is not sufficient for those who wish to deny Diatessaronic dependence to simply state that "there is no dependence." First, they must examine each possible parallel. Second, if previous research *has* produced parallels, then the critic is obliged to rebut it. Such a rebuttal cannot consist of simply ignoring the evidence. A concrete explanation *other than* Diatessaronic dependence must be found to account for the evidence. Nor can such a rebuttal appeal to "chance," "artistic freedom," or "poetic license," when the agreements are unique, multiple, and consistent. This is not to say that negative results should never be pronounced; quite the contrary. The point is that critics cannot expect to be taken seriously if they fail to invest time in a profound examination of the text and seriously engage contrary evidence. While it is easy to simply state that "there is no dependence" without having conducted an investigation, or to assert that the instances of dependence adduced by others are due to "chance," it is much more difficult to do what is incumbent upon the critic: to perform the same sort of textual analysis the Diatessaronic scholar has, and then to explain the evidence in terms of sources. Even if the previous

evidence were found defective, the critic still could not pronounce a negative verdict on the whole question: his results would only pertain to the previous evidence. If one wishes to pronounce a negative verdict on the whole question, then the requisite work must be undertaken, and that means a *complete* collation of the proposed witness, and a *complete* comparison of its text with the principal Diatessaronic witnesses. If no parallels are found, then a negative result must be announced.

#### B. CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING THE PROBABILITY THAT A VARIANT IS DIATESSARONIC

The following three criteria were first published in 1983.<sup>30</sup> They are intended to be *benchmarks* by which one can gauge the *probability* that a given reading is Diatessaronic; they are not meant as hard and fast rules. As A.E. Housman observed, textual criticism is both a science *and* an art: it cannot be reduced to iron rules.<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, because of the dubious history of claims as to what constitutes a "Diatessaronic" reading, a high standard of evidence is required. It is acknowledged that some genuine readings will be excluded by these criteria; but it must also be recognized that if a reading cannot pass these criteria, then the likelihood it will convince the dispassionate observer is also nil. This is a matter where it is better to be too rigorous than too lax.

- (1) To be considered Diatessaronic, a reading should be found in *both* Eastern *and* Western branches of the Diatessaronic tradition;
- (2) The reading should *not* be found in any non-Diatessaronic

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<sup>30</sup> W.L. Petersen, "Romanos and the Diatessaron: Readings and Method," *NTS* 29 (1983), 484–507. Since then, they have met with general approval: see J.-P. Mahé, review of W.L. Petersen's *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist* in *REB* 44 (1986), 317–318; and reviews of the same by R. Murray in *JThS* N.S. 40 (1989), 258–260, and by D. Bundy, in *SCen* 8 (1991), 179–81.

<sup>31</sup> A.E. Housman, "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism," *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 18 (1921), 67–84. "Textual criticism is a science, and, since it comprises recension and emendation, it is also an art" (68); "Of course you can have hard-and-fast rules if you like, but then you will have false rules, and they will lead you wrong; because their simplicity will render them inapplicable to problems which are not simple, but complicated by the play of personality" (68).

texts, from which the Diatessaronic witnesses might have acquired it;

(3) The genre of the sources should be the same. All should represent harmonized “Lives of Jesus,” or traditions (*e.g.*, the *Vetus Latina*, the *Peshitta*) which are acknowledged to have come under the influence of the harmonized tradition.

Again, a few glosses are in order. The first criterion, developed by Quispel, requires multiple testimony: a single witness cannot offer convincing proof that its reading is genuinely Diatessaronic. A reading in Ephrem’s *Commentary*, but unsupported elsewhere, for example, cannot pass this first hurdle. Geographic diversity is also required. This guards against “local texts” in either the East or the West. Given the wide influence of the *Vetus Latina* and *Vulgate* in the West, and the Syriac versions in the East, it is possible (recall Burkitt’s criticism of Plooi’s readings from the Liège Harmony which were also in the *Vulgate*) that these “local texts” might have influenced vernacular harmonies. For example, it is self-evident that readings from the *Vetus Latina* will crop up in the Middle English *Pepysian Harmony*, or, given their geographic proximity, that a local variant generated in the Middle Dutch *Liège Harmony* might turn up in the *Pepysian Harmony*. Neither reading would be Diatessaronic. However, it is *unlikely* that a variant found in the *Vetus Latina* should have crept into the Arabic *Harmony*, or a *Vetus Syra* reading have entered the Middle Dutch *Cambridge Harmony* *unless* the cross-fertilization took place very early—possibly via the Diatessaron. Multiple attestation by geographically diverse witnesses is the first step in determining whether a reading is Diatessaronic.

The second criterion insures that the tradition is limited to the Diatessaronic family of texts. If a proposed Diatessaronic variant is also found in numerous Greek, *Vulgate*, and *Peshitta* manuscripts, it will be impossible to trace the dissemination of the variant: Did it enter the canonical manuscript tradition from the Diatessaron, or did it enter the Diatessaronic witnesses from the canonical manuscript tradition? Unless the manuscripts (or Fathers) with the variant are all late, then it is impossible to create an argument. For example, consider a variant found in Origen, Clement, Augustine, and ten canonical Greek manuscripts—in addition to some Eastern and Western Diatessaronic witnesses. Unable to determine the direction of migration of the variant, the reader must be agnostic (such



an example is given *infra*, 378–379, as Exhibit 1). If, however, the reading were found *only* in Eastern and Western witnesses to the Diatessaron, then the case is quite clear. This criterion causes the researcher the most agony, for sometimes a variant will crop up in a couple Fathers, and possibly a handful of canonical manuscripts. In that case, one must, with an even hand, weigh the *probability* that the Fathers or canonical gospel manuscripts might have influenced the Diatessaronic witnesses. In cases where the probability is low, the reading can be admitted; in cases where the probability is high, the reading—perhaps reluctantly—must be put aside.

The third criterion is a “form critical” check on the first two criteria. When searching for Diatessaronic readings among *known* Diatessaronic witnesses, it plays no role. However, when testing a new document to see if it is related to the Diatessaronic tradition, then this criterion comes to the fore. The probability that a reading is Diatessaronic is increased enormously *if* the document is presenting a harmonized “Life of Jesus.” The document need not be a formal harmony; but if it is a poem, hymn, homily, or a treatise which has interwoven passages from the four gospels to create a continuous narrative of Jesus’ life, then the likelihood that it has experienced contact with the Diatessaronic tradition is increased. Experience has shown that variant readings (either pure variants [substitutions, interpolations, omissions, transpositions] or harmonizations) which arose within the Diatessaronic tradition see limited circulation; they tend to be restricted to other harmonized documents. Conversely, if the test document is *not* of the harmonized genre, then the likelihood that the reading is Diatessaronic is decreased.

In conversations with the present writer, Tj. Baarda has expressed reservations about these criteria. The objections of this eminent Diatessaronic expert deserve to be set down here. They turn on three points. First, because of his conviction that there was one version of the Diatessaron which saw circulation in the East and a somewhat different version which was disseminated in the West, the first criterion, which requires bilateral agreement, is too demanding. Because of the differences between the Eastern and the Western Diatessarons, certain readings found only in one family may legitimately be considered Diatessaronic. An example is the “stick-staff” reading at Matt 10.10 (par.), which is found only in Eastern wit-

nesses.<sup>32</sup> If a harmonization or variant of striking character is found in only one witness, Baarda argues one cannot exclude the possibility that it is Diatessaronic.<sup>33</sup> Second, Baarda maintains that these criteria, if applied mindlessly, will dredge up *false* readings, and incorrectly lead to the conclusion that they are Diatessaronic—when they are not. Examples are instances of word order or idioms which—probably only by chance—are the same in both Eastern and Western witnesses. Third, in rare instances, *two* variants for the same passage may clear the criteria (such an instance occurs below, in Exhibit 6 [pp. 398–403]. Which, then, asks Baarda, is Diatessaronic?

In none of this does the present writer disagree with Baarda. In fact, it is because of my agreement with him that his reservations have been voiced here. They *must* be considered by every researcher, for they are valid. The reader must be reminded, however, that the criteria are not iron-clad rules, but rather benchmarks against which one can gauge *the likelihood* that a particular variant is Diatessaronic. The possibility that genuine readings will not meet these criteria is real and must never be ignored. However, the criteria were not developed in a vacuum: if the history of Diatessaronic studies chronicled in the preceding chapters has shown one thing, it is that careless, over-enthusiastic methods have left the field awash with dubious readings palmed off as “Diatessaronic.” The excesses of Baumstark and others have generated a general skepticism towards the field. How is one to guard against such excesses, if not with clearly delineated criteria, whose rigour will inevitably exclude some genuine readings?

Baarda’s point concerning different Diatessaronic traditions in the East and West is well taken. However, as numerous examples in the preceding chapters have shown, and as the examples to follow in this chapter will show, a considerable number of identical variant readings are found in *both* Eastern *and* Western witnesses. After screening these to exclude the possibility that the context, or idiom, or syntax in one or another witness generated the reading, one may then presume that they are Diatessaronic. In the present nascent state of the discipline, it seems—to the present writer, at least—better

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<sup>32</sup> See *supra*, 165–166.

<sup>33</sup> This is similar to Baumstark’s thesis that the “wilder” the reading, the more Diatessaronic it is: see *supra*, 238.

to begin with criteria which are considered too strict rather than too lax. Baarda and his team at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam have begun reconstruction of a single pericope (the Sermon on the Mount) from Eastern witnesses only<sup>34</sup>; in their work, they are deliberately ignoring Western Diatessaronic witnesses.<sup>35</sup> That is one method of approach; presumably it will result in the establishment of the text of the Eastern Diatessaronic tradition. There is, however, another avenue of approach. Rather than reconstructing just the *Eastern* Diatessaron,<sup>36</sup> one may also attempt to reconstruct the Diatessaron of Tatian, that document which presumably lies behind *both* the Eastern *and* the Western branches of the tradition. Tatian's Diatessaron would be found in the conjunction of the Eastern and the Western "local" Diatessarons. It is to this latter goal that our criteria point. As for Baarda's second reservation, yes, some "false positives" will survive the criteria. However, (1) it is self-evident that the number will be smaller than if *no* criteria were employed, and (2) the readings must still be screened by more specific criteria (already set out above [p. 342]; see also Exhibit 2, below [pp. 379–381]) to guard against precisely the kind of idiomatic or syntactical chance agreement of which Baarda is apprehensive. Furthermore, readers will have the benefit of seeing precisely *how* the readings were selected, and will be able to *gauge for themselves* precisely where the criteria have been of benefit, and where there is still a margin of error. Finally, Baarda's third point is certainly true. However, once again, the present writer would maintain that it is better to have some articulated criteria by which to arrive at *two* possible Diatessaronic readings, and *then* to apply the standard text-critical principles to decide which has a better claim to being Diatessaronic, rather than to have *no* criteria. In conclusion: the aim of the criteria is to provide *the reader* with the tools to evaluate whether a given variant is or is not Diatessaronic.

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<sup>34</sup> See *infra*, 442–443.

<sup>35</sup> This selective approach is analogous to that employed by I. Ortiz de Urbina when he created his *Vetus Evangelium Syrorum et exinde excerptum Diatessaron Tatiani*, which, ironically, Baarda himself criticized for ignoring—among others—the Western witnesses! See *supra*, 339–340.

<sup>36</sup> Recall Baumstark's observation that the Diatessaron has already experienced vulgarization before the time of Ephrem (*supra*, 221).

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Now, forewarned of points of danger and armed with criteria to judge the readings one encounters, let us examine nine potential Diatessaronic readings. The first Exhibit shows how the criteria can warn of danger, and prevent repeating the mistakes of the past. In fact, Exhibit 1 fails our criteria, and cannot be used for argumentation. Why it fails is, however, instructive. The remaining eight Exhibits (2 through 9) pass our criteria, and may be considered the reading of the Diatessaron, although in the case of Exhibit 2 some evidence which initially appeared sound must be discarded.

### III. RECOVERING DIATESSARONIC READINGS

#### EXHIBIT 1

Matt 27.34, Mark 15.36, Luke 23.36, John 19.29

Numerous scholars have pointed to the reading “vinegar and gall” in many Diatessaronic witnesses as coming from the hand of Tatian, for it agrees with his Encratism: rather than drinking “wine” (οἶνος), which Encratites eschewed, he harmonized the accounts, taking “vinegar” from Matt 27.48 (par.) and “gall” (χολή) from Matt 27.34. This harmonization has been widely accepted as Tatianic, and has become something of a *locus classicus* for illustrating Encratite influence in the Diatessaron.<sup>37</sup> Among Eastern witnesses, the reading is found in Ephrem’s *Commentary* (XX.27: “*acetum et fel*”) and the Persian Harmony (“*aceto e aloè amaro*”); the Arabic Harmony gives a conflated reading (“wine and myrrh and vinegar which had been mixed with the myrrh”) combining the canonical text (“wine and myrrh”) with the Diatessaronic (“vinegar which had been mixed with myrrh”). In the West, the Old Saxon *Heliand* also reads “vinegar mixed with gall” (lines 5645–46). Let us apply the three criteria and see what judgement they render.

Our first criterion demands that the variant occur in both Eastern and Western witnesses; this reading satisfies that requirement. Our second criterion requires that we search the

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<sup>37</sup> So, e.g., B. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Oxford 1977), 35; L. Leloir, *Éphrem de Nisibe, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant ou Diatessaron*, SC 121 (Paris 1966), 12.

apparatuses of the canonical text, as well as the *claves* for Patristic parallels,<sup>38</sup> which will then also be consulted. If this investigation proves negative, then our second criterion will be satisfied. Here our criteria signal caution, for the apparatus of even N-A<sup>26</sup> signals the same variant reading at Matt 27.34 in A W 0250 *M c f h q* Syr<sup>p.h</sup> mae bo<sup>mss</sup>: ὄξος μετὰ χολῆς (“vinegar with gall”). And while the texts of Mark and Luke (both just “vinegar”) are without variants, John 19.29, whose canonical reading is ὄξους (“vinegar”), contains the interpolation of μετὰ χολῆς (“with gall”) in Θ f<sup>13</sup> 348 477 892 2145 q arm Eusebius.<sup>39</sup> And in John 19.30, μετὰ χολῆς is interpolated after the canonical reading ὄξους in MSS 13 124 788.

We need not proceed further, for a dead end has been reached. Although the evidence of the Diatessaronic witnesses and the obvious Encratitic slant of the variant suggest it was the Diatessaron’s reading, the claim will be impossible to prove, for a critic will point to the wide dissemination of the reading among early canonical manuscripts. Since the Diatessaron is not the sole known common denominator among texts with this variant, one is hard pressed to trace its genesis to the Diatessaron. The reading, therefore, must be abandoned. Although it should be included in any collation of the Diatessaronic witnesses, no arguments (*e.g.*, that it shows the dependence of the Persian Harmony or *Heliand* upon the Diatessaron) can be based on it.

Let us now turn to eight readings which satisfy the criteria.

## EXHIBIT 2

### Luke 7.42

This reading shows the difficulty of ascertaining the *Urtext* of the Diatessaron behind the vernacular translations. The canonical text of Luke 7.42b reads: τίς οὖν αὐτῶν πλεῖον ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν; (“Then which of them will love him more?”). While many of the Diatessaronic witnesses give the canonical reading, others share a variant reading. In place of the canonical αὐτῶν (“of them”), the Arabic Harmony, and Romanos

<sup>38</sup> The best source for conducting such an investigation remains the *Biblia Patristica*, edd. J. Allenbach, A. Benoît, D.A. Bertrand, et al., 4 volumes to date (Paris 1975–87).

<sup>39</sup> The Ferrar Group (f<sup>13</sup>) consists of MSS 13 69 124 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689 1709.

Melodos in the East, and the Middle Dutch, Middle High German, and Venetian Harmonies in the West all read “of the two” (presupposing a Greek text: [ἐκ] τῶν δύο or, less likely, an Atticistic πότερος).<sup>40</sup>

#### EASTERN WITNESSES:

Arabic Harmony, XV.3:

Lequel des deux devra l'aimer davantage?<sup>41</sup>

Romanos, *Hymn on the Woman with many Sins*, XXI.14:

Τίς οὖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν δύο ποθήσει πλέον, εἰπέ μοι;<sup>42</sup>

Which, then, of the two will love him more, tell me?

#### WESTERN WITNESSES:

Liège, Stuttgart, and The Hague Harmonies, 186:

welc van desen tueen sal denghenen lieue hebben?<sup>43</sup>

Zürich Harmony, 186:

weliche von diesen zwein minnet in me.<sup>44</sup>

Venetian Harmony, 135:

*Chi creditu aduncha che lo ami più de quisti doi?*<sup>45</sup>

Applying our criteria, (1) the reading is found in Eastern and Western Diatessaronic witnesses; (2) it is not found in any canonical manuscripts or Patristic sources from which our Diatessaronic

<sup>40</sup> It is possible that this variant in the Diatessaron is related to the variant in the same pericope noted by J.C. Zahn (*supra*, 102–104) and explored later by W. Henss (*supra*, 266–269); “Which of the two did he love more?” I owe the suggestion of πότερος to Dr. G. Mussies of Utrecht.

<sup>41</sup> *Diatessaron de Tatien*, ed. A.-S. Marmardji (Beyrouth 1935), 141.

<sup>42</sup> *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes, III*, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, SC 114 (Paris 1965), 36–8.

<sup>43</sup> *The Liège Diatessaron*, edd. D. Plooi, C.A. Phillips, A. Bakker, et al., VNAW 31.1–8 (Parts I & II are erroneously labeled VNAW 29) (Amsterdam 1929–70), 562; *De Levens van Jezus in het Middelnederlandsch*, ed. J. Bergsma, BML 54, 55, 61 (Leiden 1895–98), 198.

<sup>44</sup> *Das Leben Jesu*, ed. C. Gerhardt, CSSN series minor, tome I, Vol. 5 (Leiden 1970), 121.

<sup>45</sup> *Il Diatessaron Veneto*, ed. V. Todesco, Pt. I of V. Todesco, et al., *Il Diatessaron in Volgare Italiano*, StT 81 (Città del Vaticano 1938), 115.

witnesses might have drawn the reading; (3) all of the sources with the reading share the identical genre—they are all harmonized “Lives of Jesus,” or, in the case of Romanos Melodos, a source which is acknowledged to have been influenced by the harmonized “Lives of Jesus” genre. Therefore, the reading would seem to be Diatessaronic.

Although the reading may justly be proclaimed Diatessaronic, one witness, the Arabic Harmony, must be discounted as evidence, for Arabic syntax requires the dual in this passage, making it impossible to tell what its archetype read: the pronoun “of them,” or the dual case, which would be translated “of the two.”<sup>46</sup> Were it not for the evidence of Romanos, whose Greek removes ambiguity as to the text which lay before him, the reading would have to be discarded, for it would lack Eastern support. It is obvious that one must be acutely aware of the linguistic constraints and requirements incumbent upon each witness, and adopt a critical attitude towards the evidence. If there is the slightest doubt or ambiguity, then the witness’ evidence must be excluded; and if the evidence for a reading does not meet the three criteria, then the reading must be discarded.

### EXHIBIT 3

#### John 13.9

In the Introduction, it was claimed that the Diatessaron sometimes preserves readings of interest for the church historian. This Exhibit provides an example of a reading in the Diatessaron which probably reflects the praxis of the early Christian communities which used the Diatessaron.

At John 13.9, the canonical text reads:

λέγει αὐτῷ Σίμων Πέτρος· κύριε, μὴ τοὺς πόδας μου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν.

Simon Peter said to him: “Lord, not only my feet, but also my hands and my head.”

Most of the Diatessaronic witnesses give this reading, but there are a few exceptions.

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<sup>46</sup> I owe this observation to Tj. Baarda, whose knowledge of Arabic, Persian, Armenian and other languages has rescued me from countless blunders.

## EASTERN WITNESSES:

Romanos Melodos, *Hymn on Judas*, XXXIII.11:

Κυρίε μου, εἰ πλύνεις, μή μου τοὺς πόδας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
δέμας ὅλον.<sup>47</sup>

"My Lord, if you wash [me], then not only my feet, but  
also my whole body."

Romanos Melodos, *First Hymn on the Resurrection*, XL.8:

...καὶ ὥς εἴθε ἦδιν ποῦ τέθαιψαι,  
ἵνα ὥς ἡ πόρνη δάκρυσιν βρέξω  
μή μόνον τοὺς πόδας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλον ἀληθῶς  
τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ μνήμά σου,<sup>48</sup>

[Mary Magdalene, alone at the tomb, wondering where Jesus  
is, speaks:]

"... And I wish I knew where you are buried,  
So that, like the prostitute, I would moisten with tears  
Not only your feet, but truly also your  
Whole Body and your tomb,"

## WESTERN WITNESSES:

Pepysian Harmony, 95:

*Lorde, nouzth onelich wasche my feete, bot al þe body and þe  
heued . . .*<sup>49</sup>

Vetus Latina, MS a:

*Dicit ei Simon Petrus: Domini, non tantum pedes sed et manus  
caput et [[totum]] [corpus].*<sup>50</sup>

*Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, lines 4314–5:

*Petrus ait: "Et non solum pedes ad lavandum,  
Dabo manus atque caput totum ad aquandum."*<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes IV*, SC 128 (Paris 1976), 82.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 392–94.

<sup>49</sup> *The Pepysian Harmony*, ed. M. Goates, EETS O.S. 157 (London 1922), 88.

<sup>50</sup> *Italia, IV. Johannes-evangelium*, ed. A. Jülicher (Berlin 1963), 149.

<sup>51</sup> *Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, ed. A. Vögtlin, BLVS 180 (Tübingen 1888), 149.



The interpolation in three Diatessaronic witnesses—against the entire Greek and (save for the one *Vetus Latina* MS) Latin manuscript tradition—of “all the body” is striking. In the East, Romanos’ *Hymn on Judas* unquestionably preserves the reading. His *First Hymn on the Resurrection* also seems to, although the words are placed in the mouth of Mary Magdalene, not Peter; nevertheless, the echo of John 13.9—in the same deviating form found in Romanos’ *Hymn on Judas*—is discernible. In the West, the reading is found in the Pepsian Harmony. Elsewhere in the West, the brackets in the text of *Vetus Latina* MS *a* do not indicate a conjecture, but are Jülicher’s way of marking a reading no longer verifiable: “*et totum corpus*” stands in the editions of Irico (1748) and Bianchini (1749). However, by 1914, Gasquet could only read “*corpus*”; “*et totum*” had faded to the point that it was no longer legible. By the time of Jülicher’s first edition (1954), “*corpus*” had also faded and was no longer legible. Therefore, although the text is bracketed, one can be certain, on the basis of the editions of Irico and Bianchini, that this is the codex’s reading. It should be pointed out that MS *a* is the oldest *Vetus Latina* manuscript, and it also contains other Diatessaronic readings, such as the “light” at the baptism. The Latin *Vita Rhythmica* is an early thirteenth century poem from southern Germany, which contains Diatessaronic readings.<sup>52</sup> Here it interpolates only part of the variant reading—“all” (“*totum*”).

With Eastern and Western support, the reading satisfies our first criterion. The second is satisfied as well, for the reading is found in no other Patristic or canonical sources. As for the third criterion, all of the texts which offer the reading also offer other Diatessaronic readings, and are either gospel harmonies (the Pepsian Harmony) or texts which came under the influence of the harmonized “Lives of Jesus” tradition (Romanos’ hymns, the *Vetus Latina*, and the *Vita Rhythmica*). The only known explanation for the distribution of this variant is to presume that it stood in the Diatessaron. While it is possible to argue that the reading spontaneously arose in *Vetus Latina* MS *a*, whence it spread to the other Western witnesses, one cannot argue that Romanos’ Greek hymns are dependent upon the *Vetus Latina*. The Diatessaron is the only known

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<sup>52</sup> See *supra*, 322–323.

common denominator among these sources, and would seem to be the purveyor of the variant.

This reading serves an additional purpose. It demonstrates—*pace* Krogmann—the reliability of poetic witnesses to the Diatessaron. Romanos offers the reading twice; in the first hymn (*on Judas*) it is quoted literally, and placed in the mouth of Peter, while in the second hymn (*on the Resurrection*) it has been adapted. But in both cases, the variant reading survives intact. Similarly in the *Vita Rhythmica*: although the interpolation is abbreviated to “*all*,” it nevertheless survives, which is more than can be said for the other Western witnesses. There is no *a priori* reason for regarding poetic witnesses as inferior or less trustworthy than prose witnesses.<sup>53</sup>

From an historical perspective, the passage is significant as an echo of baptism. Immersion (“wash my whole body”), was the practice of the Syrian church, as it appears to have been throughout virtually all of ancient Christendom. This is the form which finds textual support in the Diatessaron, not the later form (affusion, represented by the reading “wash my head”), which is presently found in the canonical gospels.

#### EXHIBIT 4

##### Matt 2.18

At Matt 2.18 the canonical text reads φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμὰ ἠκούσθη ... (“A voice was heard in Rama ...”). The passage is a quotation from Jer. 31.15 in the Hebrew Bible: ... קוֹל בְּרַמָּה נִשְׁמָע . In the LXX, where the verse stands as Jer. 38.15, the majority of manuscripts have translated this as Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμὰ ἠκούσθη, but two of them,  $\aleph^*$  and A (Codex Alexandrinus [Gregory siglum 02]), read: Φωνὴ ἐν τῇ ὑψηλῇ ἠκούσθη ... (“A voice was heard in the height ...”).

When one examines how Matt 2.18 is rendered in Diatessaronic witnesses, one finds a variant which may give a clue as to the harmony’s original language. For example, the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis (X.3) reads:

<sup>53</sup> See the research (described *supra*, under the appropriate scholars’ name) on the *Heliand* by Fon Weringh, on the *Vita Rhythmica* by Van den Broek, and on Romanos by Petersen.

*stemma in hôhi gihôrit ward . . .*<sup>54</sup>

"a voice was heard in/on the heights . . ."

This is identical with the minority LXX reading of  $\aleph^*$  and B in Jeremiah 38.15. Is the reading "in the heights" paralleled elsewhere? It is absent from the adjacent Latin column of Codex Sangallensis (*N.B.*: demonstrating—*pace* Sievers!—the independence of the Old High German column from the Latin column), which gives the standard Vulgate reading, which is also found in Codex Fuldensis: "*vox in rama audita est.*" It is also absent from the entire Latin and Greek gospel tradition. It is, however, found in numerous other Western Diatessaronic witnesses. In the Venetian Harmony:

*Voce in alto audiva . . .*<sup>55</sup>

"A voice was heard in [the] height . . ."

in the Tuscan Harmony's many manuscripts:

*la voce è udita da alti . . .*<sup>56</sup>

"the voice was heard from the heights . . ."

in the Middle Dutch Cambridge Harmony:

*de stamme . . . wart ghehort in der hogheden . . .*<sup>57</sup>

"the voice . . . was heard in the heights . . ."

and, dependent upon the Dutch tradition, the Zürich manuscript of the Middle High German Harmony:

*die stimmer wart erhoert in der hoeche . . .*<sup>58</sup>

"the voice was heard in the heights . . ."

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<sup>54</sup> E. Sievers, *Tatian. Lateinisch und altdeutsch, mit ausführlichem Glossar*, BADLD 5 (Paderborn 1892<sup>2</sup>; reprinted: Paderborn 1960), 29.

<sup>55</sup> *Il Diatessaron Veneto* (ed. Todesco), 30.

<sup>56</sup> *Il Diatessaron Toscano*, edd. M. Vattasso and A. Vaccari, Pt. 2 of *Il Diatessaron in Volgare Italiano*, edd. V. Todesco, StT 81 (Città del Vaticano 1938), 213.

<sup>57</sup> *Diatessaron Cantabrigiense*, ed. C.C. de Bruin, CSSN ser. minor, tome I, vol. III (Leiden 1970), 7.

<sup>58</sup> *Das Leben Jhesu* (ed. Gerhardt), 12.

The variant is also found in Peter Comestor's *Historia evangelica*, part of his *Historia scholastica*. He specifically notes that "in the height" is the correct reading:

*"Vox in Rama audita est, etc." Rama locus est juxta Gabaa duodecimo milliario distans a Bethlehem. . . . Tamen etiam prophetavit de nece parvulorum, ut Matthaeus ait, et tunc Rama non est nomen loci. Sed quia Rama excelsum sonat, idem est ac si dixit: Vox in excelso audita est.*<sup>59</sup>

In the West, then, six Diatessaronic witnesses coincide in reading "a voice was heard in the height(s)" against the entire Greek and Latin New Testament manuscript tradition. What might be the origin of this reading?

One possible source is the variant reading found in the two Septuagint manuscripts (Σ\* and A). The probability that this is the source of the variant in the Diatessaronic witnesses is low, however, for the reading was corrected away in Σ. Furthermore, the variant is restricted to Diatessaronic witnesses: it occurs in not a single Greek or Latin manuscript of the gospels. If the variant were generated by these LXX manuscripts, then one would presume that it would have left its mark on the Greek gospel manuscript tradition, not just on Diatessaronic witnesses. Furthermore, if the Western Diatessaronic witnesses were to have acquired this reading from these two LXX manuscripts, then it would mean that a Latin Diatessaron reached back to one of only two Greek manuscripts of the *Old Testament* for this reading in the *gospels*, and ignored all known Latin and Greek gospel manuscripts. Just on the face of it, this seems unlikely. The LXX manuscripts seem unlikely to be the origin of this variant in the Western vernacular Diatessaronic witnesses.

Another possible source is Jerome, who in his *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum*, mentions "Rama" four times, and defines the name as meaning "high."<sup>60</sup> In his *Comm. in Matt. I*, he emphasized this: "*Quod autem dicitur: in Rama, non putemus loci nomen esse qui est iuxta Gabaa, sed Rama excelsum interpretatur ut sit sensus: vox in excelso audita est*" ("But when it says: 'in Rama,' it does

<sup>59</sup> Migne, *PL* 198, 1544B–C.

<sup>60</sup> *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera, Pars I*, CChr.SL 72 (Tvrnholti 1959), 70 ("Rama tonans uel excelsa"), 97 ("Ramath excelsa haec"), 125 ("Rama excelsa"), 138 ("Ramatham excelsa eorum uel sublime eis"). Interestingly enough, however, Eusebius' *Onomasticon* (as well as Jerome's Latin translation of it)

not mean the name of the place which is near Gabaa; rather, 'Rama' means high and has the sense: 'A voice was heard in the height').<sup>61</sup> Similarly, in his *Ep. ad Damasum* (XX) 5, he writes "*Denique Matheus qui euangelium hebraeo sermone conscripsit ita posuit: 'osianna barrama', id est 'osanna in excelsis'*" ("Finally, Matthew—who wrote a gospel in the Hebrew language—put 'osianna barrama,' that is 'osanna in the heights'").<sup>62</sup> This same tradition is found in Latin commentaries on Matthew by Ps.-Bede (c. 750),<sup>63</sup> Rabanus Maurus (c. 830),<sup>64</sup> and Paschasius Radbertus (c. 850).<sup>65</sup> The fact that all of these works are commentaries on Matthew suggests that these later writers are dependent upon Jerome. The reference to "Gabaa" in both Jerome and Peter Comestor suggests that he too is dependent upon Jerome. The Diatessaronic witnesses (the Old High German of Codex Sangallensis, the Middle High German of the Zürich MS, the Middle Dutch Cambridge Harmony, and the Venetian and Tuscan Harmonies) might also be dependent upon Jerome, either directly or indirectly (via Rabanus Maurus or Peter Comestor, for example).

While acknowledging that this second possibility is more likely than the first (i.e., use of the LXX MSS), one must also admit a third possibility: that some early Latin manuscript of the Diatessaron, translated directly from Syriac into Latin, correctly translated ܪܒܐܬ as "in excelsis." From there, this variant spread to other vernacular Diatessaronic witnesses. Several lines of argumentation and evidence suggest that this is the most likely solution. As prologue, recall Plooi's discovery of Syriasms in the Liège Harmony, and Th. Zahn's suggestion that the Diatessaron was translated directly from Syriac into Latin. Recall also that textual evidence—in the form of not just Syriasms, but also in the form of the vast number of *unique textual agreements* between the Vetus Syra and Western Diatessaronic witnesses—suggests this was the origin of the Latin Diatessaron. In short, the possibility exists, for the means of transmission has already

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lacks the association of "Rama" with "height": cp. *Eusebius Werke III.1*, ed. E. Klostermann, GCS 11 (Leipzig 1904), 18–19, 66–67, 132–33, 138–39, 144–45, 148–49.

<sup>61</sup> Jerome, *Comm. in Matt.*, I, ad loc. (*Saint Jérôme. Commentaire sur S. Matthieu, Tome I [Livres I–II]*), ed. É. Bonnard, SC 242 [Paris 1977], 86).

<sup>62</sup> *Saint Jérôme, Lettres*, ed. J. Labourt, tome 1 (Paris 1949), 83.

<sup>63</sup> *Expositio in Mt.*, I.2 (Migne PL 92, 14c).

<sup>64</sup> *Comm. in Mt.* I.2 (Migne PL 107, 763a).

<sup>65</sup> *Expositio in Mt.*, XII (CChr.SL 56B, 1020).

been demonstrated. The problem is to decide whether *this* variant comes from Syria, from a Syriac Diatessaron, or comes only from Jerome and the commentary tradition.

Despite the fact that the commentary tradition lies close to our Western witnesses, three arguments suggest that the genesis of the variant in Diatessaronic witnesses lies in a Syriac Diatessaron. First, the genre of the two possible sources is very different: Jerome and those dependent upon him are all commentaries (Peter Comestor straddles the line: he is a commentary which appears to quote a Diatessaron from time to time; in this instance, however, “Gabaa” shows that he is dependent upon Jerome). The *genre* of our Diatessaronic witnesses is quite different: they are all gospel harmonies, not commentaries. If Jerome’s definition and the commentary tradition were so influential, then why have they not influenced any of the Latin or Greek gospel manuscripts? The variant is found in none of them; indeed, Jerome’s own Vulgate lacks the variant! Second, we have seen that while the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis preserves a fair number of variants paralleled in Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses, the neighbouring Latin column does not. The fact that this variant occurs *only* in the Old High German column of Codex Sangallensis, *and not in the Latin column*, suggests that the genesis of this variant lies *not in the standard Latin world*, but with the source of the variants in Codex Sangallensis’ Old High German column, namely, an “Old Latin” Diatessaron tintured with Syriac readings. Third, our earliest Syriac sources—that is, the two manuscripts of the Vetus Syra (Syr<sup>s.c.</sup>), the Peshitta (Syr<sup>P</sup>) and the newly-discovered Syriac folios of Ephrem’s *Commentary*—read ܪܡܬܐ (r-m-th-a), which in Syriac can mean either the name of the town called “Rama” (Ραμά) in Greek, or “height.” Every Orientalist consulted has informed me that the first meaning which would come to mind in a Syrian would be “height.” Indeed, the word must be translated as “hill” or “height” at its two other occurrences in the New Testament (Luke 3.5, 23.30). We know there was confusion in early Syrian Christianity over the meaning of ܪܡܬܐ (r-m-th-a), for the ambiguity is removed by the eleventh and twelfth centuries. All three manuscripts of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary substitute ܪܡܐ (r-a-m-a) for ܪܡܬܐ (r-m-th-a).<sup>66</sup> The

<sup>66</sup> *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, edd. A.S. Lewis and M.D. Gibson (London 1899), 257.

ambiguity present in the earlier reading, **ܪܡܐ**, is gone, for the reading of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, (r-a-m-a), is a direct transliteration of the Greek name of the village Ῥαμᾶ. This substitution precludes the translation "height." It seems likely, then, that a Latin translation of a Syriac Diatessaron, made in the early centuries of Christianity, would have translated **ܪܡܐ** as "*in excelsis*." And, among gospel witnesses, that is precisely the variant which we find in *and only in* our Western Diatessaronic witnesses.

To summarize the argument, then: It would be most unusual if, among all the extant gospel manuscripts in Greek, Latin, and the vernacular languages, Jerome's observation on the meaning of the word "Rama" were to be taken over by *and only by* Diatessaronic witnesses. Similarly, it would be most unusual if, among all the extant gospel manuscripts, *only* a Latin gospel Diatessaron picked up a variant reading extant in only two Greek manuscripts (one of which was corrected away by a later hand) of the Hebrew Bible. While it is logical for the later commentators to have acquired their tradition from Jerome (all share the same genre, a commentary, and commentators—both then and now—are notorious for reproducing both sense and nonsense from previous commentators), and that dependence is quite clear in the case of Peter Comestor (the common reference to "Gabaa"), it is not clear why or how Jerome's remark should have, among gospel texts, infiltrated Diatessaronic witnesses *and only* Diatessaronic witnesses. Moreover, when one surveys the entire Diatessaron, one finds no parallel example of a reading from Jerome or other commentators penetrating so deeply into the Diatessaronic tradition.<sup>67</sup> Either this is an exception, or some other explanation must be sought. Since the genesis of the variant—even according to Jerome—can be traced back to an ambiguity in translating from a Semitic language, and since the Diatessaronic witnesses with the variant are, by and large, relatively "unvulgarized" witnesses (especially the Cambridge Harmony and the Venetian Harmony), and since we can be quite certain that the Diatessaron underwent a Syriac-to-Latin transla-

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<sup>67</sup> While glosses in individual witnesses (or in the interleaved commentary of the Venetian Harmony) may, from time to time, incorporate traditions from the commentator, they are clearly "local" phenomenon, and are restricted either to *one* witness or *a family* of witnesses (e.g., the Middle Dutch manuscripts); none crosses linguistic lines like this variant, cropping up in Old High German, Middle High German, Middle Dutch, and the Venetian and Tuscan dialects of Middle Italian.

tion, it seems probable that this is the route by which the reading found its way into the Western Diatessaronic witnesses. Such an explanation accounts for the total absence of the variant in the Greek and Latin gospel manuscripts, and also accounts for the absence of the variant from the Latin column of Codex Sangallensis where, if the tradition were drawn from Jerome or the Latin commentators, one would expect to find it, since it is in the neighbouring Old High German column.

The variant seems to have been transmitted in two parallel channels: one originating in Jerome, and used by Latin commentators, and one originating in a Latin Diatessaron, and found only in Western vernacular Diatessaronic witnesses.

If our scenario is correct (and this Exhibit is a prime example of how subtle the evidence sometimes is, how cross-currents can buffet an hypothesis, and how cautious one has to be), then we must conclude that the language of the Diatessaron which begat this confusion was Syriac. Furthermore, if our scenario is correct, then it is hard to imagine a clearer example of the relationship between the Western medieval vernacular harmonies and the Eastern witnesses to Tatian's Diatessaron (*pace* de Bruin, Fischer, and Krogmann), for as F.C. Burkitt remarked, "it is companionship in error which shews real affinity of text."<sup>68</sup> In this case, however, the "error" may reflect the original sense of the text.

## EXHIBIT 5

### Luke 10.33–34

One of the clearest demonstrations of the original language of the Diatessaron is to be found in the Parable of the Good Samaritan. At Luke 10.33–34, the standard Greek (with important variants identified in brackets) reads as follows:

(33) Σαμαρίτης δὲ τις ὁδεύων (+ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐκείνῃ 477\*) ἦλθεν κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδὼν [αὐτὸν] ἐσπλαγχνίσθη, (34) καὶ προσελθὼν κατέδησεν τὰ τραύματα αὐτοῦ ἐπιχέων ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον, ἐπιβιάσας δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον κτήνος (+ *et r*<sup>2</sup>) ἤγαγεν (+ δὲ 1047) αὐτὸν εἰς πανδοχεῖον καὶ ἐπεμελήθη αὐτοῦ.

(33) And a certain Samaritan, traveling (+ in the same way 477\*), came upon him and seeing, he pitied [him].

<sup>68</sup> Burkitt's "Introduction" to Barnard, *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria*, p. xiii.



(34) And coming, he bound up his wounds, pouring oil and wine; and he set him on his own mule, (+ and 1047 <sup>r</sup>) he led him into an inn and cared for him.

Observe the number of finite verbs, participles, and conjunctions: in verse 33, there are two main verbs (“he came” [ἦλθεν], “he pitied” [ἔσπλαγχνίσω]); two participles (“traveling” [ὁδεύων], “seeing” [ἰδών]); and two conjunctions. In verse 34, there are three finite verbs (“he bound up” [κατέδησεν], “he led” [ἦγαγεν], “he cared” [ἐπεμελήθη]), three participles (“approaching” [προσελθών], “pouring” [ἐπιχέων], “setting” [ἐπιβιβάσας]), and four conjunctions, with a fifth added in one Greek (1047; thirteenth cent.) and one Vetus Latina (<sup>r</sup>1; seventh cent.) manuscripts. This arrangement conforms with Greek style, which prefers to subordinate clauses by using participles, and eschews pleonastic pronouns. By contrast, Semitic style tends to avoid participles, using instead finite verbs in independent clauses joined by conjunctions. This analysis is confirmed when the Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses are examined. While the Greek canonical text uses participles, the Eastern witnesses uses finite verbs joined by (interpolated) conjunctions:

#### EASTERN WITNESSES:

Arabic Harmony, 34:

*Et l'un des samaritains, pendant qu'il marchait, arriva à l'endroit ou il était et le vit et eut pitié de lui. Et il approcha et banda ses blessures et y versa du vin et de l'huile. Et il le laissa fit monter sur l'âne et l'amena à l'hôtellerie et prit soin de lui.*<sup>69</sup>

Persian Harmony, III.25:

*Un samaritano passava nella strada, vide in quel luogo l'uomo e ne ebbe pietà. Si avvicinò a lui e pulì le sue ferite e pose vino e olio sulle sue ferite, e legò e (lo) fece sedere sul suo asino e lo portò nella locanda, e quel giorno si fermò per lui.*<sup>70</sup>

Syr<sup>c,s</sup> (with variants in Syr<sup>s</sup> noted):

ܡܠܟܐ ܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ  
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<sup>69</sup> *Diatessaron de Tatien* (ed. Marmardji), 329.

<sup>70</sup> *Diatessaron Persiano* (ed. Messina), 225.

### Palestinian Syriac Lectionary (Syr<sup>pal</sup>):

<sup>72</sup> *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, edd. A.S. Lewis and M.D. Gibson (London 1899), 112.

WESTERN WITNESSES:

Liège Harmony, 173:

*Doe gheschide dat en samaritaen quam gaende al din seluen wech; en also hi denghenen sach so ontferments hem; en hi ghinc ten ghenen daer hi lach en bant hem sine wonden en ghoeter in olie en wyn en dar na so sette hine op syn part en vurdene in ene herberge en plach syns.<sup>73</sup>*

“Then it happened that a Samaritan came going also that same way; and when he saw that man, he took pity on him, and he went to the man where he lay, and bandaged his wounds, and poured oil and wine into them; and after that he set him on his horse, and carried him into an inn, and took care of him.”

Middle High German Zürich Harmony, 165:

*Do geschach das ein Samaritani kam gande den selben weg. und do gein gesach do wart er mit barmherzekeit bewegt und gieng zu ime da er lag und bant ime sine wunden und gos dar in oele und win und dar nach saste er in uf sine viche und furte in eine herberge und pflag sin.<sup>74</sup>*

“Then it happened that a Samaritan came going the same way. And when he saw then he was moved with compassion and went to him where he lay and bound up his wounds and poured in them oil and wine and after that sat him on his beast and went to an inn and cared for him.”

Venetian Harmony, 65:

*Un Samaritano, coè a dire un homo mondano, andava per quel lugo e vecuto questo enfermo mossessi a misericordia et vene ad ello e lavò i le plage de vino e de olio e legali le plage e poselo en su lo caval suo e dusselo ad uno albergo et avene cura.<sup>75</sup>*

“A Samaritan, that is to say, a worldly man, going by that place and seeing this injured one, was moved to compassion, and went to him and washed the wounds with wine and oil and bound up the wounds<sup>76</sup> and put him on his horse, and came to an inn and had care [for him].”

<sup>73</sup> *The Liège Diatessaron* (ed. Plooij), 482–83.

<sup>74</sup> *Das Leben Jhesu* (ed. Gerhardt), 107.

<sup>75</sup> *Il Diatessaron Veneto* (ed. Todesco), 67.

<sup>76</sup> This inversion of the sequence of events (canonical = bind up wounds, pour on wine and oil; the Venetian Harmony = pour on wine and oil, then bind up wounds) is an interesting touch. The Venetian Harmony’s sequence is undoubtedly later, but better medical procedure: a wound is cleaned before being bandaged.

The Liège Harmony has nine conjunctions as does the Middle High German tradition; the Venetian Harmony has eight conjunctions. To this list of Western witnesses we could append the other Middle Dutch witnesses (the Stuttgart, The Hague, and Haaren Harmonies).

Now, if the Diatessaron were originally composed in Greek, and if this Greek Diatessaron were the archetype of a Latin Diatessaron which, in turn spawned the Western vernacular harmonies, is it not odd that the *Western* witnesses listed above contain features which, while *unparalleled* in the Greek canonical tradition and *contrary* to Greek syntax, are found in the *Eastern* Diatessaronic tradition and are common in *Semitic* syntax? Might these unique agreements between the Western vernacular harmonies and the Eastern harmonies indicate that these readings stem from a Semitic language (*viz.* Syriac) Diatessaron?

A critic of this suggestion might argue that the Western witnesses are imitating the Latin versions,<sup>77</sup> which also tend to avoid participles. The evidence, however, provides no support for such a theory: the Latin of the Vulgate is presented below:

(33) *Samaritanus autem quidam iter faciens, venit secus eum: et videns eum, misericordia motus est.* (34) *Et appropians alligavit vulnera eius, infundens oleum, et vinum: et imponens illum in iumentum suum, duxit in stabulum, et curam eius egit.*

“(33) But a certain Samaritan as he was journeying, came beside him and seeing him, he was moved by pity. (34) And approaching, he bound up his wounds, pouring on oil and wine: and placing him on his beast, he led to an inn and took care of him.”

As can be seen, the number and location of conjunctions corresponds exactly with the Greek canonical text: there are six. The pattern found in the Western Diatessaronic witnesses cannot be traced to the Latin tradition.

The critic might raise a second objection, namely, that the

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<sup>77</sup> This was posited in a letter to the present writer by Prof. H. Greeven, after this reading was first published in a *Festschrift* for him (W.L. Petersen, “New Evidence for the Question of the Original Language of the Diatessaron,” *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments zum 80. Geburtstag Heinrich Greeven*, ed. W. Schrage, BZNW 47 [New York/Berlin 1986], 325–343). Greeven’s suggestion is, however, not supported by the Latin of the Vulgate or the *Vetus Latina*.

finite verbs and conjunctions in the Western witnesses reflect the tendency of the Western vernacular versions to replace participles with finite verbs. Here too, a response can be given; it comes in two parts. First, while there is indeed a tendency for the vernacular versions to avoid the subordination found in the Greek (and Latin) canonical text, such an explanation would, in this example, require that no fewer than three vernacular languages (Middle Dutch, Middle High German, and Middle Italian) all adopt, independently of each other, the same sequence of finite verbs and their accompanying conjunctions. Even on the face of it, this is unlikely. But the second part of the answer is even more telling. Numerous vernacular harmonies are known, and in this pericope the majority of them do *not* replace the canonical text's participles with finite verbs; rather, they conform to the structure of the Greek and Latin canonical text, participles and all. Examples include the Pepysian Harmony, Codex Fuldensis, Codex Sangallensis (both the Latin and Old High German columns), etc. The most potent example is the Tuscan Harmony. The Tuscan Harmony—in contrast to its close vernacular cousin, the Venetian Harmony—conforms quite closely to the Greek and Latin canonical text:

Tuscan Harmony, 129:

(33) *Venendo poi uno samaritano per quella via, venne presso a lui, e venduto che l'ebbe, fu mosso a misericordia.* (34) *E appressandosi a llui, legò le fedite sue, versando sopra esse dell'olio e del vino. E ponendolo in sul cavallo suo, menollo all'albergo ed ebbe cura di lui.*<sup>78</sup>

“(33) Then a Samaritan, coming through this road, came upon him and, seeing his state, was moved to pity.

(34) And approaching to him, he bound up his wounds, pouring on them oil and wine. And putting him on his horse, he took him to the inn and had care for him.”

Here is a harmony whose vernacular language is virtually identical with that of the Venetian Harmony; nevertheless, it has only six conjunctions—a number identical with the Greek canonical tradition, the Vulgate, and Codex Fuldensis. In sum, there is apparently

<sup>78</sup> *Diatessaron Toscano* (edd. Vattasso and Vaccari), 303.

nothing in the vernacular languages which *obliges* them to avoid participial constructions.

The question, therefore, remains: Can one explain the presence in the Western harmonies of *precisely* the same alterations found in the Eastern harmonies, and at the same time maintain that the genesis of the Western vernacular harmonies lies in a Greek—and not a Syriac—Diatessaron? The textual evidence provides the answer: No, one cannot. The thesis that the appearance of these conjunctions (and the concomitant reduction of participles to simple verbs) in the Western witnesses is due to influence from a Semitic-language Diatessaron remains the only apparent solution. The number of conjunctions (nine in both the Liège and Middle High German Harmonies) and their location is identical with that of the Arabic Harmony (also nine). Moreover, there are two other distinctive hallmarks of the Diatessaron's text which unite the Eastern and Western witnesses against the Greek canonical tradition. The first is the interpolation of the phrase “[in/on] the same way,” in v. 33. Although unparalleled in the canonical tradition (save for one Greek manuscript [MS 477\*; thirteenth cent.], in which it is corrected away by a later hand!<sup>79</sup>), the addition is found in the East in the Persian Harmony, Syr<sup>c.pal</sup> and, in the West, in the Liège, Zürich, and Tuscan Harmonies. The second is the interpolation of pleonastic pronouns in the Western witnesses—another distinctive feature of Semitic syntax due to suffix pronouns. Against the entire Greek and Latin canonical tradition, the Liège Harmony interpolates “hem” (“him”: “had pity on him”), and the Liège, Zürich, Venetian, and Tuscan Harmonies all interpolate “them” or “the wounds,” stipulating upon what the “oil and wine” were poured. Both of these interpolations are prominent among Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses: they are found in Syr<sup>c.pal</sup> and the Arabic and Persian Harmonies. The following table provides an overview of the relevant features and their consistency:

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<sup>79</sup> Note that this manuscript's date coincides with the flourishing of gospel harmonies in the European vernacular; it would seem that the harmonized tradition here influenced one scribe copying a manuscript of the canonical gospel of Luke. The scribe's Diatessaronic interpolation was caught, however, and removed by the corrector.

TR:      [+ εὖ τ.ο.ἐκ. 477\*]      —      —      —      —      [+ δέ 1047 r<sup>1</sup>]

EASTERN:

Syr <sup>c</sup>	[+ that same way]	on him	and	and	upon them	and
Syr <sup>s</sup>	[+ on his way]	on him	[and]	[and]	upon them	and
Syr <sup>pal</sup>	[+ the same way]	on him	and	and	upon them	and
Arabic	—	de lui	et	et	y	et
Persian	[+ nella strada]	ne	e	e	sue ferite	e

WESTERN:

Liège	[+ al din seluen weg]	hem	en	en	(ghoet)er	en
Zürich	—	—	vnd	vnd	dar	vnd
Venetian	—	—	e	e	le plage	e
Tuscan	[+ per quella via]	—	—	—	esse	—

As the table makes clear, the Tuscan Harmony (which, recall, has the same number of conjunctions as the canonical Greek and Latin tradition) is the most Vulgatized of this group, but even it preserves vestiges of the Diatessaron: “*per quella via*,” “*esse*.”

The sum of the evidence, then, suggests that the finite verbs and extra conjunctions found in the Western Diatessaronic witnesses are not the product of vernacular conventions imposing themselves on the text. Rather, like the pleonastic pronouns and the interpolation of “the same way,” they appear to stem from the Diatessaron. The readings have bilateral support, are unattested elsewhere, and are—with three minor exceptions (MSS 477\* 1047 r<sup>1</sup>)—confined to Diatessaronic witnesses.

If the original Diatessaron were composed in Greek, then it is inexplicable how—while leaving its mark on the Syriac separated gospels and more than a half-dozen vernacular harmonies from the Netherlands to Persia—these distinctive readings should have left nary a trace in the canonical Greek (or Latin) manuscript tradition. Furthermore, the distinctive features found in the Diatessaronic tradition are contrary to Greek style and usage. On the other hand, the hypothesis of a Syriac original Diatessaron explains not only the genesis of the additions (they are the products of Semitic style and syntax), but also the distribution of the readings (confined to Diatessaronic witnesses). The evidence indicates that the Diatessaron was originally composed in a Semitic language, almost certainly Syriac.

## EXHIBIT 6

Matt 28.1–7, Mark 16.1–7, Luke 24.1–9, John 20.11–12

While previous Exhibits dealt with rather small sections of text, this Exhibit concerns a large block of text. As such, it offers a glimpse of how the Diatessaron combined material from all four gospels and wove it into a single narrative. It also provides evidence for Manichaean use of a Diatessaron.

The passage under consideration comes from the “Empty Tomb” accounts. Here Tatian presents an almost farcical succession of parties approaching the tomb, each of which meets a different divine messenger(s). He is, of course, struggling to include each of the various accounts, all of which are different. Matthew, for example, reports that two Marys are addressed by *one* “angel” (ἄγγελος; Matt 28.5), while Mark states that two Marys *and* Salome were addressed by one “young man/youth” (νεανίσκον; Mark 16.5). In Luke, however, an unnamed *group* of women are addressed by *two* “men” (ἄνδρες δύο; Luke 24.4), while in John, Mary (Magdalene? the mother of Jesus?<sup>80</sup>) is addressed by two “angels” (δύο ἁγγέλους; John 20.12).

There are, of course, Diatessaronic witnesses beyond the four whose texts are presented below. They, however, do not contain the unique elements we wish to trace here. Hence, they are not presented. It should also be pointed out that the entire “Empty Tomb” account, with its various groups coming to the tomb, and the various messengers speaking to them, is an extremely interesting passage in all of the Diatessaronic witnesses, and offers numerous possibilities for investigation. Here, for the purposes of illustration, we have arbitrarily limited ourselves to two dimensions of the passage. First, we are interested in the *number* and *description* of the divine messengers who speak to the women. Second, we are concerned with *what messages are delivered*, and *in what order*. We begin with the Eastern witness.

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<sup>80</sup> Within the Greek—and, especially, the Syriac—exegetical tradition there is a tradition which understands this woman to be Mary, the mother of Jesus. See the remarks and literature cited in Tj. Baarda, “Jesus and Mary (John 20, 16f.) in the Second Epistle on Virginity Ascribed to Clement,” in *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments, Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Heinrich Greeven*, ed. W. Schrage, BZNW 47 (Berlin 1986), 18–19.



# EASTERN WITNESS

Arabic Harmony, 52–53:

*Et tandis qu'elles étaient stupéfaites (de cela) voici que deux hommes se tenaient (au dessus) près d'elles, et leur vêtement brillait. Et elles eurent de la frayeur: et elles inclinèrent le visage vers la terre. Et ils leur dirent: Pourquoi cherchez-vous le vivant parmi les morts? Il n'est pas ici; il est ressuscité. Souvenez-vous de ce dont il vous entretenait, étant en Galilée: et il disait: Le Fils des hommes doit être livré entre les mains des pécheurs et être crucifié et ressusciter le troisième jour. Mais allez vite et dites à ses disciples et à Céphas, qu'il est ressuscité d'entre les morts.<sup>81</sup>*

Although the passage is a very complex harmonization, the relevant points are: (1) the mention of “two men” in “dazzling apparel” (Luke 24.4); (2) the incorporation of the distinctly Lucan form of the reference to Galilee (“Remember how he told you, while he was in Galilee”; Luke 24.6); and finally (3) the uniquely Marcan form of the instruction to “go, tell his disciples and Peter” (Mark 16.7a; only Mark includes Peter in this command).

When we turn to Western Diatessaronic witnesses, we find two traditions of particular interest: the Liège Harmony and the Venetian Harmony.

# WESTERN WITNESSES

Liège Harmony, 234:

*en aldaer si stonden in dire verdarntheit so quamen twee andre ingele alse tue menschen bi hen staen met witten cleedren en met cleren. Doe veruerden hen die vrouwen en kirden danschin ter erden wert, en die ingele spraken hen ane en seiden aldus, wat sukt di den leuenden metten doeden? hine es hir nit din gi sukt. mar hi es op herstaen. laett v gedinken dire wart die hi seide doe hi in galileen was. dat des menschen sone moste werden gheleuert in der sunderen hande en ghecrustt werden en des derds dags soude op herstaen. Nu gaet dan vollec en segt sinen yongren en petre dat hi op herstaen es.<sup>82</sup>*

“and while they stood there amazed, two other angels like two men came to stand by them with white clothing and with shining. And the women feared and turned their faces towards the earth, and the angel spoke to them and said

<sup>81</sup> *Diatessaron de Tatien* (ed. Marmardji), 505–507.

<sup>82</sup> *The Liège Diatessaron* (ed. Plooi), 760–761.

thus, ‘Why do you seek the living with the dead? But he is arisen. Remember the words which he said, when he was in Galilee. That the Son of Man must be delivered into sinners’ hands, and be crucified, and should arise on the third day. Now go then quickly and say to his disciples and Peter that he is arisen.’”

Venetian Harmony, 157:

*E seando elle tute en lo cor so abatude e deiecte de zò, echo che doi homeni stetenò apresso d’elle en vestimente lucente, zoè dui angeli en forma dei doi homeni. E aveando elle paura, e per vergogna guardando verso terra, li disse: che zerbè voi lo vivo co li morti? El non è qui, ello e resusità. Recordeve si como ello ve disse siendo en Galilea; — el fa mestiero che lo Fiol de l’omo fia tradido en mano de li pecchadori e crozifigado e ch’ello resusite lo terzo dì— onde andè e disì alli disipoli soi et a Piero ch’elo è resusitado . . .*<sup>83</sup>

There is a remarkable agreement between these two Western Diatessaronic traditions, both of which begin with reference to “two other angels like two men” (so Liège) or “two men . . . two angels in the form of two men” (so the Venetian). This is a conflation of the Lucan account (“two men”; Luke 24.4) with the Johannine (“two angels”; John 20.12). Both then proceed—as did the Arabic Harmony—to Luke 24.5b (“Remember how he told you while he was still in Galilee”). Both Western manuscripts then segue to Mark 16.7a (“go, tell his disciples and Peter”).

While we cannot be certain whether the first element in the Diatessaron’s sequence in these Western witnesses was the Johannine “two angels” (for which there is no Eastern support) or the Lucan “two men,” it seems clear that this section of text began with mention of *two* divine messengers (*i.e.*, the version of Luke or John), and not the Marcan “one young man” or the Matthean “an angel” (sing.). The agreement between Eastern and Western witnesses indicates that after intervening material from Luke 24.4–5, this was followed by our second key element, the Lucan “Remember how he told you, while he was still in Galilee” (Luke 24.6). The final key element—again after intervening material from Luke 24.7—was Mark 16.7a: “go, tell his disciples and Peter . . .” This element is also found in both Eastern and Western witnesses. We can be certain that it was the Mark 16.7a version and not the Matthew 28.7a version because of

<sup>83</sup> *Il Diatessaron Veneto* (ed. Todesco), 159.

the mention of "Peter," something found only in Mark.

The key elements for our study have now been identified, and the Diatessaron's structure established. Although there is some uncertainty whether the first element was Lucan ("two men") or Johannine ("two angels"), the following elements are attested by both Eastern and Western witnesses: "Remember how he told you while he was still in Galilee" (Luke 24.6), and "go, tell his disciples and Peter" (Mark 16.7).

Having established the sequence of the Diatessaron on the basis of other witnesses, we are now ready to evaluate the Manichaean text, Fragment M-18. Written in Parthian, its editor, F.W.K. Müller, dated it to between the sixth and tenth centuries. It belongs to a collection of Manichaean texts found in 1902/03 at the fabled city of Turfan, at the north-east edge of the Takla Makan Desert in north-western China. While the entire Fragment is of interest, the portion analyzed here is from the *verso*. In Müller's German translation, the text reads:

Turfan Fragment M-18, *verso*:

- 1 *sehet die Grösse (Glanz)*
- 2 *wie tat Maria, Salome und*
- 3 *Arsenia (?) als die beiden Engel zu*
- 4 *ihnen sprachen: "nicht den Lebenden*
- 5 *unter (zwischen) den Toten suchet! An Jesu*
- 6 *Wort gedenket, wie*
- 7 *in Galiläa euch*
- 8 *er belehrte: mich werden sie übergeben*
- 9 *und machen Kreuzigung, (am) dritten*
- 10 *Tage von den Toten werde ich auferstehen*
- 11 *am (?) geht nach Galiläa*
- 12 *und Benachrichtigung nach dem Simon und*
- 13 *[...] den übrigen."*
- 14 *[...] <sup>84</sup>*

The Fragment contains singularities (e.g.: Salome, Arsenia), as do all Diatessaronic witnesses. These are products of the individual transmission history of each document.<sup>85</sup> But note that despite these peculiarities the *core structure* of Fragment

<sup>84</sup> The German translation is by F.W.K. Müller, "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrifte aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan. II Teil," *APAW.PH*, 1904, Abh. II (Berlin 1904), 34–36.

<sup>85</sup> They might also be "wild" elements from the Manichaean Diatessaron; cp. Quispel's hypothesis regarding the age and character of the Manichaean Diatessaron (*supra*, 336–338).

M-18 follows the structure previously determined from the three Diatessaronic witnesses. (1) It is “two angels” (line 3) who speak to the women. The number agrees with all of the witnesses presented. The Fragment’s reading is from John—the same reading we found conflated with the Lucan reading in the Liège and Venetian Harmonies. Here we encounter one of the dilemmas of Diatessaronic studies: *two* different readings satisfy our criteria at this point. The Lucan “two men” is commended by the Arabic Harmony (“two men”) and half (“two angels like *two men*”) of the conflated reading found in the Liège and Venetian Harmonies. “Two *angels*” is commended by the Johannine half (“*two angels* like two men”) of the conflated reading of the Liège and Venetian Harmonies and, if one provisionally allows it to serve as an Eastern witness, by the Turfan Fragment.<sup>86</sup> How is one to resolve this dilemma? Codex Fuldensis may offer a clue, for this heavily Vulgatized document also presents the Lucan reading “two men.” The fact that both the Liège and the Venetian Harmonies *conflate* the reading of Codex Fuldensis (“two men”) with *another* reading (“two angels”), suggests that they have acquired the Lucan reading (“two men”) from Codex Fuldensis (this is the reading found in most of the Western witnesses). That means, however, that the *other* reading in the Liège and Venetian Harmonies—the Johannine “two angels”—is the unusual reading, whose origin cannot be found in Codex Fuldensis. Note also that “two men”—the reading of Codex Fuldensis—is also the reading of the heavily Vulgatized Arabic Harmony. This suggests that “two angels” may be the reading of the Diatessaron.

It is significant that of the two readings, the Turfan Fragment supports the one which is most likely that of the Diatessaron: the Johannine “two angels.” If one provisionally admits the Turfan Fragment as a Diatessaronic witness, then the reading of the Liège and Venetian Harmonies acquires its first Eastern support.

Regardless of how one resolves this dilemma, it is beyond dispute that the Liège and Venetian Harmonies in the West and the Arabic Harmony in the East give the same number of persons—be they “angels” or “men”—as does the Turfan Fragment: there are “two.” The Fragment continues, as does our reconstruction of

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<sup>86</sup> This is an excellent example of the problem Baarda warned of, *supra*, p. 376.

the Diatessaron's text, with the Lucan instruction to "Remember Jesus' word, which he taught you in Galilee" (Luke 24.6 = lines 5–8). Then, just as in our reconstruction of Diatessaron's text, this is followed by the Marcan instruction to "tell Simon and the others" (Mark 16.7b; note the inversion of "others" and "Simon"; lines 12–13). What does all this mean?

Although there are thousands of possible arrangements for these units of text, no canonical gospel places a reference to "Galilee" *before* the instruction to "tell his disciples (and Peter)." Yet all four texts presented here *reverse the canonical sequence* and do precisely that. The Arabic, Liège, and Venetian Harmonies—and now Turfan Fragment M-18—all mention "Galilee" *before* they give the instruction to "tell his disciples and Peter." This detail of sequence, together with the other agreements (1: *number of persons* speaking to the women ["two"]; 2: their designation as "angels" in the two Western harmonies and the Turfan Fragment [a distinctively Johannine element]; 3: the inclusion of the distinctive *Lucan* reference to "Galilee" ["remember what he told you . . ."]; 4: the use of the distinctive *Marcan* instruction to "tell his disciples and Peter") suggests that *a textual link exists between the Diatessaron*—whose sequence and details were previously and independently determined—and *Turfan Fragment M-18*.

Applying our criteria to the Turfan Fragment is actually quite simple. Insofar as the present author has been able to determine, the items traced in this Exhibit (1: the distinctively Johannine "two angels"; 2: the Lucan form of the reference to "Galilee"; 3: the Marcan "tell his disciples and Peter"; 4: the placing of the reference to "Galilee" *before* the instruction to "tell his disciples and Peter") are found in this unique sequence nowhere in Christian literature other than these four texts: the Arabic Harmony (which lacks the "angels" in item #1), the Liège Harmony, the Venetian Harmony, and Turfan Fragment M-18. Each of the four specific details has bilateral support. All of the witnesses are gospel harmonies—with the exception of Fragment M-18, whose brief compass does not permit categorization. While each witness has inherited distinctive readings from its own transmission history, the evidence suggests that Fragment M-18's sequence and readings were, in one manner or another, influenced by a Diatessaron. If this is correct, then *the Fragment is textual evidence of Manichaean use of a Diatessaron*.

## EXHIBIT 7

## Matt 27.52

When Jesus dies on the cross, the Gospel of Matthew, like the other synoptics, reports the rending of the temple veil (v. 51a). It then proceeds to add, however, details from “Special Matthew” (*i.e.*, traditions not found in the other synoptics): the earthquakes and the rocks are split (v. 51b). The Special Matthew traditions continue in v. 52:

(52) καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα ἀνεώχθησαν καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἠγέρθησαν.

(52) And the graves were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep were raised.

This is followed by the report (v. 53) that those raised appeared to many “in the holy city” after Jesus’ resurrection. Within the Diatessaronic tradition, these verses contain several unusual readings.<sup>87</sup> Here, however, we wish to focus on only one of these: a substitution found in many Diatessaronic witnesses for the canonical text’s “bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep.”

Ephrem, in the *Commentary*, as well as in his hymns and sermons, speaks of those raised as “dead”:

## EASTERN WITNESSES:

Ephrem, *Comm.*, XXI.1 (Armenian; Syriac *deest*):

... *quando sol obtenebratus est, et velum templi scissum est, et custodes conturbati sunt, et sepulcra aperta sunt, et mortui resurrexerunt.*<sup>88</sup>

“... when the sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was torn, and the guards were disturbed, and the tombs were opened, and the dead raised.

<sup>87</sup> See W.L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist*, CSCO 475 [Subs. 74] (Louvain 1985), 104–12.

<sup>88</sup> *Saint Ephrem, Commentaire de l’Évangile concordant, version arménienne*, ed. L. Leloir, CSCO 145 [Armen. 2] (Louvain 1954), 222.

Ephrem, *Comm.*, XX.30 (Armenian; Syriac *deest*):

... clamavit vox secunda, et audierunt, et responderunt *ei mortui, ut ostenderet, si mortui qui non audiunt audierunt eum*. . . .<sup>89</sup>

"... a second voice cried out, and the dead heard, and responded to it, so that it might show, even though the dead who do not hear heard it . . ."

Ephrem, *Hymn. de Nativitate*, XVIII.36:

ܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ<sup>90</sup>

Im dreissigsten Jahr—sollen mit uns danken die Toten, die zum Leben erweckt wurden—durch sein [Sterben, das Leben, das zurückkehrte—durch seine Kreuzigung . . .]<sup>91</sup>

Ephrem, *Hymn. de Nativitate*, IV.164:

ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ<sup>92</sup>

Denn während er am Kreuze (hing),—erweckte er Tote [zum Leben.

Hat dies sein Körper getan—oder sein (göttlicher) Wille?<sup>93</sup>

Ephrem, *Hymn. de Resurr.*, III.11:

ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ<sup>94</sup>

An diesem Tag erbrach (die Riegel) Ägyptens—jenes [symbolische Lamm, das hinfällig wurde.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 216.

<sup>90</sup> *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers, Hymnen de Nativitate (Epiphania)*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 186 [Syr. 82] (Louvain 1959), 98.

<sup>91</sup> *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers, Hymnen de Nativitate (Epiphania)*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 187 [Syr. 83] (Louvain 1959), 88.

<sup>92</sup> *Des Heiligen Ephraems* (ed. Beck), CSCO 186, 40.

<sup>93</sup> *Des Heiligen Ephraems* (ed. Beck), CSCO 187, 35.

<sup>94</sup> *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers, Paschahymnen*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 248 [Syr. 108] (Louvain 1964), 87.

In seiner Schlachtung zeigte es seine Macht;—denn  
[das tote rettete die Lebenden.  
Auch der Erstgeborne hat am Tag seines Todes—die  
[(Riegel der) Scheol erbrochen wie die Ägyptens.  
Es kamen die Toten hervor und verkündeten die Kraft—  
[jenes Lammes, das durch seinen Tod  
(sie) aus der Scheol herausführte.—Die sei Lob, der  
[du das Deine rettetest!<sup>95</sup>

This tradition is not limited to Ephrem, however, but is also found in Isho'dad of Merv, and Romanos the Melodist:

Isho'dad of Merv, *Commentary*, ad loc.:

...ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
<sup>96</sup> ...ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

And the rocks that cried out were rent . . .  
The door-veil which was a type which was rent . . .  
And the graves were opened, and five hundred dead  
were raised . . .<sup>97</sup>

Isho'dad of Merv, *Commentaries*, ad loc.:

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ  
<sup>98</sup> ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

And we ought to know, that the dead who arose out of  
their graves at the time when the soul of our Lord departed  
from His body . . .<sup>99</sup>

Romanos, *Hymn on the Victory of the Cross*, XXXVIII.7:

ἐκλόνησε γῆν, ἐκάλυψεν οὐρανόν,  
ἔρρηξε πέτρας ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα,  
καὶ τοὺς ἐν μνήμασιν ἐξανέστησε,  
καὶ βοῶσιν οἱ νεκροί· "Αἰδη, κατάλαβε·  
ὁ Ἀδάμ γάρ ὑπάγει πάλιν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>95</sup> *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers, Paschahymnen*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 249 [Syr. 109] (Louvain 1964), 70.

<sup>96</sup> *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv*, ed. M.D. Gibson, HSem VI (Cambridge 1911), II, 190.

<sup>97</sup> *The Commentaries* (ed. Gibson), I, 113–14.

<sup>98</sup> *The Commentaries* (ed. Gibson), II, 191.

<sup>99</sup> *The Commentaries* (ed. Gibson), I, 114.

<sup>100</sup> *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes, IV*, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, SC 128, (Paris 1967), 294.



He agitated the earth, he covered the heaven,  
 He rent the rocks and the veil at the same time,  
 And he raised up those in the tombs,  
 And the dead cry: "Hades, restrain [him];  
 For Adam again goes into Paradise."

Romanos, *Hymn on the Ten Drachmas*, XLV.17:

[Ἄφ]νω νεκρῶν τὰ σώματα ἐψυχωμένα ἠγέρθη καὶ  
 [κατεπάτουν τὸν Ἄϊδην,  
 ὦ ἄδικε, κραυγάζοντες, ποῦ σου νίκος, ποῦ σου κέντρον,  
 ὦ Θάνατε;  
 Ἠνεώχθησαν μὲν οὖν πάντα εὐθύς, ἐξ αὐτομάτου τὰ  
 μνήματα·  
 οἱ νεκροὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντες ἐξήλλοντο καὶ ἐχόρευον·  
 ἄλλ' ἄγγελος κατελθὼν κυλίει τὸν λίθον  
 ἐκ τοῦ τάφου τοῦ σωτῆρος.

Suddenly, the bodies of the dead, being animated, were  
 [raised and trampled on Hades,  
 Crying: "O Unrighteous One, where is your victory?  
 [Where is your sting, O Death?"  
 Then suddenly all the tombs were opened of themselves.  
 And from them all the dead sprang out and danced.  
 But an angel descending rolls the stone  
 From the tomb of the Saviour.

The identical variant appears in Western Diatessaronic witnesses as well:

WESTERN:

Venetian Harmony, CLVII:

. . . e lli monumenti s'averse; e molti corpi di sancti homeni ch'erano morti resusitono, e poi la resurrectione de Iesu ensino di monumenti e veneno en la zitá santa, e aparse a molti.<sup>101</sup>

Pepysian Harmony, 100:

And wiþ þat þe veil þat henge in þe temple tofore þe heiþe auter tobraste in two pieces, and þe erþe quaked, and þe stones tobrusten, and þe dede men arisen out of her graues And þo seide centurio, þat was conestable ouer an hundreþ kniþtes, þat stode on boþe half forto biholde Iesus, forsoþe þat Iesus was riþthful and Goddes son.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>101</sup> *Il Diatessaron Veneto* (ed. Todesco), 156.

<sup>102</sup> *The Pepysian Harmony* (ed. Goates), 100. Compare also the Pepysian

*Heliand*, LXVII, lines 5671–5676:

... *grabu uuurðun giopanod*  
*dôdero manno, endi sia thuru drohtines craft*  
*an iro lichamon libbiandi astuodun*  
*up fan erðu endi uurðun giogida thar*  
*mannon te mârðu. That uuas sô mahtig thing,*  
*that thar Cristes dôð anthennian scoldun, ...*<sup>103</sup>

"... And the graves were opened  
of dead men; and through the power of the Mighty One  
in their bodies, they rose living  
Up from the earth and were seen with eyes  
For men to marvel. That was a mighty sign  
That by this Christ's death should be recognized ..."

All of the witnesses presented substitute "dead (men)" for the canonical "bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep"; most also omit reference to "many" ("many bodies of the saints ..."). The reading has Eastern and Western support.

Although the variant does not appear in any Greek or Latin manuscripts of the canonical gospels, it appears in two groups of non-Diatessaronic texts. The first group consists of three Latin texts, of which two are related: the *Descent of Christ into Hell* I.1 (sometimes described as "Part II" of the *Acts of Pilate*)<sup>104</sup> and the *Anaphora Pilati* I (= *Acts of Pilate*, XVII.1) are part of the same cycle of texts, and usually circulated together.<sup>105</sup> The third source is the Latin recension of the *Gospel* (or *Questions*) of *Bartholomew* I.21.<sup>106</sup> All of these apocryphal works date from the fifth century or later;<sup>107</sup> all are either Latin compositions or flourished principally in Latin.

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Harmony § 102, a doublet which, after the appearance in §100 of those raised "after his [*i.e.*, Jesus'] resurrection" in Matt 27.53, tells of the resurrection of "many other men" on Easter morning: "... so weten þe Maries and bouzttēn þe oignement aromatha, forto comen & to smeren Jesus body. And Jesus Crist þo wel erlich als þai comen towardes þe sepulchre was arisen fram deþ to lyue, & many oþer men, þat comen and schewden hem in þe citee" (p. 102).

<sup>103</sup> *Heliand und Genesis*, ed. O. Behaghel, ADTB 4 (Tübingen 1984<sup>9</sup>), 199.

<sup>104</sup> *Evangelia Apocrypha*, ed. C. Tischendorf (Leipzig 1876<sup>2</sup>; reprinted: Hildesheim 1966), 389.

<sup>105</sup> *Evangelia Apocrypha*, (ed. Tischendorf), 436.

<sup>106</sup> U. Morricca, "Un nuovo testo dell'Evangelio di Bartolomeo," *RB* 30 (1921), 492.

<sup>107</sup> M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford 1924), 95, dates the *Descent into Hell* (part II of the *Acts of Pilate*) to the fifth century or later; he further notes that it is not found in Greek or Oriental versions, but only in the Latin. James calls the *Anaphora Pilati* a "late document" (153), which was sometimes linked with the *Acts of Pilate*. Only the Latin recension of the *Gospel* of

They may therefore be excluded from consideration as either the generators of this tradition or as the source from which the Eastern Diatessaronic witnesses acquired it. It is possible, however, that the Western witnesses might have acquired this variant from one or another of these later Latin apocryphal works; that possibility will have to be addressed once the full array of evidence is assembled.

The second group of non-Diatessaronic texts with this variant is of greater interest, for some of the sources antedate the Diatessaron. One of the charges Justin Martyr brings against the Jews is that they excised parts of the Hebrew Bible in order to prevent Christian use of the passages (cp. *Dial.* 72 and 73). Among the examples Justin provides is the following:

καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰερემίου ὁμοίως ταῦτα περιέκοψαν· Ἐμνήσθη δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ, τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χώματος, καὶ κατέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτοῖς τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ.<sup>108</sup>  
—Justin, *Dial.* 72.4

“And from the words of the same Jeremiah these [words] have been cut out [by the Jews]: ‘The Lord God remembered his dead from Israel, who lay in the dust of the earth, and he descended to them to preach to them his salvation.’”

Irenaeus also seems to know the same tradition cited by Justin, for he cites the passage—with minor variations—six times;<sup>109</sup> *Adv. haer.* IV.22.1 is representative:

*Sicut Hieremias ait: Recommoratus est dominus sanctus Israel mortuorum suorum, qui praedormierunt in terra defossionis, et descendit ad eos, uti evangelizaret eis salutare suum ad salvandum eos.*<sup>110</sup>

“As Jeremiah states: ‘The holy Lord remembered his dead Israel, who slept in the land of burial, and descended to them in order to make known to them his salvation that they might be saved.’”

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*Bartholomew* contains our variant, and James dates it to the sixth or seventh century; he describes its text as “exceedingly incorrect . . . [with] many corruptions and interpolations” (166).

<sup>108</sup> *Die ältesten Apologeten*, ed. E.J. Goodspeed, (Göttingen 1914; reprinted: idem 1984), 182.

<sup>109</sup> At *adv. haer.* III.20.4; IV.22.1; IV.33.1; IV.33.12; IV.34.5; V.31.1.

<sup>110</sup> *Irénée de Lyon, Contre les hérésies, Livre IV*, ed. A. Rousseau, SC 100\*\* (Paris 1965), 686.

Earlier in the same chapter (*Dial.* 72.2–3) Justin presents another passage which he says has also been excised by the Jews from Jeremiah. Is there substance to the charges Justin makes? The evidence suggests not, since neither of the passages appears in any known edition of Jeremiah. What then can explain Justin's allegations and the citations of Irenaeus?

A piece of evidence used by the great connoisseur of extra-canonical traditions, A. Resch, to solve this riddle was Matthew 27.9–10: "Then was fulfilled what had been spoken by the prophet Jeremiah, saying: 'And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him . . . and they gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord directed me.'" Although Matthew attributes the quotation to "the prophet Jeremiah," our present book of Jeremiah—in either the Hebrew or LXX versions—contains no such passage. The closest text is Zech. 11.12–13, which mentions "thirty shekels of silver"; but other than that, even the Zechariah passage offers no further parallels. Resch concluded that both the non-existent "quotation" from "Jeremiah" at Matthew 27.9–10 and the non-existent "citations" from "Jeremiah" known to Justin and Irenaeus came from an apocryphal "Jeremiah" used by early Christians.<sup>111</sup> Resch's crowning piece of evidence was a remark of Jerome's (*Comm. in Matt.* at Matt 27.9): "*Legi nuper, in quodam hebraico uolumine quem Nazarenæ sectae mihi Hebraeus obtulit Hieremiae apocryphum, in quo haec ad verbum scripta reperi*" ("Recently I read in a certain Hebrew volume which a Hebrew of the Nazarene sect brought to me, an apocryphal Jeremiah, in which I discovered these writings word for word").<sup>112</sup> It would seem, then, that in the mid-second century the passage cited by Justin and Irenaeus (in which the "dead" are remembered, and "he" descended to preach to them for their "salvation") probably came from an apocryphal, Judaic-Christian "Jeremiah." Three questions may now be posed. First: What influence, if any, did the "Jeremiah" text have on the genesis of this passage in Matthew? Second: What influence, if any, did the "Jeremiah" text have on the variant in the Diatessaron? And finally, the third and most important ques-

<sup>111</sup> A. Resch, *Agrapha. Aussercanonische Schriftfragmente*, TU 15 (Band 13, Heft 4) (Leipzig 1906; reprinted: Darmstadt 1967), 320–322, 304–05, and esp. 23–24. Resch also discusses the passage in his *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien, II (Paralleltexte zu Matthäus und Marcus)*, TU 10.2 (Leipzig 1894), 372–75.

<sup>112</sup> *Saint Jérôme. Commentaire sur S. Matthieu, Tome II*, ed. É. Bonnard, SC 259 (Paris 1979), 276–78.

tion: Where does the Diatessaron's variant fit in this constellation of texts?

In answer to the first question, we begin with a source-critical observation. As noted previously, the verse is found only in Matthew, and therefore is credited to Matthew's special source. Given the similarities between Matthew's v. 52 and the quotation given by Justin and Irenaeus (both speak of *κεκοιμημένων*, for example), it seems likely that—either directly or indirectly—this apocryphal "Jeremiah" (or at least a notion derived from it) was instrumental in the genesis of this episode in Special Matthew. It is significant that Matthew's use of some sort of a Christian *midrash* of the Hebrew Bible has been suggested by scholars;<sup>113</sup> after an examination of "Jerome's Quotations from a Nazoraean Interpretation of Isaiah," A.F.J. Klijn came to a similar conclusion, namely, that a written (probably in Hebrew) Judaic-Christian "interpretation" of Isaiah was influential in the creation of the Gospel of Matthew.<sup>114</sup> Resch's description of this "apocryphal" Jeremiah is virtually that: a text of Jeremiah, interspersed with *peshet*-like comments which provide the "source" for "citations" in the New Testament, whose function was to facilitate Christian interpretations of the Hebrew Bible and "prove" Christian prophecy. If this analysis is correct, then it establishes both the source of and the rationale behind the creation of this pericope in the canonical Gospel of Matthew.

To the second question: Did the apocryphal "Jeremiah" influence the Diatessaron? It certainly is possible: both speak of "the dead." This leads, however, to the third question: Where does the Diatessaron's text fit into this constellation? Did Tatian know the present canonical text of Matthew and then, under the influence of "Jeremiah," substitute "dead" for "bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep"? Or does Tatian's text reflect an *earlier* version of Matthew than that now found in the canon?

Favouring post-canonical status for the Diatessaron's reading is the fact that the substitution of "dead" for "(many) bodies of the saints" makes the Diatessaron's text conform with νεκροί,

<sup>113</sup> See, for example: K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and its use of the Old Testament* (Lund 1954); P. Nepper-Christensen, *Das Matthäusevangelium: Ein judenchristliches Evangelium?* AThD 1 (Aahrus 1958); M.D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London 1974).

<sup>114</sup> A.F.J. Klijn, "Jerome's Quotations from a Nazoraean Interpretation of Isaiah," *RSR* 60 (1972), 241–55, esp. 252–55. See also Klijn's important study "Jérôme, Isaïe 6 et l'Évangile des Nazoréens," *VigChr* 40 (1986), 245–50.

the reading found in Justin's quotation from "Jeremiah." Following this line of reasoning, one would conclude that the change was a deliberate attempt by Tatian to bring Matthew's "bodies of the saints" into closer agreement with the "prophecy" found in "Jeremiah." If one pursues this theory, however, one must be consistent in its application, and here problems arise. The catch is that in making this substitution, Tatian would also have *excised* a link between the present canonical text and "Jeremiah," for while both read τῶν κεκοιμημένων ("who had fallen asleep"), the Diatessaron does not. In short, Tatian would have substituted "dead" for "bodies of the saints" in order to bring his Diatessaron into closer agreement with "Jeremiah," while at the same time excising "who had fallen asleep," a link with "Jeremiah" which was already present in the Matthean text. Clearly, a satisfactory explanation must be sought elsewhere.

One of the canons of textual criticism is that the shorter reading is earlier (*"brevior lectio potior"*); another canon states that the less-theologically developed reading is earlier. By both of these measures, the Diatessaronic reading commends itself as anterior to the present canonical text. Consider: Can one imagine the canonical reading—which is specific as to the number raised ("many"), the form in which they are raised ("bodies"), and who is raised ("saints")—being discarded in favour of the reading we find in the Diatessaron: the bald word νεκροί? One cannot. On the other hand, one can easily imagine the "dead" being promoted to "saint"-hood. One can imagine the interpolation of the theologically important (and doctrinally later!) reference to the form in which these "saints" are raised: it is in "bodies." Another reason for presuming the Diatessaronic reading is earlier is that its variant poses a potential problem, which the canonical reading corrects. According to the Diatessaron, the resurrection "of the dead" is unrestricted: conceivably, *all* the "dead" arose.<sup>115</sup> This prospect is, of course, absurd. The canonical text moves to correct the oversight by qualifying the number: not *all* "dead" arose, only "*many*." The final problem with presum-

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<sup>115</sup> This is, in fact, what Romanos says in an extraordinary reading in his *Hymn on the Ten Drachmas* (XLV.17): "all the tombs were opened" and "all the dead sprang out." Of the witnesses presented, only Isho'dad and the Venetian Harmony qualify the number raised (Isho'dad says it is "500"; the Venetian Harmony says "many"). This suggests that the Diatessaron did *not* restrict the number raised.

Our conclusion must be that the Diatessaron offers us a more primitive version of Matt 27.52 than does the present canonical text, which is longer and much more sophisticated theologically. Although it is possible that both Tatian's variant and the canonical reading may ultimately derive from the apocryphal "Jeremiah," it cannot be argued that the Diatessaron's text is *later* than our present canonical text of Matthew. On the contrary, the evidence indicates that the Diatessaron preserves an *older* version of this pericope than does our present canonical Gospel of Matthew.

<sup>116</sup> For example: Ephrem, *Comm.* (Armenian; Syriac *deest*) XX.34: “*iustos*”; idem, XXI.6: “*iustos*” (*Saint Ephrem, Commentaire de l’Évangile concordant, version arménienne* [ed. Leloir], 219, 225).

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., respectively, 216, 218.





## EASTERN WITNESSES:

Ephrem, *Comm.* XX.28 (Armenian; Syriac *deest*):

"*Vae erat, vae erat nobis,*" *aiunt,* "*Filius erat hic Dei.*" . . .  
*"Ecce venerunt, advenerunt," ait,* "*iudicia dirutionis Ierusalem.*"<sup>120</sup>

"Woe, woe to us," they said. "This was the Son of God!" . . .  
 "Behold, the judgements of the destruction of Jerusalem  
 has come [and] arrived!"

Aphrahat, *Dem.* XIV.26:

121. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܚܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  
 "Woe to us! What has befallen us, who have left the Law  
 and the ones from us who glory in iniquity?"

*Doctrina Addai:*

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܚܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܚܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܚܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ  
 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܚܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

"For, behold, except they who crucified Him knew that He  
 was the Son of God, they would not have proclaimed the  
 desolation of their city, also they would not have brought  
 down woes upon themselves."<sup>122</sup>

## WESTERN WITNESSES:

"Vulgate"/"Vetus Latina" MS G (Codex Sangermanensis):

. . . *percutientes pectora sua reuertebantur dicentes, vae uobis quae  
 facta sunt hodie propter peccata nostra, adpropinquauit enim  
 desolatio hierusalem.*<sup>123</sup>

" . . . beating their breasts turning back saying, 'Woe to us  
 who have today, on account of our sins, hastened the deso-  
 lation of Jerusalem.'"

When the investigation is broadened to include the canonical  
 tradition, the Fathers, and the apocrypha, only one other source

<sup>120</sup> *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, version arménienne* (ed. Leloir), 215.

<sup>121</sup> *Demonstrationes*, ed. I. Parisot, *PS* 1 (Parisiis 1894), 640.

<sup>122</sup> *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle* . . . ed. G. Phillips (London 1876), 27–28 (Syriac), 27 (translation).

<sup>123</sup> *Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine*, edd. I. Wordsworth and H.I. White, *Pars I* (Oxonii 1889–1898), p. 474, in the apparatus.

is known to contain the reading: the *Gospel of Peter*, which is usually assigned a date in the mid-second century.

*Gospel of Peter*, 7:

τότε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς γνόντες  
οἷον κακὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν ἤρξαντο κόπτεσθαι καὶ λέγειν·  
“Οὐαὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν ἤγγισεν ἡ κρίσις καὶ τὸ τέλος  
Ἱερουσαλήμ.”<sup>124</sup>

Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, when they perceived how great evil they had done themselves, began to lament and to say: “Woe unto our sins; the judgment and the end of Jerusalem is drawn near.”

The variant is more complex than might first appear, as is its genesis. Note that there are two versions of the interpolation. In one, found in Syr<sup>s.c</sup> and Aphrahat, only the “woes” are mentioned, while in the other, found in Ephrem’s *Commentary*, the *Doctrina Addai*, Codex Sangermanensis, and the *Gospel of Peter*, both the “woes” and the “destruction of Jerusalem” are mentioned. While it is apparent that both belong to the same tradition, the question arises as to which was the original form of the interpolation.

Before delving into these matters, however, the question of Diatessaronic status must be answered. The reading—in one form or another—is found in five Diatessaronic witnesses, divided between East and West. Codex Sangermanensis might at first appear odd as a Western witness, but closer examination shows that perception to be false. Although *formally* classified as a Vulgate manuscript, the codex’s text of Matthew is Vetus Latina (known by the siglum *g*<sup>1</sup>). The text, therefore, of this ninth-century codex (Paris: Bib. Nat., Cod. lat. 11553) is mixed.<sup>125</sup> Scholars generally agree that this reading in its otherwise-Vulgate text of the Gospel of Luke is an Old Latin reading. The fact that its text of Matthew is also Old Latin suggests that this variant comes from the same source as its Old Latin text of Matthew. Burkitt noted that the manuscript “has occa-

<sup>124</sup> *Évangile de Pierre*, ed. M.G. Mara, SC 201 (Paris 1973), 52. On the reading, see also A. Resch, *Agrapha*, TU 15.3–4 (Leipzig 1906), 50–51 (Reading 27 [A 39]); also L. Leloir, *Le témoignage d’Éphrem sur le Diatessaron*, CSCO 227 [Subs. 19] (Louvain 1962), 228 (Reading 9).

<sup>125</sup> On the manuscript, see H.J. Vogels, *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Bonn 1955<sup>2</sup>), 89–90.

sional remarkable affinities with the Diatessaron";<sup>126</sup> for example, it is one of only two Vetus Latina manuscripts of Matthew which interpolate the "light" at Jesus' baptism. Apropos of this reading in Luke, Burkitt observed that "One of the constituent elements of this mixed and curious text seems to have been an early Latin text of the Diatessaron."<sup>127</sup> In short, although formally a "Vulgate" manuscript in Luke, Codex Sangermanensis' text of Luke transmits variants which are hallmarks of the Diatessaron. Other than the *Gospel of Peter*, there is no known non-Diatessaronic source from which Codex Sangermanensis might have taken the variant. *Peter* seems an unlikely source for the reading in Codex Sangermanensis, for unlike its known links with the Diatessaron, the codex has no other known parallels with *Peter*. Moreover, *Peter's* passion narrative is further from the canonical accounts' than is the Diatessaron's.

The only remaining obstacle is *Peter*: could the Diatessaronic witnesses have individually acquired the reading from *Peter*? The same arguments just given against Codex Sangermanensis' dependence upon *Peter* apply here as well. While agreements between *Peter* and the Diatessaron exist, they are few and minor.<sup>128</sup> In fact, this is far and away the most significant agreement between *Peter* and the Diatessaron. Just as it was highly unlikely that a ninth-century Latin gospel manuscript (such as Codex Sangermanensis) should interpolate a variant from an apocryphal gospel, so it is unlikely that fourth- and fifth-century Syriac codices of the gospels (such as Syr<sup>s.c</sup>) should interpolate a variant from an apocryphal gospel such as *Peter*, with whom they have no (or, in the case of the Old Syriac, few) known parallels. On the other hand, all of the witnesses have numerous other agreements with a single common denominator: the Diatessaron. It is the document Ephrem is commenting upon, the text Aphrahat often quotes, the "New" named by the *Doctrina Addai*, and the source of the numerous harmonizations and variants found in the Old Syriac gospels. It is clear that the reading—in one form or another (either the short or long)—stood in the Diatessaron, which was com-

<sup>126</sup> *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ed. Burkitt, II, 219. A. Vööbus (*Early Versions of the New Testament*, PETSE 6 [Stockholm 1954], 47–48), and F.C. Burkitt (*Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, TaS VII.2 [Cambridge 1901], 45), speak of the manuscript as "Vetus Latina" or "Old Latin."

<sup>127</sup> F.C. Burkitt, *Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, 46.

<sup>128</sup> See *supra*, 252.

posed at about the same time as the *Gospel of Peter*.

Regarding the oldest form of the addition, arguments can be found to commend both the short and long versions. The text-critical dictum "*brevior lectio potior*" (the shorter reading is earlier) commends the short reading, which mentions only the "woes." On the other hand, the longer reading, including both the "woes" and the destruction of Jerusalem, appears to be the older of the two, chronologically speaking; although not a Diatessaronic witness, *Peter* is the oldest-known document with the variant. Our criteria also suggest that this is the reading of the Diatessaron, for it is the version found in our lone Western witness, Codex Sangermanensis. No Western support is extant for the shorter version of the variant. The evidence suggests that Tatian, like *Peter*, knew the long reading. What, then, can explain the genesis of the shorter reading? The answer may be Vulgatization. The entire transmission history of Diatessaronic witnesses shows they tend to become ever closer approximations of the canonical text. Deviating readings are removed from their text, not added. In this instance, then, it would mean the gradual truncation and eventual disappearance of the interpolation; the "wildest" form of the reading, the form most distant from the canonical text, would be the oldest form of the interpolation ("woes" + "destruction of Jerusalem"). As time progressed, it gradually succumbed to the pressure to conform to the canonical text. It did so in two stages. In the first, it sloughed off the reference to the "destruction of Jerusalem," keeping only the "woes." In the second stage, found in most Diatessaronic witnesses (*e.g.*, the Arabic and Persian Harmonies, the Liège and Pepsian Harmonies, and, of course, Codex Fuldensis), the variant disappeared entirely, and the process of Vulgatization was complete.<sup>129</sup> The reverse is difficult to argue, for it requires one to hypothesize "woes" as the reading of Tatian. This is then augmented by adding the reference to the destruction of Jerusalem at some later date; it is this later version—not the more primitive form ("woes" only)—which is exported to the West and Codex Sangermanensis, and while Ephrem's pre-373 *Commentary* has access only to this *later* binary version, the still-later Vetus Syra preserved the *earlier* version. The chronology, textual logic, and textual evidence commend the binary form as the earlier. They also commend

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<sup>129</sup> This was the opinion of Peters (*Das Diatessaron Tatians*, p. 32, esp. n. 1).

the present canonical text as the earliest of the three versions of the passage examined here.

This still leaves, however, the matter of the origin of the variant. Did Tatian get it from *Peter*,<sup>130</sup> or did *Peter* get it from Tatian? Or did both take it from some earlier, common source? The variant has seen extensive study,<sup>131</sup> and has been variously ascribed to a very early Greek text of Luke,<sup>132</sup> to the text of an *Urevangelium*,<sup>133</sup> and to the text of a Judaic-Christian gospel.<sup>134</sup>

It must be stated at the outset that points of reference in the mid-second century are wanting. Since so few readings are common to the Diatessaron and the *Gospel of Peter*, direct dependence in either direction seems unlikely. Nevertheless, the striking agreement demands explanation and establishes that *some* sort of link existed. Merx's suggestion (an early Greek text of Luke) seems improbable, for the reading is utterly absent from the Greek manuscript tradition. It is, however, found in the Vetus Syra: this points in the direction of either an *Urevangelium* (Resch's suggestion) or a Judaic-Christian gospel (Peters' suggestion). The only evidence available is circumstantial; ironically, it comes from the West and the latest of the witnesses with the reading. Codex Sangermanensis contains another important Diatessaronic reading, the "light" at Jesus' baptism. That reading stood in the Diatessaron *and*, according to Epiphanius, in a "Hebrew gospel." Having already remarked on the difficulty of discriminating between the Judaic-Christian gospel tradition and the *Ur-* or proto-canonical gospel traditions, might this be one more instance where a nominally Judaic-Christian gospel tradition surfaces in Codex Sangermanensis, probably via the Diatessaron? Such a solu-

<sup>130</sup> This was Burkitt's position: "[*Peter's*] sentence and the form of text found in the Diatessaron obviously have a common origin: possibly indeed the *Gospel of Peter* is the original source of the reading" (*Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* [ed. Burkitt], II, 304).

<sup>131</sup> See J.R. Harris, *The Diatessaron of Tatian* (Cambridge 1890), 34–5; also *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (ed. Burkitt), II, 304.

<sup>132</sup> A. Merx, *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte*, here tome II, Heft 2 (*Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas . . .*) (Berlin 1905), 505–06.

<sup>133</sup> A. Resch, *Ausserkanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien*, TU 10.3 (*Paralleltexte zu Lucas*) (Leipzig 1895), 744–46; idem, *Agrapha. Ausserkanonische Schriftfragmente*, TU 15 (Band 13, Heft 4) (Leipzig 1906; reprinted: Darmstadt 1967), 50–51.

<sup>134</sup> C. Peters, "Nachhall ausserkanonischer Evangelien-Überlieferung in Tatians Diatessaron," *AcOr* 16 (1937), 267–71; idem, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, *OrChrA* 123 (Roma 1939; reprinted: Roma 1962), 29–33; 150–51.

tion commends itself by providing an eminently reasonable explanation for the almost perfect agreement among *Peter*, Ephrem, *Addai*, and Codex Sangermanensis: both Tatian and *Peter* took the variant from the same Judaic-Christian gospel.

This variant has illustrated four important points. First, it has shown how even a late Vulgate manuscript from the ninth century can preserve a textually large, blatant Diatessaronic reading. Second, it demonstrates once again the incorporation of apocryphal traditions into the Diatessaron. Third, it is one more demonstration of the dependence of the separate Syriac gospels (in this instance, Syr<sup>s.c</sup>) upon the Diatessaron, rather than the reverse. Fourth, in either the short or the long form, this variant is anti-Judaic. As such, it supports the speculation of von Harnack and Harris concerning the anti-Judaic character of the Diatessaron; this may also suggest that the genesis of the variant lies with a Judaic-Christian gospel.

EXHIBIT 9

Matt 22.37; Mark 12.30; Luke 10.27

In the Introduction the claim was made that—either directly or by use of a common source—the Diatessaron incorporated portions of Justin’s harmony. This final Exhibit will illustrate that point.

The text of the Shema, drawn from Deut. 6.5, is found in all three Synoptic gospels. After the introductory clause (“You shall love the Lord your God”), the various canonical versions read as follows:

Deut. 6.5 (MT)	Deut. 6.5 (LXX)	Matt.22.37	Mark 12.30 <sup>135</sup>	Luke 10.27
בבד	ἐξ ὅλης	ἐν ὅλῃ	ἐξ ὅλης	ἐξ ὅλης
לבד	τῆς καρδίας σου	τῇ καρδίᾳ σου	τῆς καρδίας σου	[τῆς] καρδίας σου
ובבד	καὶ ἐξ ὅλης	καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ	καὶ ἐξ ὅλης	καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ
שד	τῆς ψυχῆς σου	τῇ ψυχῇ σου	τῆς ψυχῆς σου	τῇ ψυχῇ σου
ובבד	καὶ ἐξ ὅλης	καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ	καὶ ἐξ ὅλης	καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ
דד	τῆς δυνάμεώς σου	τῇ διανοίᾳ σου	τῆς ἰσχύος σου	τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου
				καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ
				τῇ διανοίᾳ σου.

<sup>135</sup> Cp. also Mark 12.33.

While many of the Diatessaronic witnesses agree with the trifold canonical version and present the same three elements in the canonical sequence (“heart, soul, mind” or “heart, soul, strength”), several witnesses offer a unique rearrangement. Consider the following:

**Syr<sup>c</sup> (at Luke 10.27):**

“... from all thy heart and from all thy power and from all thy soul and from all thy mind, . . .”<sup>196</sup>

“ . . . from all your heart and from all your power and from all your soul, . . .”

“... from all your soul, and from all your strength, and from all your possessions.”

<sup>138</sup> *Demonstrationes* (ed. Parisot), PS 1, 47–48.

## WESTERN WITNESSES

Liège Harmony, 173:

... uan alle dire herten. en van alle dire zilen cracht. en met alle dire bedachtegheit. en met alle dire macht.<sup>139</sup>

"... from all your heart, and from all you soul's strength, and with all your mind and with all your might."

Vetus Latina MS *k* (at Mark 12.30):

... et diligit Dominum Deum etsum de toto corde tuo et de totis viribus tuis.<sup>140</sup>

"... and he [*sic*] loves [your ?] Lord God from all your heart and from all your strength."

Against the canonical sequence of "heart, soul, strength (or: mind)," the Curetonian Syriac's order is "heart, strength, mind." While Aphrahat's reading deviates in the first and third elements (his order is "soul, strength, possessions"), his second element is identical with Syr<sup>c</sup>'s: "strength." In the West, the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony offers a somewhat muddled reading ("heart, soul's strength, mind, might"). While "soul" does occur as part of the second element in the sequence (*i.e.*, its position in the canonical accounts), note that the *noun* which holds second position is "strength," as in Syr<sup>c</sup> and Aphrahat.<sup>141</sup> The deviating "heart, strength" order is also found in Vetus Latina MS *k*, where the formula is binary—that is, it lacks any third element: "heart, strength."

<sup>139</sup> *The Liège Diatessaron* (ed. Plooi), 477–479.

<sup>140</sup> *Itala II, Marcus-evangelium*, ed. A. Jülicher, (Berlin 1970<sup>2</sup>), 115–116. "*Deum etsum*" appears to be a corruption of the standard reading "*Deum vestrum*."

<sup>141</sup> Recall that the Western witnesses often conflate the canonical and Diatessaronic text; recall also that this phenomenon has been observed before in the Liège Harmony (see *supra*, 24, 400). This is, perhaps, one more instance of the scribe attempting to preserve the Diatessaronic sequence, while accommodating the canonical text as well. One must also consider the possibility that the reading in the Liège Harmony is a corruption: through an error of the eye or ear, the canonical "*zile en kracht*" (soul and strength) became Liège Harmony's "*zilen kracht*" ("soul's strength"). This is certainly a possibility; but the fact that "strength" also occupies the second position in other Diatessaronic witnesses and in Justin (with whose text the Liège Harmony has some striking and singular parallels) suggests that the variant in the Liège manuscript should not be taken so lightly and immediately ascribed to a copying error.



This specific variant, placing “strength” in the second position in the sequence, is also found in the text of Justin Martyr.<sup>142</sup> There, three times, he too offers this reading, in exactly the same order, and also in the binary form attested by MS *k*:

Justin, *Dial.* 93.2:

...ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου...<sup>143</sup>

Justin, *Dial.* 93.3:

...ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου...<sup>144</sup>

Unlike the previous two citations, which offer the full quotation of Mark 12.30 (par.: “You shall love the Lord your God . . .”), Justin’s third citation begins with Matt 4.10 (You shall worship the Lord your God and him only shall you serve;”), after which he segues to Mark 12.30b (par.):

Justin, *Apol.* 16.6:

...ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου.<sup>145</sup>

The sequence “heart, strength” is found in no manuscripts of the canonical gospels (save for Syr<sup>c</sup> and *k*),<sup>146</sup> but it does appear in a small group of Patristic writers: in the third century in Origen and Clement of Alexandria, and in the fourth century in Athanasius, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, and

<sup>142</sup> On Justin’s version of the passage, see A.J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, NT.S 17 (Leiden 1967), 37–43. Note that Hillary of Poitiers, *de trin.* IX.24 (Migne *PL* 10, 300) gives the citation twice (lines 4-7 and lines 18-19), and in the second citation we find the sequence “*ex toto corde et ex totis viribus et ex tota anima*.”

<sup>143</sup> *Die ältesten Apologeten*, ed. E.J. Goodspeed (Göttingen 1914; reprinted: Göttingen 1984), 208.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>146</sup> In Mark 12.33, however, in which the scribe repeats this portion of the Shema back to Jesus, we find the same sequence in MSS *D* (καρδία, δυνάμεως, ψυχῆς) and *Θ* 565 (both have καρδία, δυνάμεως, ψυχῆς); Vetus Latina MSS *b* and *i* also position “strength” as the second item (“*corde, viribus, anima*”). While the context here is quite different from Mark 12.30 (par.), which is obviously the passage cited in our Diatessaronic witnesses and in Justin’s first two citations, it is, perhaps, noteworthy that here in v. 33, the variant crops up only in manuscripts which traditionally have the highest degree of agreement with the Diatessaronic tradition: *D* *Θ* 565 and the Vetus Latina.

Amphilochius.<sup>147</sup> Since, however, all of these are much later than Justin and the traditions in the Old Syriac and Old Latin, we may presume that they are inheritors of this tradition, not the originators of it.

The agreement in sequence between Justin and our Diatessaronic witnesses suggests that both are privy to the same textual tradition. However, since Justin antedates the Diatessaron, he cannot be dependent upon it; rather, since there is no other known source from which Tatian might have derived the reading, Tatian must have inherited it from Justin or Justin's source. It is possible—although unlikely—that, independently of the Diatessaron, Justin's reading influenced MS *k* and the Liège Harmony directly; but Justin's reading could not have influenced Aphrahat or Syr<sup>c.pal[b.c]</sup>. Without other alternatives, the lone common denominator between the Eastern and Western sources with this reading seems to be the Diatessaron.

From the foregoing, it would appear that in the Diatessaron the sequence of the first two items in the Shema was "heart, strength." The discovery of the identical reading in the text of Tatian's teacher, Justin, confirms our stipulation that this is the Diatessaron's reading; furthermore, it suggests that Tatian acquired this reading either from Justin directly, or from their mutual dependence upon the same source: Justin's ἀπομνημονεύματα.

Note that this investigation has produced an interesting by-product: the binary formulation found in Justin and *k* may claim attention as the oldest recoverable version of the Shema, a version which deviates from that found in either the present Hebrew Bible (MT or LXX) or the New Testament.

<sup>147</sup> The evidence is: Origen, *De oratione* 28.3.2, and *Fragmenta ex commentariis in epistolam ad Ephesios* 15.39; Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* III.12 and *Quis dives salvetur* 27; Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos* 27.432.31, 27.529.14, and *recensio definitionum* 28.1225.27; John Chrysostom, *In Genesim* 54.483.16, and *In Psalmum* 18 55.687.19; Basil the Great, *Epistulae* 23.1.11, *Sermo* 12 31.652.10, and *Asceticon magnum* 31.1185.15; and Amphilochius, *Contra haereticos* 463. This pericope, with its synoptic parallels, LXX and MT roots, and echo in Mark 12.33, has generated any number of arrangements of the items; in addition to the apparatuses in the editions of Legg, von Soden, and Greeven, see also: A.J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, NT.S 17 (Leiden 1967), 37–43; also E. Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus* (Leuven [Belgium]/Macon [Georgia] 1990), *ad loc.*

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To the eight Exhibits above which meet our criteria, two additional readings adduced in chapter one may be added: the “light” in the Jordan at Jesus’ baptism, and the reading “fulfill the Law” at Matt 8.4. Numerous other readings presented as evidence by scholars through the centuries also meet our criteria: Plooij’s reading “sat in a boat” at Matt 15.39; the interpolation of “treasury of his heart” at Luke 6.45; etc. While it is obvious that care must be exercised in determining what is a legitimate Diatessaronic reading, it is also clear that the principal prerequisites are nothing more than logic and a willingness to reject poorly supported or questionable readings.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

When James Rendel Harris wrote *The Diatessaron of Tatian* in 1890, his final section, titled “Unsolved Problems,” covered less than two pages. By 1925, Daniël Plooij required twenty-one pages to describe “Die heutige Lage des Diatessaronproblems.” As the number of witnesses and the sophistication of scholarship has increased, so have the problems. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first is a summary of conclusions based on evidence presented in the preceding chapters. The second section is a summary of outstanding issues and questions which await research.

#### I. SUMMARY

##### A. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

Sometime between approximately 165 and 180 a gospel harmony known as the Diatessaron was composed by an unknown person. Tradition designates Tatian, the pupil of Justin, as the composer. Internal evidence (the Encratite variants) is congruent with this tradition.<sup>1</sup> Alternate attributions (*e.g.*, to Ammonius or Theophilus) are poorly attested. Furthermore, although they are vague, the descriptions of the documents created by these other figures do not seem to match the morphology of the Diatessaron, which is a finely-woven mosaic of texts.

If Tatian is the Diatessaron’s composer, then the *terminus ad quem* is his death. For the reasons given in chapter two, that date was probably between 180 and 190. As for the *terminus a quo*, one may surmise that he embarked on his composition towards the end of his association with Justin, or after Justin’s death: one does not rewrite one’s teacher’s gospel immediately after meeting him. Furthermore, the consummate knowledge of the gospels and their

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<sup>1</sup> This evidence is mitigated, however, by that fact that we know little of the beliefs of Ammonius: for all we know, he might have been an Encratite too.

problems evidenced by the skillful manner in which Tatian constructed the Diatessaron presupposes an intimate acquaintance with them; such familiarity can only be acquired over time. We also know that Tatian was expelled from the Roman congregation after Justin's death, *i.e.*, 163–167 CE. For the reasons specified below (§ “D. Provenance”), it seems likely that the Diatessaron was composed either in the East or during Tatian's journey to the East. This suggests that the Diatessaron was composed after *c.* 165. Eusebius' *Chronicon* stipulates that Tatian was expelled from the Roman church in 172. In all likelihood, the Diatessaron was composed between 165 and 180; within this range, the most probable dates are between 172 and 175.

## B. SOURCES

From the beginning of Diatessaronic research, Tatian's use of a “fifth source,” usually identified as a Judaic-Christian gospel, has been hypothesized (Grotius, J.C. Zahn, Plooij, Baumstark, Peters, Vööbus, Quispel, Bertrand). It has also been speculated for centuries that Tatian knew and used Justin's gospel text, which appears to have been a harmony (J.C. Zahn, Harris, Lippelt, Baumstark, Bellinzoni). Recent research confirms that Tatian knew and used Justin's harmony; further, it confirms that Justin's text contained a number of variants which were attributed by later Fathers to what are now known as “Judaic-Christian” gospels.<sup>2</sup> When Tatian composed his harmony, he used the four gospels now known as “canonical” gospels. These were not in a form identical with that found in our present manuscripts (which Peter Corssen called nothing more than a “willkürlich fixierte[n] Recension des vierten Jahrhunderts”<sup>3</sup>); rather, as demonstrated by the variants in the text of the earliest Fathers and Versions, they were in a more primitive form, which underwent numerous revisions in the following centuries. This means that the deviating extra-canonical readings in the Diatessaron may be explained in five ways:

- (1) they might come from Tatian's deliberate use of a distinct “fifth source,” such as a Judaic-Christian gospel;
- (2) they might have been part of Justin's harmony, from which Tatian

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, p. 347.

<sup>3</sup> P. Corssen, *Der Cyprianische Text der Acta apostolorum* (Berlin 1892), 24.

“passively” acquired them when he incorporated portions of Justin’s harmony into his Diatessaron;

(3) they might have been part of the “standard text” of the second-century gospels, whose readings often deviate from the later “canonical” text (e.g., the “light” at the baptism of Jesus in *Vetus Latina* MSS *a* and *g*<sup>1</sup>); since Tatian used the text of the gospels as they stood in his day, he “passively” acquired these readings from the “standard” text of his day;

(4) they might have been created and introduced by Tatian himself;

(5) some combination of the four foregoing explanations may account for the readings.

What is certain is that the form of the gospel text in Tatian’s sources (Justin’s harmony and/or the four [separate] gospels and/or Judaic-Christian gospel[s]) deviated from the present form of the canonical gospels. Tatian’s sources appear to represent a more Judaic-Christian form of the text, which at the same time also appears to have been more anti-Judaic.<sup>4</sup> Virtually all scholars who have studied the Diatessaron agree that its text is sometimes more ancient than the present canonical text; at points, its text can be the most primitive recoverable form of the gospels.

### C. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE AND INFLUENCE

Internal evidence establishes that the Diatessaron of Tatian was composed in Syriac (Plooi, Baumstark).<sup>5</sup> It had great influence in the Eastern church. Its influence in the West was also significant, but given our imperfect understanding of the Diatessaron’s relationship to Justin’s Greek harmony, it is difficult to distinguish between the *Nachlass* of the two: future research may show that some of what is now thought to be Diatessaronic influence in the West may actually be due to Justin’s harmony.

### D. PROVENANCE

The provenance of the Diatessaron is difficult to determine. The long-suspected dependence of the Diatessaron upon Justin’s har-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Exhibit 8 (the “woes” and “destruction of Jerusalem”) in chapter seven (*supra*, 414–420). This anti-Judaic tendency may be explained in part by the fratricidal hatred which inevitably follows a religious schism, turning former co-religionists into enemies; consider Catholic-Protestant relations immediately after the Reformation.

<sup>5</sup> See also Exhibits 4 and 5 in chapter seven (*supra*, 384–397).

mony points a way towards a solution. Although a vast majority of experts felt Syriac was the Diatessaron's original language (Th. Zahn, Harris, Plooi, Baumstark, Vööbus), these same scholars almost invariably opted for Roman provenance. Even on the face of it, this seemed odd. Given that we know Tatian returned to the East after his expulsion from Rome, and given that Syriac was apparently his mother tongue, and given the dominance of the Diatessaron in the East even in orthodox circles (especially when compared with the paucity of early evidence for the Diatessaron in the West), why opt for Roman rather than Eastern provenance?

The logic which coerced so many scholars to prefer Rome turned on a single point: the apparent presence of variant readings and harmonizations in the *Vetus Latina* and the oldest Latin gospel citations (*e.g.*, Novatian, the Roman Antiphony) which agreed with the Diatessaron. If the Diatessaron were composed in the East, then one was obliged to explain how these "Diatessaronic" readings entered the oldest separate Latin gospels. Since no ready explanation commended itself, many scholars abandoned the idea of Syrian provenance, and embraced the alternative: Roman provenance. If the Diatessaron were composed in Rome—in either Greek, Latin, or Syriac—then it could be argued that these Diatessaronic readings in the oldest Latin gospels were the result of the Diatessaron's composition in Rome.

The theory that *Tatian's* Diatessaron originated in Rome, however, is awkward. Consider: If Tatian composed his Diatessaron in Rome, then why do we hear nothing of it in the West until Victor of Capua in 546? The answer usually proffered—namely, that as a heretic, his name was suppressed (cf. the anonymous, titleless MS which came into Victor of Capua's possession)—cannot withstand scrutiny, for although the Western Fathers brand him a heretic, some nominally Western Fathers nevertheless speak *approvingly* of his *Oratio* and chronological work (so Clement of Alexandria, Jerome, etc.).<sup>6</sup> If the Western church approved of *part* of his oeuvre, and if the "Diatessaronic" variants and harmonizations in the *Vetus Latina* actually came from the Diatessaron, then why would Western Fathers be loath to mention the Diatessaron as part of Tatian's "good" output?<sup>7</sup> After all, it would be an empirical fact that Tatianic readings suffused the early Latin gospels; this could hardly be de-

<sup>6</sup> See *supra*, p. 43 n. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Even if the Diatessaron were to be condemned as the work of a heretic, the Western Fathers show no hesitancy in naming and even quoting other such works: Marcion and his writings, for example, are both named and cited by Tertullian.

nied. Therefore, one would expect that, had the Diatessaron been composed in the West, the church would have admitted that along with his excellent chronology and *Oratio*, Tatian also composed a harmony which was the Latins' first vernacular gospel. But this is not the case.

The discovery that Tatian incorporated portions of Justin's earlier *Greek* harmony into his Diatessaron provides a new explanation for the presence of these supposed "Diatessaronic" readings in the earliest Latin separate gospels, and, consequently, negates the principal reason why scholars formerly felt obliged to opt for Roman provenance—and, incidentally, sometimes a Greek (or Latin) original Diatessaron as well. It would now appear that *Justin's Greek harmony* is the most likely source for certain variant readings and harmonizations in the *Vetus Latina*. Justin's harmony also bequeathed these same variant readings and harmonizations to Tatian's *Syriac* harmony, whence they spread into the *Vetus Syra*. In short, there is now an alternative to the theory that Tatian's harmony (supposedly composed in Rome) is the genesis of the harmonistic and unique variant readings in the *Vetus Latina*: we may now attribute them to Justin's Greek harmony. This solution not only commends itself logically (*Syriac* = Syria, while *Greek/Latin* = Rome), but also historically, for the awkward problem of how the harmony of a "heretic," expelled from the Roman congregation, influenced the Latin separated gospels is obviated, as is the embarrassing silence of the Western Fathers down to Victor of Capua concerning the Diatessaron. It was not Tatian's harmony but Justin's harmony which influenced the *Vetus Latina*, Novatian, and the Roman Antiphonary. Disentangling the two harmonies—an extremely difficult job—would seem to be one of the main tasks awaiting the next generation of textual critics.

It would seem, then, that Tatian composed his harmony in the East, or *en route* to the East. He worked from Justin's harmony, translating it into Syriac. But his new work was far more than just a translation, for he appears to have supplemented Justin's harmony with readings from the Gospel of John, enlarged it (and perhaps abbreviated it at points [*e.g.*, omitting the genealogies and references to "Israel"]), and altered its sequence. While much of Tatian's harmony was identical with Justin's<sup>8</sup> (which probably served as its "skeleton"), at other points it was a totally new creation.

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<sup>8</sup> Additionally, it should be pointed out that Justin's "gospel"—whatever its precise contours—originated in the East, as did all of the earliest Christian writings. Therefore, once back in the East, Tatian's Diatessaron—



Consequently, there are not only extensive agreements between Justin's Greek harmony and the Diatessaron, but also differences. It is in these differences that the explanation of the differences between the Eastern and Western Diatessaronic witnesses<sup>9</sup> is to be found. Of course part of the explanation lies in the indisputable fact that each witness has its own history of textual evolution and transmission; but another part of the explanation seems to lie in the differences between Justin's harmony and Tatian's harmony (which was, in a way, close to Burkitt's description of a "second edition, revised and enlarged"—but a second, revised edition of *Justin's* harmony [*not* Tatian's own harmony, as Burkitt had theorized]). Justin's harmony did not disappear in the West; quite the contrary. Investigation suggests it left its own distinct imprint in terms of variants and sequence upon the Western harmonies.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, the influence of Justin's harmony—which was particularly strong in the West—is one of the sources of the differences between the Eastern and Western witnesses.<sup>11</sup>

This analysis of the Diatessaron's provenance is an advance over current theories in several important ways. First, current analyses do not take account of what now seems more possible than ever before: that Tatian is dependent upon whatever Justin's ἀπομνημονεύματα were. Second, current analyses usually assume that Tatian composed *two* Diatessarons, one in the West (perhaps in Greek, or even Latin [so only Burkitt]) and then re-edited it for the East (in Syriac; so Burkitt, Jülicher, and even Plooi). Third, current analyses often require that the Diatessaron be composed in Rome, although no Western Father seems to have even *seen* a Diatessaron until Victor of Capua in the 540s. Occam's razor dictates that the awkward theory of Roman provenance and the "two edition" theory of Tatian's Diatessaron (one in Rome, one in the East)—which is unsubstantiated—be replaced with the "two harmony" hypothesis: Justin's Greek harmony in Rome, which was used by Tatian in

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built upon Justin's harmony—would have had many readings in common with the (Eastern) *sources* of Justin's tradition.

<sup>9</sup> Recall F.C. Burkitt's concern over the disagreements in sequence between the Eastern and Western harmonies (*supra*, 178–180); see also Boismard's remarks (*supra*, 349–351).

<sup>10</sup> W.L. Petersen, "Textual Evidence of Tatian's Dependence Upon Justin's ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ," *NTS* 36 (1990), 512–534.

<sup>11</sup> Justin's harmony is also, of course, indirectly one of the sources of *agreement* between the Eastern and Western witnesses, for its sequence and readings, incorporated into the Diatessaron, spread throughout both the Eastern and the Western witnesses.

composing his Diatessaron in (or on his way to) the East. At a later date, the Diatessaron, the “standard” gospel of the Syrian church, was taken West. Translated into Latin (probably without a Greek intermediary [so Plooij]), its textual traditions mingled with the remnants of Justin’s Greek harmony. Together, these two traditions generated the Western vernacular harmonies. Adopting this hypothesis causes many pieces of the puzzle to fall into place: the sometimes significant differences in variants and sequence between Eastern and Western witnesses; the early silence in the West—especially when compared with the East—regarding the Diatessaron; and the presence of Syriasms and Semitisms in the Western witnesses. This “tidying up” of secondary issues commends this reconstruction.

## E. DISSEMINATION OF THE DIATESSARON

### 1. *In the East*

Until the contrary can be demonstrated, one must accept the evidence of harmonizations and Diatessaronic readings in the *Vetus Syra* and the oldest Syriac Patristic citation as evidence of the Diatessaron’s position as the first gospel in Syriac. Adopting this schematic explains how the Diatessaron’s readings suffuse not only all of the later Syriac versions (esp. the *Vetus Syra* and the *Peshitta* [so Burkitt, Black]), Patristic texts composed in Syriac (Aphrahat, Ephrem, the *Liber Graduum*, etc. [so Th. Zahn, Leloir, Kmosko, Vööbus, Quispel]), and liturgical texts (the Palestinian Syriac *Lectiōnary* [so Black]), but also works translated from other languages into Syriac (Eusebius’ *h.e.*, Titus of Bostra’s *contra Manichaeos*, etc. [so Baumstark, Peters]).

Given our present state of knowledge, then, the Diatessaron was the first Syriac gospel, and it saw continuous official ecclesiastical use until about 425 CE when it encountered opposition from the likes of bishops Rabbula and Theodoret. Even after its replacement in official ecclesiastical circles by the separate gospels, it continued to enjoy wide respect and popularity, being cited approvingly by Syrian scholars as late as the fourteenth century (cp. bar Berika, *supra*, 64–65).

Given the dominant position of the Diatessaron within the Syrian church until at least 425 and the seminal role played by the Syrian church in exporting Christianity throughout the ancient Middle East and Caucasus, it is only natural that the

readings of the "gospel" of the Syrian church—the Diatessaron—crop up wherever the seeds of Christianity were planted by Syrians.<sup>12</sup> The Syrian origin of the church in Armenia and Georgia and the presence of Diatessaronic readings in the oldest Armenian and Georgian texts indicates that either a Diatessaron (likely in the case of Armenia) or a Syriac separate-gospel text redolent with Diatessaronic readings (likely in the case of Georgia) was the first gospel in Armenian (Conybeare, Lyonnet) and in Georgian (Baumstark, Blake, Vööbus, Molitor, Birdsall). This pattern repeats itself: wherever a version had a Syriac *Vorlage*—such as the Arabic Version—there the readings of the Diatessaron are to be found (Baumstark, Peters, Levin). This applies also to a person, such as Mani, who, like Ephrem a century later, simply used the gospel known to him in about 240 in the vicinity of Ctesiphon—consequently, a Diatessaron—when he founded his new religion.

The fragmentary nature of some of the Oriental texts, the problem of determining the Diatessaron's precise reading, and the caution which must be exercised in making cross-linguistic comparisons sometimes make it difficult to decide whether the contact was with a Diatessaron directly or only with the separate gospels (like the *Vetus Syra*) which had been influenced by a Diatessaron. In some instances a choice for either position must be tentative.<sup>13</sup> However, that tentativeness does *not* extend to the identification of the ultimate source upon which the text—either directly or indirectly—depends for certain harmonizations and variant readings: the Diatessaron.

## 2. *In the West*

Here the situation is a bit more complex, for the lines of early transmission are more obscure,<sup>14</sup> and the presence of Justin's harmony creates a *Doppelgänger*. Let us work backward towards the origin.

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<sup>12</sup> This may apply even to the West: see *supra*, 124f., 139 n. 212, for evidence of Syrian influence in the West. This may point to the manner and provide the means by which the Diatessaron of Tatian came to the West.

<sup>13</sup> See Birdsall's discussion of the Georgian (*supra*, 219) which—*mutatis mutandis*—applies to some of the other Eastern sources (Armenian, Manichaean, etc.).

<sup>14</sup> By "more obscure" is meant that we know nothing of the Diatessaron in the West until 546 and Victor of Capua, while in the East, Ephrem is composing a commentary upon its text some 200 years earlier (c. 365).

The *Middle English* Pepysian Harmony is a translation from an Old French archetype (Goates); this, in turn, rests upon a Latin archetype. Because of the Pepysian Harmony's numerous ancient readings (it is the only Western harmony to preserve the "light" at the baptism; its connexions with the Himmelparten Fragments [Baumstark]; its agreements with the sequence of the Arabic Harmony against all other Western harmonies [Boismard]), the Latin archetype from which the Pepysian Harmony's French archetype was translated cannot have been Codex Fuldensis.

The *Middle High German* harmonies, exemplified by the Zürich Harmony (Stadtbib. C 170), derive from the Middle Dutch tradition (Plooi, Baumstark, Rathofer, Gerhardt). All of these manuscripts have been Vulgatized to some degree. Those which are least Vulgatized present a text akin to the Middle Dutch Liège Harmony; those which are most extensively Vulgatized are closer to the Middle Dutch Stuttgart Harmony (Baumstark, Rathofer). The Himmelparten Fragments are the exception among the Middle High German harmonies, for they have unique agreements with the tradition represented in the Middle English Pepysian Harmony (Baumstark).

The *Old High German* tradition is poorly represented; only one manuscript (the bilingual Codex Sangallensis) survives complete. However, it is clear that this most ancient German harmonized text does *not* depend upon Latin Codex Fuldensis (Schade, Baumstark, Rathofer, Quispel). Exhibit 4 ("a voice was heard *in the heights*, Rachel weeping . . .") in chapter seven demonstrates its *independence* from Fuldensis, and its *dependence* upon another, older, less-Vulgatized "Old Latin" harmony.

The *Middle Dutch* harmonies represent a tradition in transition. At one extreme stands the Stuttgart Harmony, whose text has been heavily Vulgatized. At the other extreme stands the Liège Harmony, which is closest to this family's (lost) archetype. Although the Liège Harmony has been Vulgatized, its text retains more ancient Diatessaronic readings than do the other Dutch harmonies (Plooi, De Bruin). The Cambridge, The Hague, the Haaren, and the (now-lost) Utrecht Harmonies are situated between these two poles, with the Cambridge Harmony offering hints of a connexion with the tradition found in the Himmelparten Fragments (Baumstark), and being closer to the Liège Harmony than either The Hague or the Haaren Harmonies (De Bruin), which have seen more Vulgatization, and are therefore closer to the Stuttgart Harmony. That the Liège Harmony is not the

actual archetype for all the Dutch witnesses is apparent from the existence of the same translation mistake in Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel* (Plooij). Behind the Middle Dutch tradition must lie a Latin harmony which, in a situation analogous to that of the Old High German Codex Sangallensis, cannot be dependent upon Codex Fuldensis, for the Liège Harmony contains numerous Diatessaronic readings *not* found in Fuldensis (Plooij, Baumstark, Quispel, Van den Broek). Frequently these have an Old Latin flavour, hence the hypothesized archetype of the tradition is called an "Old Latin" (or "Unvulgatized") Diatessaron.

Ultimately, the two families of *Middle Italian* harmonies—the Venetian and the Tuscan—also derive from this same "Old Latin" Diatessaron. While both have been extensively Vulgatized, both preserve readings—Exhibit 4 in the preceding chapter, for instance—which agree with the Middle Dutch, Middle and Old High German harmonies, and the *Vetus Syra*, but *not* with Codex Fuldensis. Of the two families, the 26 manuscripts of the Tuscan family are the most extensively Vulgatized, and are closest to Codex Fuldensis. The lone Venetian manuscript is less Vulgatized, preserving more of its "Old Latin" archetype (Baumstark).

Within the *Latin* tradition itself, nearly a score of manuscripts offer a harmonized text related to the Diatessaron. Codex Fuldensis, with its Vulgatized text, is the archetype for many of these manuscripts, but not all of them. Unlike Fuldensis (but, *N.B.*, like Fuldensis' *capitularia*!), Munich Cgm. 7 946 and Berlin Theol. Fol. 7 both commence with John 1.1. Against Fuldensis, which lacks the reading, Latin Codex Cassellanus adds the phrase "and ran to hold him" at John 20.16, a reading found in all the Middle Dutch Harmonies (Liège, Stuttgart, Haaren, The Hague), in the *Heliand*, the *Vita Rhythmica*, and the *Rijmbijbel*. This is evidence of the existence of an Old Latin, unvulgatized harmony—either the archetype of Codex Fuldensis before its vulgatization, or some other manuscript—which left heirs (Vogels, Plooij, Baumstark, Quispel, Van den Broek). These offspring have all been Vulgatized, and even resequenced (placing Luke 1.1–4 at the *incipit*, for example); nevertheless, readings from the lost, unvulgatized harmony survive. Because of agreements with the Middle Dutch, Old High German, Middle English, and Middle Italian traditions, this lost, unvulgatized harmony (or harmonies ?) must be the archetype—directly or indirectly—of *all* of the Western harmonies which preserve Diatessaronic readings. This assertion applies even to readings which a Western harmony might have acquired from the *Vetus Latina* (*i.e.*, *genuine* Diatessaronic readings, and not readings from Justin's harmony),

for the Diatessaronic readings in the *Vetus Latina* must, of necessity, stem from a Latin translation of the Diatessaron.

Whether one can speak of the *Diatessaron* as the oldest gospel text in Latin (so Vogels, Baumstark, Peters) is now open to question, for it appears that we can demonstrate agreements between Justin's harmony and Tatian's Diatessaron.<sup>15</sup> It is therefore possible that readings in Novatian, in the Roman Antiphonary, even in the *Vetus Latina* previously attributed to Tatian's Diatessaron, may actually stem from Justin's Greek harmony. Justin's harmony, however, cannot explain the entire Western harmonized tradition, for the mistranslations<sup>16</sup> and syntax (Plooiij)<sup>17</sup> and Syriasms (Plooiij) of the Western harmonies broadcast that their Old Latin archetype was translated from a Semitic language—almost certainly Syriac. We may follow Plooiij in ruling out Greek as the original language, or even as the intermediate language between the original Syriac and the Latin archetype in the West, for Diatessaronic readings are almost totally absent from the Greek canonical tradition: although the universe of Greek canonical gospel manuscripts and papyri numbers over 3,000, none preserves anywhere near the number of Diatessaronic readings found in either of the *Vetus Syra* manuscripts (a universe of two), or the number of Diatessaronic readings found in the handful of *Vetus Latina* manuscripts (a universe of about 20). This is proof that—for whatever reasons, and by whatever mechanism—the Greek manuscript tradition (with the significant exception of Codex Bezae) remained insulated from the Diatessaron. From the thousands of Greek manuscripts and papyri, the Dura Fragment remains the only possible scrap of a Greek Diatessaron;<sup>18</sup> balanced against that one Fragment, one must weigh 27 *manuscripts* of Diatessarons in Middle Italian, nearly a score in Latin, and about a dozen in Middle Dutch.

It would seem, then, that the genesis of the Western harmonized tradition lies at the intersection of Justin's Greek harmony (translated into Latin) and a Latin translation of Tatian's Syriac Diatessaron—which themselves overlapped considerably, due to the incorporation of Justin's harmony into Tatian's. Probably circulat-

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<sup>15</sup> Petersen, "Textual Evidence"; see also Exhibit 9 (*supra*, 420–424).

<sup>16</sup> See Exhibit 4 (*supra*, 384–390).

<sup>17</sup> See Exhibit 5 (*supra*, 390–397).

<sup>18</sup> Stegmüller's Fragment does not warrant consideration as Diatessaronic for the reasons given *supra*, 216–217.

ing independently in the earliest period, these two harmonies later gave rise to various admixtures. This genesis helps to explain the unity and yet the diversity of the Western harmonized tradition, something which has puzzled Diatessaronic experts for nearly a century. Recall that the distinctive readings and sequence of the Pepsian Harmony-Himmelgarten Fragments tradition against the rest of the Western harmonized tradition (for which the Liège Harmony will serve as a marker) led Baumstark to consider the possibility of the existence of *two* Latin harmonies—one which gave rise to the Liège-type text, and one which generated the Pepsian-Himmelgarten-type text.<sup>19</sup> Now, with our knowledge of Justin's harmony and its continuing influence on the Western harmonized tradition, it would seem that Baumstark may well have been correct—at least in detecting the influence of two harmonies. Whether Tatian's harmony and Justin's harmony both existed in Latin, or whether the commingling of the two took place prior to translation into Latin cannot be determined at present, for research is still in its infancy. But it would seem that in Justin's harmony an explanation has been found for many of the subtle differences which sometimes divide the Western witnesses from the Eastern—as well as the Western witnesses from each other (*e.g.*, Himmelgarten = Pepsian  $\neq$  Liège *et al.*).

As in the East, the various Latin Patristic and religious texts (*e.g.*, Zachary Chrysopolitanus' *Commentary* on an *In unum ex quattuor*, the *Vita Rhythmica*) as well as vernacular texts (Jacob van Maerlant's *Rijmbijbel*, the German "Bible of 1466," the Middle Dutch *Vanden Levene ons Heren*, the Old Saxon *Heliand*) derive their Diatessaronic readings either directly from their own vernacular Diatessaron (*e.g.*, Codex Sangallensis' Old High German column, the Himmelgarten Fragments, the Liège Harmony, Munich Clm. 23 346), or from a separate gospel text influenced by the Diatessaron (*e.g.*, the *Vetus Latina*).

#### F. THE CHARACTER OF THE DIATESSARON'S TEXT

Turning to the Diatessaron itself, its variant readings fall into four general categories:

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<sup>19</sup> See *supra*, 231–232.

(1) The majority are textual trivia: the addition of a pronoun or an adjective—often for clarity (or perhaps, in the case of pronouns, reflecting Syriac suffix pronouns?)—is common. Substitution of names for pronouns (“Jesus” for “he” or “him”) are also common. Examples would be the Diatessaronic interpolation of “*this well*” at John 4.12, and the interpolation of “give me *water* to drink” in John 4.7/John 4.10.<sup>20</sup>

(2) Some variants, however, are glosses or rearrangements serving theological purposes. These often facilitate a particular exegetical interpretation, and encourage exegesis of gospel passages by means of Hebrew Bible (OT) references. Examples include the “light” in the Jordan at Jesus’ baptism (Matt 3.15–16), the interpolation of “take his cross *upon his shoulders*” (Matt 16.24, par), and the rearrangement of the gifts of the Magi to “gold, myrrh, and frankincense” (Matt 2.11).<sup>21</sup>

(3) Some variants appear to reflect specific liturgical practices of Tatian’s time, or his own particular Encratite views. An example was given in Exhibit 3 in chapter seven: “wash my head *and my whole body*” (John 13.9).

(4) Other variants seem to be nothing more—or less—than a more ancient form of the text than we now possess in our present canonical manuscripts. Among several examples given in chapter seven: the resurrection of the “dead” when Jesus dies on the cross (Exhibit 7 [Matt 27.52]), and the variant of the Shema (Exhibit 9 [Matt 22.37, par.]).

In addition to validating or correcting the résumé set out above, future research has no shortage of issues to address. Some of these are set out in the following paragraphs, with reference to their historical development where appropriate.

## II. ISSUES AND QUESTIONS AWAITING FUTURE RESEARCH

### A. THE CONTINUING EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES TO THE DIATESSARON

Reference to Appendix I (*A Catalogue of Manuscripts of Diatessaronic Witnesses and Related Works*) will show that more than 200 specific witnesses and manuscripts have been identified. Many of these—especially the Latin, Middle High German, and Middle Dutch—have not been examined. For example, in 1814, J.C. Zahn referenced three “Leipzig” manuscripts; nearly two hun-

<sup>20</sup> See W.L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist*, CSCO 475 [Subs. 74] (Louvain 1985), 133–36, 131–33, respectively.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 76–80 (and *supra*, 342–343), 83–86, 71–76, respectively.



dred years later not one has been collated. Similarly, in 1886–87, Schmid called attention to Zacharias Chrysopolitanus' *In unum ex quatuor*, as did Harris in 1924, and Phillips in 1926; in 1992, M.-É. Boismard identified it—along with the Pepysian Harmony—as one of the principal witnesses to the pre-Tatianic harmony used by Justin. Yet Zachary's text has never been collated, and the only edition is Migne's. Since Diatessaronic research advances through the discovery of new witnesses and the introduction of their readings to scholarship, the edition of these witnesses and the publication of detailed studies of them are imperative.

With this plea, however, comes the prayer that scholars who work in one area of Diatessaronic research will avail themselves of earlier work done in the same area, as well as of studies in other fields within Diatessaronic research. Our history of Diatessaronic studies has repeatedly shown how progress was hobbled by a lack of familiarity with parallel research on other witnesses, and by ignorance of earlier research on the same witnesses. Examples include Plooij's apparent ignorance of the work of Grein and Schade, both of whom—long before Plooij—had concluded that numerous Western harmonies had obtained some of their Diatessaronic readings from an "Old Latin Diatessaron" other than Codex Fuldensis. Goates' edition of the Pepysian Harmony shows no awareness of the important position it occupies within Diatessaronic studies; she appears ignorant of Diatessaronic research in general. The vociferous debate between Quispel and Krogmann over the relationship of the *Heliand* to the Diatessaron never used the evidence amassed by earlier scholars such as Grein and Windisch; rather, they set about inventing the wheel anew. The negative pronouncements made by Fischer and De Bruin are willfully ignorant of the *textual* evidence amassed by scholars such as Plooij, Baumstark, Leloir, Quispel, Van den Broek, Fon Weringha, and others. This simply will not do. Although we live in an age when an examination of the history of scholarship is habitually scorned, the commission of such a sin in Diatessaronic studies is usually fatal. Similarly, if one chooses to work in Diatessaronic studies, then one must *per force* become conversant with research in all of the allied fields: Middle Dutch studies, Oriental studies, etc. The student of the Diatessaron will need to be *au courant* with Germanic studies, and—although they would seem outside his or her field—the Germanist should not neglect Diatessaronic studies. Diatessaronic research places one in the awkward position of having to be a specialist in the area being

investigated, as well as being fluent in a score of seemingly unrelated fields.

B. INVESTIGATING THE HARMONY USED BY JUSTIN AND ITS  
RELATION TO THE DIATESSARON; THE ISSUE OF THE  
"WESTERN TEXT" AND THE DIATESSARON

The matter of the relationship between Justin's Harmony and the Diatessaronic witnesses, especially the Western witnesses, has recently come to the fore. As long ago as 1641, Grotius suspected that the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* had been one of Tatian's sources. In 1814, J.C. Zahn suspected that Justin's harmony had been called the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. In 1823, Olshausen asserted that Tatian had revised Justin's harmony.<sup>22</sup> In 1890, Harris suspected that Tatian had used Justin's harmony. In 1935, Baumstark pointed to Lippelt's suggestion (1901) that one of Tatian's sources had been Justin's harmony; he concluded that this was the "Hebrew gospel" cited by Epiphanius and Jerome. In 1980, Bertrand suggested that the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (scholars' *Gospel of the Ebionites*) was a pre-Tatianic harmony, which might have been Justin's harmony. More recent research has found textual links—both in variants as well as in harmonizations—between the Diatessaron and Justin's gospel citations.<sup>23</sup> In 1992, Boismard independently came to the same conclusion. Together with Chase, Peters, Quispel, and Henss, all these scholars submit that it is in this matrix described by Justin's harmony, the Diatessaron, and the "Hebrew gospel" (either *Ebionites* or *Hebrews*) that the solution to one of the major outstanding problems in New Testament studies lies: the genesis of the "Western Text" of the gospels. Should this be the case, then it is a finding whose significance transcends New Testament textual criticism, for it has been argued that the leading witness of the "Western Text," namely, Codex Bezae (D), has its own distinct theology.<sup>24</sup> Boismard's prelimi-

<sup>22</sup> H. Olshausen, *Die Echtheit der vier canonischen Evangelien . . .* (Königsberg 1823), 335.

<sup>23</sup> Petersen, "Textual Evidence."

<sup>24</sup> Cp. E.J. Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*, NTS.MS 3 (Cambridge 1966); and W. Henss, *Das Verhältnis zwischen Diatessaron, christlicher Gnosis und "Western Text,"* BZNW 33 (Berlin 1967); see also D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge 1991), 189–92.

nary findings regarding the Pepysian Harmony and Zachary Chrysopolitanus' *In unum ex quatuor* warrant prompt investigation, which will either confirm or disprove their relationship with Justin's Harmony.

#### C. MANICHAEAN DOCUMENTS, AUGUSTINE, AND THE DIATESSARON

The continuing publication—especially by Werner Sundermann<sup>25</sup>—of new Manichaean texts has finally made possible a comprehensive study of their relationship with the Diatessaron. A subset of this problem is the matter of Augustine's gospel text. Did he, as Leloir and Quispel have suggested, occasionally and unconsciously cite texts according to their Manichaean—and, therefore, perhaps Diatessaronic—form? How common was Manichaean use of the Diatessaron? Was it their primary gospel text, or only a supplementary text? What was the textual character of their Diatessaron?

The matter of Manichaean use of the Diatessaron is made more pressing by Quispel's hypothesis that the Western vernacular harmonies ultimately derive from a Manichaean Diatessaron, not a "domesticated" Diatessaron like that used by Ephrem in the East.<sup>26</sup> Studies are needed not only to answer the preliminary questions, but also to render a judgement on Quispel's thesis.

#### D. THE TRANSMISSION-HISTORY OF EPHREM'S *COMMENTARY*

The discovery of the missing folios of the Syriac text of Ephrem's *Commentary* facilitate comparison with its Armenian translation. This will shed light on the question of the reliability of the *Commentary*'s text, and the stages of evolution through which the *Com-*

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<sup>25</sup> See the bibliography of his publications in the article by A. Böhlig, "Manichäismus" in *TRE* 22, 25–45 (bibliography: 40–45). For Diatessaronic readings, see esp. Sundermann's *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte, Kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients (sans num.), Berliner Turfantexte 11 (Berlin 1981), 76–79 (Text 4a.18); idem, *Mittelpersische und parthische Kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients 8, Berliner Turfantexte 4 (Berlin 1973), 106–108 (Texts 38, 39); and idem, "Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-manichäischen Literatur," *Mitteilungen des Institut für Orientforschung* 14.3 (1968), 386–405.

<sup>26</sup> See *supra*, 336–338.

mentary has passed. Reinink's study of the fragment of Aba's *Commentary* is an important step in this direction.<sup>27</sup>

#### E. MANNER OF PRESENTATION

New studies of Diatessaronic witnesses should—in addition to the *expositio*, if it is a monograph—contain a collation of the witness, identifying (1) every gospel citation, and (2) its agreement with other known Diatessaronic witnesses, or (3) its *disagreement* with Diatessaronic witnesses. Monographs usually limit themselves to presenting readings which have been judged Diatessaronic by the author; these are then used to argue some larger point.<sup>28</sup> There are two drawbacks to this approach. First, it does not give a comprehensive profile of the witnesses' textual complexion; it presents only a selective (and therefore subjective) impression. Second, because of this subjectivity (which derives from the investigator's criteria), certain variants will not be recorded; in the future, however, when additional witnesses have been discovered or when different criteria are employed, they may prove valuable. Therefore, full collations are preferable to the presentation of sample readings, or a superset of readings which meet certain criteria.

#### F. RECONSTRUCTING SECTIONS OF THE DIATESSARON'S TEXT

Already in 1923, H.J. Vogels noted that within New Testament textual criticism there was "kaum eine so dringliche geben wie jene der Rekonstruktion des Diatessaron."<sup>29</sup> The discovery of the *Gospel according to Thomas* and our greater understanding of textual diversity in the first two Christian centuries mean that his observation is even truer today than when he uttered it.

The use of Diatessaronic readings by exegetes and commentators would be stimulated if scholars published small sections of the reconstructed text of the Diatessaron, accompanied by

<sup>27</sup> G.J. Reinink, "Neue Fragmente zum Diatessaronkommentar des Ephraemschülers Aba," *OrLP* 11 (1980), 117–33.

<sup>28</sup> The present writer's study of Romanos falls under this criticism, as do the studies of Baumstark/Rathofer (*Die Vorlage des althochdeutschen Tatian*), Fon Weringha (*Heliant and Diatessaron*), and Quispel (*Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas*).

<sup>29</sup> H.J. Vogels, *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Münster 1923<sup>1</sup>), 170–71.

a full apparatus. Pericopes which lend themselves to such treatment include the Sermon on the Mount, the resurrection narrative, and the crucifixion account. Reconstructions would be based on collations of all known Diatessaronic witnesses, and would present both the positive and negative evidence among Diatessaronic witnesses for each variant. Such a procedure would make the work of experts available to non-experts in a verifiable and digestible form.

In 1881, relying principally on Ephrem's *Commentary*, Aphrahat, and the Curetonian Syriac, Th. Zahn attempted a reconstruction of the entire Diatessaron, insofar as he could recover it. Today, with over 200 manuscripts witnessing the Diatessaron's text, it is a much more complex and painstaking task. The researcher should focus on a clearly demarcated pericope (an example is the team at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, which is working on the Sermon on the Mount), and do that thoroughly, for this is an undertaking where attempting too much means that the work cannot help but be defective.

#### G. INVESTIGATING THE TRANSMISSION HISTORY OF INDIVIDUAL WITNESSES

There have been few studies of individual witnesses within the Diatessaronic tradition; they would be beneficial. First, they would identify areas of Vulgatization, of re-sequencing, and interpolation or omission. Second, they would clarify the value of that witness, the reliability and character of its text. Finally, by investigating the concerns and problems of *a* harmonist working with *a* tradition, at *a* particular point in church history, studies of individual witnesses could help illuminate the whole. An example is the observation that the medieval Western harmonies frequently present doublets of readings, the one being the canonical version, the other being the Diatessaronic. Once this technique is identified, other Diatessaronic witnesses can be examined to see if their scribes resorted to the same technique to honour the two traditions (they do: MSS B and E of the Arabic Harmony use the same technique at John 15.4 [see *supra*, 312] to preserve the Diatessaronic reading).

#### H. EXAMINATION OF TATIAN'S METHODS AND MOTIVES

This point is presented last, for it presupposes the ability to reconstruct substantial sections of the text. This ability, in turn,

would permit examination of how Tatian set about his task, and what his theological and literary concerns were. An example: Did he suppress references to Israel?<sup>30</sup> If so, why? Were these suppressed by Tatian, or had they already been suppressed in his sources? Or is it possible that they were added to the canonical gospels *after* Tatian? Another example: Was the Diatessaron positively disposed towards the Jewish Law? Did it require obedience to the Law?<sup>31</sup> At a more mundane level, what are some of Tatian's literary characteristics? Baumstark, for example, remarked on the "charakteristisch Tatianische Omission des ἰδοῦ,"<sup>32</sup> and others have noted a penchant for paraphrase and abridgement. What other characteristics of Tatian's style can be recovered? The answers to such questions will reveal much about the theology of the early church, the history of the New Testament text, and the psychological and sociological setting of primitive Christianity.

\*      \*      \*

In the Introduction, Arthur Vööbus' remark that the study of the Diatessaron was "one of the most difficult topics in all the field of New Testament textual criticism" was cited. The truth of his assertion is now manifest. But the textual, historical, theological, and scholarly importance of the Diatessaron should be equally manifest. The quintessential Amsterdammer, Baruch Spinoza, described the situation well when, in the last sentence of his *Ethica*, he wrote, "*Sed omnia praeclara tam difficilia quam rara sunt*": "But all things excellent are as difficult as they are rare."<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> This was first noted by A. von Harnack (see *supra*, 120); see also J.R. Harris, "Was the Diatessaron Anti-Judaic?" *HTHR* 18 (1925) 103–109.

<sup>31</sup> See the evidence, *supra*, 22–24, 259.

<sup>32</sup> A. Baumstark, "Der Tatiantext von Lk. 24, 13," *OrChr* 36 [= III.14] (1939), 24; see also his "Zwei italienische 'Diatessaron'-Texte," *OrChr* 36 [= III.14] (1941), 227. Of course, ἰδοῦ is itself a Semitism in the Greek separate gospels.

<sup>33</sup> *Ethica*, Pars V, Scholium on Propositio 42, cited from: *Benedict de Spinoza, Opera quotquot reperta sunt*, edd. J. van Vloten & J.P.N. Land (The Hague 1914<sup>3</sup>), Vol. 1, 273.

## APPENDIX I

### A CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS OF DIATESSARONIC WITNESSES AND RELATED WORKS

No manner of arrangement of the material presented in this appendix is capable of satisfying the conflicting demands of chronology, degree of proximity to the Diatessaron, type of witness, etc. The catalogue is, therefore, arranged along certain more or less arbitrary lines.

- A) Items are divided between *Eastern Witnesses* (presented first), and *Western Witnesses*.
- B) These two geographic divisions are subdivided into *individual languages*, ordered alphabetically (Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, etc.).
- C) Within each language group, witnesses have been separated into three categories:
  - (1) "*manuscripts*," being witnesses which are manuscripts (or fragments) of actual gospel harmonies and which are thought to be descended from the Diatessaron, albeit, several revisions and/or translations removed;
  - (2) "*quotations*," being sources which here and there, either by name or by virtue of the variants in the quotations, appear to cite the Diatessaron;
  - (3) "*influenced*," being witnesses whose gospel citations appear to have been influenced by the Diatessaron.

The division between these last two categories is somewhat subjective. In general, those witnesses which have been investigated more thoroughly, and whose agreements with the Diatessaronic tradition are more extensive and better documented have been placed in the "quotations" category, while lesser-investigated witnesses, whose alleged Diatessaronic references are less obvious, less frequent, and more oblique have been relegated to the latter. As an example, Ephrem's *Commentary* is listed under "Quotations," while the "Arabic Version of the Gospels" is placed under "Influenced." In making these decisions, scholars' claims have been taken at face value, and no attempt

has been made to verify whether or not an individual witness or manuscript does or does not contain Diatessaronic readings. Inclusion in this list should therefore not be taken as “proof” that a particular source is indeed a Diatessaronic witness; rather, the catalogue should be regarded as a list of sources *claimed* by one or another scholar at one or another time as Diatessaronic; therefore, it may serve as a *starting point* for future research.

D) Within each category, individual witnesses are listed in *alphabetical order* (for example, under “Syriac, Quotations,” the first entry is for “Aba,” the second is for “Aphrahat,” etc.).

1) Where the information was available and seemed relevant, *individual manuscripts have been listed in proximate chronological order*, from oldest to youngest, with the proviso that *the most significant manuscripts have been placed first regardless of age* (in the Middle Dutch category, for example, the Liège Harmony is given pride of place).

2) “*Nicknames*” or specific designations (e.g., “Kossmann’s Fragments,” the “Dura Fragment”) are indicated immediately below the manuscript’s present location, inventory number, and date.

3) Thereunder, a selection of *literature* relevant to that specific manuscript or witness is listed, first giving the *catalogue listing* (where available), then *editions* (if available), *studies* and, in some cases, *references* (indicating where that specific item is referenced in the literature), *descriptions* (indicating where the manuscript is described, albeit not in a formal catalogue entry), and *remarks* (noting specific features pertinent to that witness or manuscript).

None of these aids should be regarded as exhaustive. For example, under “editions” only those pertinent to current research are given; under “studies” only the most significant studies are indicated.

In general, this catalogue should be regarded as a tool for research, not a comprehensive listing of every proposed Diatessaronic witness. In particular, marginal Patristic sources—especially in the Eastern languages—have been excluded.



- [ ] Square brackets enclose manuscripts whose disposition is presently unknown. The manuscripts are described according to the most recent catalogue references; usually these antedate the Second (in some cases, the First) World War; some manuscripts (especially those in Germany, the Middle- and Near East) may have been relocated since that time.
- [?] A question mark in square brackets denotes witnesses which appear to have a possibility of containing Diatessaronic readings, and which have been referenced in the context of Diatessaronic studies, but which have received little or no study (perhaps one or two alleged readings have been adduced). Their inclusion is for the sake of reference only, as a pointer to *potential* new witnesses still awaiting investigation.

## EASTERN

### ARABIC

#### MANUSCRIPTS

##### *Arabic Harmony*

#### EDITIONS:

A. Ciasca, *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae Arabice* (Roma 1888; reprinted, Roma 1914; Rome 1934<sup>2</sup>); A.-S. Marmardji, *Diatessaron de Tatien* (Beyrouth 1935). Marmardji's edition is standard today. English translations (based on Ciasca's edition of the text): J. Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ ever Compiled from the Four Gospels being the Diatessaron of Tatian . . .* (Edinburgh 1894; a second abridged edition, Edinburgh 1900); H. Hogg, "Tatian's Diatessaron," *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 10 (additional volume), ed. A. Menzies (Grand Rapids 1969<sup>5</sup>), 63–129. Hill's translation depends heavily on Ciasca's Latin translation. A German translation also exists: *Tatians Diatessaron aus dem Arabischen übersetzt*, edd. E. Preuschen and A. Pott (Heidelberg 1926).

#### STUDIES:

A. Ciasca, "De Tatiani Diatessaron Arabica Versione," in Vol. 4 of J.B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi* (Parisiis 1883), 465–87; S. Euringer, *Die Überlieferung der Arabischen Übersetzung des Diatessarons, mit einer Textbeilage: Die Beiruter Fragmente herausgegeben und Übersetzt von Georg Graf*, BSt(F) 17.2 (Freiburg 1912); A.F.J. Beeston, "The Arabic Version of Tatian's Diatessaron," *JRAS* 1939, 608–610; A.J.B. Higgins, "The Arabic Version of Tatian's Diatessaron," *JThS* 45 (1944), 187–199; A.J.B. Higgins, *Tatian's Diatessaron, Introductory Studies, with a portion of the Arabic Version* (dissertation, Manchester [England] 1945); a summary, "Tatian's Diatessaron," appeared in *JMUES* 24 (1942–45; published in 1947), 28–32; Tj. Baarda, "An Archaic Element in the Arabic Diatessaron? (TA 46:18 = John xv 2)," *NovT* 17 (1975), 151–55 (also in his *Early Transmission of Words of Jesus*, 173–77); A.J.B. Higgins, "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Arabic and Persian Harmonies," in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text* (Festschrift G.D. Kilpatrick) (Leiden 1976), 246–261; Tj. Baarda, "The Author of the Arabic Diatessaron," *Miscellanea Neotestamentica*, edd. Tj. Baarda, A.F.J. Klijn and W.C. van Unnik, NT.S 47 (Leiden 1978), I, 61–103 (also in Tj. Baarda, *Early Transmission of the Words of Jesus: Thomas, Tatian and the Text of the New Testament* [Amsterdam 1983], 239–246); idem, "To the Roots of the Syriac Diatessaron Tradition (T<sup>A</sup> 25:1–3)," *NT* 28 (1986), 1–25.

Rome	Vatican	Arab. 14	XII/XIII
Rome	Vatican	Borg. arab. 250	XIV
Cairo	Coptic Patriarchate	MS 67	1796

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogue de Manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, ed. G. Graf, StT 63 (Città del Vaticano 1934), 86–87 (catalogue number 203).

Oxford	Bodleian	Arab. e. 163	1806
Aleppo	Paul Sbath	No. 1020	1791

## CATALOGUE:

P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de Manuscrits Paul Sbath*, Vol. 2 (Héliopolis 1928), 135–36: “Ce précieux ms. comprend le Diatessaron intitulé . . . 277 pages . . . Transcrit en 1512 des Martyrs (1791).”

Beirut	Jesuit Library	No. 429	1332
“Beirut Fragments”			

## EDITIONS (text and German translation):

G. Graf, pp. 63–71, in S. Euringer, *Die Überlieferung der Arabischen Übersetzung des Diatessarons*. These Fragments were not used by Marmardji in his edition.

Aleppo	Paul Sbath	No. 1280	XVIII
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## CATALOGUE:

P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de Manuscrits*, Vol. 3 (Le Caire 1934), 92: “le Diatessaron . . . 376 pages . . . XVIII siècle.”

Plus 5 other manuscripts in private hands, locations and ages unknown.

## REFERENCE:

G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, Vol. I, StT 118 (Città del Vaticano 1944), 154.

## INFLUENCED

*Arabic Version of the Gospels*

## ON THE ARABIC VERSION OF THE GOSPELS IN GENERAL:

All of the following manuscripts were identified by C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, OrChrA 123 (Roma 1939), 48–62; see also Peters’ “Proben eines bedeutsamen arabischen Evangelientextes,” OrChr 33 [III.11] (1936), 188–211.

## STUDIES:

A. Baumstark, “Das Problem eines vorislamischen christlich-kirchlichen Schrifttums in arabischer Sprache,” *Islamica* 5 (1931), 562–575; idem, “Arabische Übersetzung eines altsyrischen Evangelientextes,” in OrChr 31 [= III.9] (1934), 165–188; G. Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, Vol. 1, pp. 138–70, esp. 150–55, and 146, n. 2.

Berlin	Staatsbibliothek	Or. oct. 1108	—
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## STUDIES:

B. Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung. Vat. Borg. ar. 95 und Ber. orient. oct. 1108* (Uppsala 1938); W. Heffening, and C. Peters, “Spuren des Diatessaron in liturgischer Überlieferung. Ein türkischer und ein Karsuni-Text,” OrChr 32 [III.10] (1935), 232, speaks of the text of both this MS and St. Petersburg D 226 as strongly permeated with Tatianisms.

Leipzig	Universitätsbib.	MS 1059A	—
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## CATALOGUE:

*Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig. II. Katalog der Islamischen, Christlich-Orientalischen, Jüdischen und Samaritanischen Handschriften*, ed. K. Vollers (Leipzig 1906), 373–74; the MS is also catalogued as “Codex Tischendorf 31”; it consists of 2 folios containing fragments of Matthew.

Leiden	Universiteitsbib.	2376	1179
Leiden	Universiteitsbib.	2377	1331
Leiden	Universiteitsbib.	2378	1511

## CATALOGUE:

These three Leiden MSS (2376, 2377, 2378) are found, respectively, in the *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batauae*, Vol. 5, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Lugduni 1873), 81–82, 82, 82–83.

Oxford	Bodleian	Arab. christ. Nicoll 15 (299)	—
Rome	Vatican	Borg. arab. 71	—
Rome	Vatican	Borg. arab. 95	—

## STUDIES:

B. Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung. Vat. Borg. ar. 95 und Ber. orient. oct. 1108* (Uppsala 1938).

Rome	Vatican	Arab. 13	—
Rome	Vatican	Arab. 17	—
Rome	Vatican	Arab. 18	—
Rome	Vatican	Arab. 467	—
St. Petersburg	Asiatic Museum	D 226	—

## STUDIES:

W. Heffening, and C. Peters, “Spuren des Diatessaron in liturgischer Überlieferung. Ein türkischer und ein Karsuni-Text,” *OrChr* 32 [= III.10] (1935), 232, speaks of the text of both this MS and Berlin Or. oct. 1108 as strongly permeated with Tatianisms.

*Isaac Velasquez, Arabic Translation of the Gospels*

## STUDIES:

A. Baumstark, “Markus Kap. 2 in der arabischen Übersetzung des Isaak Velasquez Veröffentlicht und unter dem Gesichtspunkt des Zusammenhangs mit dem Diatessaron gewürdigt,” *OrChr* 31 (= III.9) (1934), 226–239; see also C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, *OrChrA* 123 (Roma 1939), 175–77.

*Karshuni*<sup>1</sup> Manuscripts

Rome	Vatican	Syr. 52	c. XVI
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<sup>1</sup> An Arabic text written in Syriac script; used by Jacobite and Nestorian Christians.

## EDITION:

W. Heffening and C. Peters, "Spuren des Diatessaron in liturgischer Überlieferung. Ein türkischer und ein Karsuni-Text," *OrChr* 32 [= III.10] (1935), 225–238. The relevant portion of the MS is ff. 111<sup>v</sup>–112<sup>r</sup>; the Karshuni text contains a fragment of a Wedding rite, including Matt 19.3–11. The Turkish text, written in Syriac script, is on the same folios, and contains Matt 19.9–11.

## STUDIES:

W. Heffening and C. Peters, "Spuren" (the edition, cited above); C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, 61–62, 88–89.

Rome

Vatican

Syr. 197

1488

## REFERENCE:

A. Baumstark, "Eine frühislamische und eine vorislamische arabische Evangelienübersetzung aus dem Syrischen," *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti, Roma, 23–29 Settembre 1935* (Roma 1938), 682–84; C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, 59.

## ARMENIAN

## QUOTATIONS

*Armenian Translations of Syriac Fathers*

Ephrem Syrus, *Commentary on the Gospel of the Mixed*

## EDITIONS:

Editio princeps: ՄԵԼՆՈՒԹԻՆ աւետարանի համեմարեալ զոր արարեալ է տեառն եփրեմի խորին սուրբոյ (Venetii 1836) by the Mechitarist Fathers, as Volume II of, ՍՐԲՈՅՆ Էփրեմի Մատենագրութիւնք, a complete edition of Ephrem's works as then known (in this edition, the *Commentary's* text is based only on MS "A"). A Latin translation (based on MSS "A" and "B") was prepared by J.B. Aucher and published by G. Moesinger, *Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a Sancto Ephraemo Doctore Syro, in Latinum translata* (Venetii 1876). Today the standard edition is *Saint Ephrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, version arménienne*, ed. L. Leloir, CSCO 137 [Arm. 1] (text) & CSCO 145 [Arm. 2] (Latin translation) (Louvain 1953, 1954).

## STUDIES:

See under "Syriac," for the Ephrem's *Commentary*.

Ephrem Syrus, *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*

## STUDIES:

J. Schäfers, *Evangelienzitate in Ephräms des Syrers Kommentar zu den Paulinischen Schriften* (Freiburg 1917).

## INFLUENCED

*Armenian Versions of the Gospels and Armenian Patristic Literature*

## STUDIES:

F.C. Conybeare, "An Armenian Diatessaron?" *JThS* 25 (1924), 232–245; P. Essabalian, *Le Diatessaron de Tatien et la première traduction des*

*Évangiles arméniens* (in Armenian, with a French résumé on pp. 111–127) (Vienne 1937); S. Lyonnet, “La première version arménienne des Évangiles,” *RB* 47 (1938), 355–382; idem, “Vestiges d’un Diatessaron arménien,” *Bib.* 19 (1938), 121–150; idem, review of P. Essabalian’s *Le Diatessaron de Tatien et la première traduction des Évangiles arméniens*, in *Bib.* 19 (1938), 214–216; idem, *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron*, *BibOr* 13 (Rome 1950).

## COPTIC

### INFLUENCED

#### *Manichaean Documents*<sup>2</sup>

##### *Homilies*

EDITION (text and German translation):

*Manichäische Homilien in Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty, Band I*, ed. H.J. Polotsky (Stuttgart 1934).

##### *Kephalaia*

EDITION (text and German translation):

*Kephalaia*, appearing in the series *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Band I, Parts 1–12, edd. C. Schmidt, H.J. Polotsky, and A. Böhlig (from Part 9–, Böhlig only) (Parts 1–10: Stuttgart 1935–39; Parts 11–12: Berlin/Köln/Mainz 1966).

### STUDIES:

C. Schmidt and H.J. Polotsky, “Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten” in *SPAW.PP* sans num. (Berlin 1933), 4–90; A. Baumstark, “Ein ‘Evangelium’-Zitat der Manichäischen Kephalaia,” *OrChr* 34 [= III.12] (1938), 169–191.

##### *Psalms*

EDITION (text and English translation):

*A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II*, ed. C.R.C. Allberry, *Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection* 2, (Stuttgart 1938).

##### *The Gospel of Thomas*

EDITION:

*The Gospel according to Thomas*, edd. A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, et al. (Leiden/New York 1959).

### STUDIES:

Too numerous to list; consult the *Bibliography* under Baarda, Klijn, Ménard, Quispel, and others.

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<sup>2</sup> See the bibliography of Manichaean texts in A. Böhlig, “Manichäismus,” in *TRE* 22, 40–45. See also: H.-J. Klimkeit, “Die Kenntnis Apokrypher Evangelien in Zentral- und Ostasien,” in *Manichaica Selecta. Studies presented to Professor Julien Ries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, ed. A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen, *MS I* (Lovanii 1991), 149–75.

## ESTONIAN [?]

## STUDIES:

H. Must, "A Diatessaronic Rendering in Luke 2.7," *NTS* 32 (1986), 136–43.

## REMARKS:

The reading studied by Must from the Estonian translation of the Bible appears to stem from Luther's German translation of the Bible, not directly from a gospel harmony. Luther, in turn, may have been influenced by the Old and/or Middle High German harmonized traditions (see *infra*, s.v.).

## GEORGIAN

## INFLUENCED

*Old Georgian Gospel Translations, Patristic Translations and Texts*

## STUDIES:

F.C. Conybeare, "The Georgian Version of the New Testament," *ZNW* 11 (1910), 232–39; A. Võõbus, *Zur Geschichte des altgeorgischen Evangelientextes*, PETSE 4 (Stockholm 1953); J. Molitor, "Zur Harmonistik des altgeorgischen Evangelientextes," *BZ N.F.* 1 (1957), 289–96; idem, "Tatian's Diatessaron und sein Verhältnis zur altsyrischen und altgeorgischen Überlieferung," *OrChr* 53 (1969), 1–88; 54 (1970), 1–75; 55 (1971), 1–61; idem, "Das Neue Testament in georgischer Sprache. Der gegenwärtige Stand seiner Erforschung und seine Bedeutung für die Gewinnung des griechischen Urtextes," *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland, ANTT 5 (Berlin 1972), 314–344; J.N. Birdsall, "The Martyrdom of St. Eustathius of Mzketha' and the Diatessaron: An Investigation," *NTS* 18 (1971/72), 452–56; idem, "Diatessaronic Readings in the 'Martyrdom of St. Abo of Tiflis?'" in *New Testament Textual Criticism, Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger*, edd. E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee (Oxford 1981), 313–324; idem, "Evangelienbezüge im georgischen Martyrium der hl. Schuschaniki," *Georgica* 4 (1981), 20–23. See also under "Armenian."

## GREEK

## MANUSCRIPTS

New Haven    Yale Univ. Lib.    Dura Parchment 24    ante 257  
The "Dura Fragment"

## EDITIONS:

C.H. Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron from Dura*, StD 3 (London 1935). See also the edition of C.B. Welles, et al., *The Parchments and Papyri: The Excavations at Dura-Europos . . . , Final Report*, Vol. 5, Pt. 1 (New Haven [Conn.] 1959), 73–74, which contains some minor improvements.

## STUDIES:

A. Baumstark, "Das griechische 'Diatessaron'-Fragment von Dura-Europos," *OrChr* 32 [= III.10] (1935), 244–252; F.C. Burkitt, "The Dura Fragment of Tatian," *JThS* 36 (1935), 255–259 (including Burkitt's "Note on Lk. xxiii 51 in the Dura Fragment," 258–59); D. Plooi, "A Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron in Greek," *ET* 46 (1934–35), 471–476; M.-J. Lagrange, "Deux nouveaux textes relatifs à l'Évangile. I. Un fragment grec du Diatessaron de Tatien," *RB* 44 (1935), 324; A. Merk, "Ein griechisches Bruchstück des Diatessaron Tatians," *Bib.* 17 (1936), 234–241.

## REMARKS:

Photograph in Lagrange, opposite p. 321; also in Kraeling, on fold-out at end of volume.

## QUOTATIONS

*Romanos Melodos*, Hymns

## EDITION:

*Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes, I, II, III, IV, V*, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, SC 99, 110, 114, 128, 283 (Paris 1964, 1965, 1965, 1967, 1981).

## STUDIES:

C. Peters, "Die Entstehung der griechischen Diatessaronübersetzung und ihr Nachhall in byzantinischer Kirchenpoesie," *OrChrP* 8 (1942), 468–476; G. Quispel, "The Diatessaron of Romanos," *New Testament Textual Criticism, Its Significance for Exegesis: Studies in honour of Bruce M. Metzger*, edd. E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee, (Oxford 1981), 305–311; W.L. Petersen, "The Dependence of Romanos the Melodist upon the Syriac Ephrem: Its Importance for the Origin of the Kontakion," *VigChr* 39 (1985), 171–187; W.L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist*, CSCO 475 [Subsidia 74] (Louvain 1985).

## INFLUENCED

*Makarios*, Homilies

## EDITION (text only):

*Makarios/Symeon. Reden und Briefe, Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B)*, ed. H. Berthold, GCS sans num., 2 vols (Berlin 1973). An English translation recently appeared: *Pseudo-Macarius, The Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the Great Letter*, ed. G.A. Maloney, CWS (New York/Mahwah 1992).

## STUDIES:

G. Quispel, "Macarius and the Diatessaron of Tatian," in *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus, Studies in Early Christian Literature and Its Environment, Primarily in the Syrian East*, ed. R.H. Fischer (Chicago 1977), 203–209; G. Quispel, "The Syrian Thomas and the Syrian Macarius," *VigChr* 18 (1964), 226–35 (= *Gnostic Studies* II, 75–80).



## EDITIONS (text only):

O. Stegmüller, "Ein Bruchstück aus dem griechischen Diatessaron (P. 16 388)," *ZNW* 37 (1938), 223–229.

## STUDIES:

For a description and additional bibliography, see *Repertorium des griechischen christlichen Papyri, I. Biblische Papyri*, ed. K. Aland, PTS 18 (Berlin/New York 1976), 246; C. Peters, "Ein neues Fragment des griechischen Diatessaron?" *Bib.* 21 (1940), 51–55.

*Individual MSS of the Canonical Gospels (Gregory numbering)*<sup>3</sup>

## MS 05 (D)

## REFERENCES:

See especially the studies of F.H. Chase, *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae* (London 1893), and *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels* (London 1895); also H.J. Vogels, *Die Harmonistik im Evangelientext des Codex Cantabrigiensis*, TU 36, Heft 1A (Leipzig 1910); idem., *Die altsyrischen Evangelien in ihrem Verhältnis zu Tatians Diatessaron*, BSt(F) 16 (Freiburg 1911); idem., *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland*, NTA 8.1 (Münster 1919).

## MS 039 (Λ)

## REFERENCES:

J.R. Harris, *The Diatessaron of Tatian* (London 1890), 61, who described it as "a MS. whose text has affinities with Tatian."

## MS 28

## REFERENCES:

H.J. Vogels, *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Bonn 1955<sup>2</sup>), 66, observed that the MS offers reading at Mark 7.33 which is similar to Tatian's.

## MS 157

## REFERENCES:

D. Plooij, *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron* (Leyden 1923), 76; also H.J. Vogels, *Handbuch*, 67 (who described it as a text "mit bemerkenswerten alten Lesarten, die vielfach mit D, mehrmals auch mit Marcion und Tatian zusammengehen").

## MS 700

## REFERENCES:

H.J. Vogels, *Handbuch*, 68, remarks on a Tatianism at Luke 3.23.

## MS 713

## STUDIES:

A. Pott, *Der griechisch-syrische Text des Matthäus ε 351 im Verhältnis zu Tatian S<sup>c</sup> Ferrar* (Leipzig 1912); J.R. Harris, "The First Tatian Reading in the Greek New Testament," *Expositor* N.S. 8 (1922), 120–29; Tj. Baarda, "Geven als vreemdeling. Over de herkomst van een merkwaardige variant van Ms. 713 in Mattheus 17, 26," *NedThT* 42 (1988), 99–113.

<sup>3</sup> This list is composed *only* of manuscripts especially singled out by scholars for their close affiliation with the Diatessaronic tradition.

## REMARKS:

Von Soden numbers the MS ε 351; Scrivener numbers it 561; its Gregory number is 713. It is sometimes called the "Peckover" MS, for at the turn of the century it was owned by Miss Algerina Peckover; it is now in the library of Selly Oak College, Birmingham, England, catalogued as "Alg. Peckover Gr. 7." The most obvious Diatessaronic readings are at Matt 17.24–27.

## REFERENCES:

J.R. Harris, "Cod. Ev. 561.—Codex Algerinae Peckover.," *JBL* 6 (Pt. 2, Dec. 1886), 79–89; A. Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament* (New York 1913), 56; D. Plooij, *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron* (Leyden 1923), 75–76 (Plooij references it by its von Soden number [351] and the name "Peckover"); H.J. Vogels, *Handbuch*, 68, notes: "Der Text . . . bezeugt wiederholt Tatianlesarten."

## MS 1093

## REFERENCES:

D. Plooij, *A Further Study* (Leyden 1925), 65, terms this a "Tatianizing Greek MS."

## MS 1241

## REFERENCES:

H.J. Vogels, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland*, NTA 8.1 (Münster 1919), 13, mentions a Diatessaronic reading at Luke 9.54; see also his *Handbuch*, 69. The Diatessaronic dimension of this MS has not been fully appreciated; in my own research, it has time and again offered Tatianic readings (cp. my *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus*, 115, 132, and the MS index in this volume).

## MS 2145

## REFERENCES:

D. Plooij, *A Further Study*, 84, refers to this as "the Tatianizing minuscule 1222 v[on] S[oden]."

The Ferrar Group ( $f^{13}$ ): MSS 13, 69, 124, 346, etc.

## REFERENCES:

Plooij, *Primitive Text*, 75.

Von Soden's I Group: MSS D, 0171, Θ (038), 079, 565, 406, etc.

## REFERENCES:

Plooij, *Primitive Text*, 75 (a table of von Soden's I group is in F. Krüger's *Schlüssel zu von Soden's "Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments . . ."* [Göttingen 1927]).

## PARTHIAN

## INFLUENCED

*Manichaeae Fragments*

## EDITIONS:

The original editions (text and German translation) were by: F.W.K. Müller, "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrifte aus Turfan,

Chinesisch-Turkistan," *SPAW.PH* 1904, 1<sup>er</sup> Halbband (Berlin 1904), 348–354; idem, "Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrifte aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan. II teil," *APAW.PH* 1904, Abh. 2 (Berlin 1904). Newly discovered fragments have been edited by W. Sundermann, "Christliche Evangelientexte in der Überlieferung der iranisch-manichäischen Literatur," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 14.3 (1968), 387–405 and plates; idem, *Mitteliranische manichäische Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients, Berliner Turfantexte 11 (Berlin 1981); idem, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische and Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients 8, Berliner Turfantexte 4 (Berlin 1973).

## STUDIES:

W.L. Petersen, "An Important Unnoticed Diatessaronic Reading in Turfan Fragment M-18," *Text and Testimony, Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A.F.J. Klijn*, edd. Tj. Baarda, A. Hilhorst, G.P. Luttikhuisen and A.S. van der Woude (Kampen [the Netherlands] 1988), 187–192.

## PERSIAN

## MANUSCRIPTS

*Persian Harmony*

Florence      Bib. Laurent.      Cod. Ms. Or. XVII (81)      1547

## CATALOGUE:

*Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae Codicum mms. Orientalium Catalogus*, ed. S.E. Assemani (Florentiae 1742), 59–61.

## EDITION:

*Diatessaron Persiano*, ed. G. Messina, BibOr 14 (Rome 1951).

## STUDIES:

G. Messina, "Un Diatessaron persiano del sec. XIII tradotto dal siriano," *Bib.* 23 (1942), 286–305; 24 (1943), 59–106; idem, *Notizia su un Diatessaron Persiano tradotto dal Siriaco*, BibOr 10 (Rome 1943); B.M. Metzger, "Tatian's Diatessaron and a Persian Harmony of the Gospels," *JBL* 69 (1950), 261–80 (also in his *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism*, NTTS 4 [Leiden 1963], 97–120); A.J.B. Higgins, "The Persian Gospel Harmony as a Witness to Tatian's Diatessaron," *JThS* N.S. 3 (1952), 83–87; A.J.B. Higgins, "The Persian and Arabic Gospel Harmonies," *Studia Evangelica*, ed. K. Aland, TU 73 (Berlin 1959), 793–810; A.J.B. Higgins, "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Arabic and Persian Harmonies," in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text* (Festschrift G.D. Kilpatrick) (Leiden 1976), 246–261.

## SYRIAC

## QUOTATIONS

*Ephrem Syrus*, Commentary on the Gospel of the Mixed

EDITION (text and Latin translation):

*Saint Ephrem, Commentaire de l'Evangile concordant, texte syriaque*, ed. L. Leloir, CBM 8(a) (Dublin 1963). Forty-one missing folios of the Syriac text (MS 709b) were recently recovered and again edited by L. Leloir: *Saint Ephrem, Commentaire de l'Evangile concordant, texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709). Folios Additionnels*, CBM 8(b) (Louvain 1990). On the basis of both the Syriac and Armenian texts, Leloir has also produced a French translation of the *Commentary: Ephrem de Nisibe, Commentaire de l'Evangile concordant ou Diatessaron*, ed. L. Leloir, SC 121 (Paris 1966). The first English translation of the Syriac version of the *Commentary* has just appeared: C. McCarthy, *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron*, JSS.S 2 (Oxford 1993); however, her translation is not always literal, and at points depends upon Leloir's Latin and French translations.

## STUDIES:

C.A. Phillips, "Some Notes on Ephrem's Gospel-Text," in *Amicitiae corolla, A Volume of Essays Presented to James Rendel Harris*, ed. H.G. Wood (London 1933), 228–38.

*Ephrem Syrus*, Hymns and Metrical Sermons

## EDITIONS:

Three principal editions are extant. The first, which is very unreliable, but which remains the only edition for some texts, is *Sancti Patris Nostri Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia quae exstant Graece, Syriace, Latine*, edd. J.S. Assemani, P. Mobarek, and S.E. Assemani, 6 vols. (Romae 1737–46) (text and Latin translation). The second attempt—which improves over the first edition, adding some new texts while omitting others—is *Sancti Ephraem Syri, Hymni et Sermones*, ed. Th. Lamy, 4 vols. (Mechliniae 1882, 1886, 1889, 1902) (text and Latin translation). The definitive edition is that of E. Beck, in the series CSCO (text and German translation), which now covers more than 18 volumes. See also S. *Ephraemi Syri Rabulae episcopi Edesseni Balaei aliorumque Opera Selecta*, ed. J.J. Overbeck (Oxford 1865).

## STUDIES:

F.C. Burkitt, *Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, TaS VII.2 (Cambridge 1901; reprinted Nendeln 1967); A. Vööbus, *Literary Critical and Historical Studies in Ephrem the Syrian*, PETSE 10 (Stockholm 1958).

*Aphrahat*, Demonstrations

EDITIONS (text and Latin translation):

*Demonstrationes*, ed. I. Parisot, PS 1, 2 (Parisiis 1894, 1907); recently a complete French translation appeared: M.-J. Pierre, *Aphraate, le sage Persan, Les Exposes*, 2 vols., SC 349 and 359 (Paris 1988–89); also a German

translation: P. Bruns, *Aphrahat, Unterweisungen: Aus dem syrischen übersetzt und eingeleitet*, 2 vols., *Fontes Christiani* 5 (Freiburg/New York 1991).

STUDIES:

Tj. Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage*, 2 vols. (Meppel 1975).

*Isho'dad of Merv*, Commentary on the Gospels

EDITIONS (text and English translation):

*The Commentaries of Isho 'dad of Merv*, ed. M.D. Gibson, 3 vols., *HSem* V–VII (Cambridge 1911).

INFLUENCED

*Aba*, Commentary on the Concordant Gospel

STUDIES:

G.J. Reinink, "Neue Fragmente zum Diatessaronkommentar des Ephraemschülers Aba," *OrLP* 11 (1980), 117–33.

*The Syriac Acts of Thomas*

EDITIONS:

The current standard is that of A.S. Lewis, *Acta Mythologica Apostolorum*, *HSem* III (text), pp. 193–228 with the English translation in Lewis' *The Mythological Acts of the Apostles*, *HSem* IV, pp. 223–418 (London 1904 [both vols.]). See also the English translation of A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, *NT.S* 5 (Leiden 1962).

STUDIES:

See the remarks of M.-J. Lagrange, *Critique Textuelle*, pt. II, *La critique rationnelle* (which is Vol. 2 of his *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament*; the volume cited here is vol. 2, pt. 2 of the whole work) (Paris 1935), 206; see also Klijn (above).

*Doctrina Addai*

EDITIONS:

*The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle . . .*, ed. G. Phillips (London 1876). Phillips' text has been reprinted with an English translation and introduction by G. Howard: *The Teaching of Addai*, *Texts and Translations* 16, *Early Christian Literature Series* 4 (Chico [California] 1981).

STUDIES:

Its link with the Diatessaron was noted by F.C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (Cambridge 1904), II, 152–55.

*Doctrina Apostolorum*

EDITIONS:

P. de Lagarde, *Reliquiae iuris ecclesiorum antiquissimae syriace* (Leipzig 1856), 33–44. De Lagarde's edition was based on a ninth cent. MS; Wm. Cureton produced a superior edition on the basis of a fifth or sixth century MS: *Ancient Syriac Documents Relative to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the Neighbouring Countries* (London 1864; reprinted: Amsterdam 1967), 166–73 (text), 24–35 (English translation).

## STUDIES:

The only remarks relevant to the Diatessaron are by F.C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (Cambridge 1904), II, 107–08.

*Jacob of Serug*

## STUDIES:

R.H. Connolly, "Jacob of Serug and the Diatessaron," *JThS* 8 (1907), 581–590.

*The Liber Graduum*

EDITIONS (text and Latin translation):

*Liber Graduum*, ed. M. Kmosko, PS 3 (Parisii 1926).

## STUDIES:

A. Rücker, "Die Zitate aus dem Matthäusevangelium im syrischen 'Buche der Stufen'," *BZ* 20 (1932), 342–354; Fiona J. Parsons, *The Nature of the Gospel Quotations in the Syriac Liber Graduum* (dissertation, Birmingham [England] 1969).

*Rabbula of Edessa, Gospel Quotations and his Biography (The Vita Rabbulae)*

## STUDIES:

A. Vööbus, "Investigations into the Text of the New Testament used by Rabbula," *Contributions of the Baltic University (Pinneburg)* 59 (1947); Tj. Baarda, "The Gospel Text in the Biography of Rabbula," *VigChr* 14 (1960), 102–127 (also in Tj. Baarda, *Early Transmission of the Words of Jesus: Thomas, Tatian and the Text of the New Testament* [Amsterdam 1983], 11–36).

*The Syriac Acts of John*

## STUDIES:

R.H. Connolly, "The Diatessaron in the Syriac Acts of John," *JThS* 8 (1907), 571–581.

*Syriac Versions of the Gospels*The Vetus Syra (Syr<sup>SIN.CUR</sup>)

## EDITIONS:

Although the edition of A.S. Lewis, *The Old Syriac Gospels, or Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* . . . (London 1910), is standard, the edition of F.C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1904) is often more convenient for Diatessaronic research, for in addition to the text of Syr<sup>s.c.</sup>, it also presents parallel portions from Ephrem's *Commentary* and Aphrahat's *Demonstrations*.

## STUDIES:

F. Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente. Der griechische Text des Cureton'schen Syrsers* (Leipzig 1885); F.H. Chase, *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels* (London 1895); A. Hjelt, *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis*, FGK 7 (Leipzig 1903); A. Merx, *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte. Übersetzung und Erläuterung der syrischen im Sinaikloster gefundenen*

*Palimpsesthandschrift*, 2 vols. (4 parts) (Berlin 1897–1911); H.J. Vogels, *Die altsyrischen Evangelien in ihrem Verhältnis zu Tatians Diatessaron*, BSt(F) 16 (Freiburg 1911); J. Molitor, “Tatian’s Diatessaron und sein Verhältnis zur altsyrischen und altgeorgischen Überlieferung,” *OrChr* 53 (1969), 1–88; 54 (1970), 1–75; 55 (1971), 1–61; M. Black, “The Syriac Versional Tradition,” *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland, ANTT 5 (Berlin 1972), 120–159.

The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary (Syr<sup>PAL</sup>[A.B.C])

EDITION:

*The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, edd. A.S. Lewis and M.D. Gibson (London 1899).

STUDIES:

M. Black, “The Palestinian Syriac Gospels and the Diatessaron,” *OrChr* 36 [= III.14] (1939), 101–111; B.M. Metzger, “A Comparison of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary and the Greek Gospel Lectionary,” *Neotestamentica et Semitica. Studies in Honour of Matthew Black*, edd. E.E. Ellis and M. Wilcox (Edinburgh 1969), 209–220.

The Peshitta (Syr<sup>P</sup>)

EDITION:

Until the Leiden Peshitta Institute or the Münster Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung issues volumes of the gospels, the standard remains *Tetraevangelium Sanctum iuxta simplicem Syrorum versionem*, edd. P.E. Pusey and G.H. Gwilliam, (Oxford 1901).

*Syriac Translations of Greek Fathers*

Eusebius, Gospel Citations in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*

EDITION:

*The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius in Syriac*, edd. W. Wright and N. McLean (Cambridge 1898; reprinted: Amsterdam 1975).

STUDIES:

A. Baumstark, “Das Problem der Bibelzitate in der syrischen Übersetzungsliteratur,” *OrChr* 30 [= III.8] (1933), 208–25.

Eusebius, Gospel Citations in the *Theophania*

EDITION:

*Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea. On the Theophania or Divine Manifestation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, ed. S. Lee, Syriac text (London 1842); translation (Cambridge 1843).

STUDIES:

A. Baumstark, “Das Problem der Bibelzitate in der syrischen Übersetzungsliteratur,” *OrChr* 30 [= III.8] (1933), 208–25; C. Peters, “Die Zitate aus dem Matthäus-Evangelium in der syrischen Übersetzung der Theophanie des Eusebius,” *OrChr* 33 [= III.11] (1936), 1–25.

Titus of Bostra, Gospel Citations in *Contra Manichaeos*

EDITION:

*Titi Bostreni contra Manichaeos libri quatuor syriace*, ed. P.A. de Lagarde (Berolini 1859).

## STUDIES:

A. Baumstark, "Die syrische Übersetzung des Titus von Bostra und das Diatessaron," *Bib.* 16 (1935), 257–299.



## WESTERN

### ALLEMANISCH

#### INFLUENCED

*The Saelden Hort*

#### EDITION:

*Der Saelden Hort. Alemannisches Gedicht vom Leben Jesu, Johannes des Täufers und der Magdalena*, ed. H. Adrian, DTM 26 (Berlin 1927).

#### STUDIES:

H. Adrian, *Das alemannische Gedicht von Johannes dem Täufer und Maria Magdalena* (Wiener Pap. Kod. 2841. Karlsruher Pap. Kod. 66.) (Strassburg 1908); W. Henss, *Tatians Diatessaron im Saelden Hort* (dissertation: Marburg 1953).

Vienna            Öster. Nationalbib.      Cod. 2841            late XIV

#### CATALOGUE:

*Verzeichnis der altdeutschen literarischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, ed. H. Menhardt, Band I (Berlin 1960), 411.

Karlsruhe      Badische Landesbib.      Cod. Pap. Germ. 66      early XV

#### CATALOGUE:

*Die Handschriften der Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe. Beilage II, 2: Deutsche Handschriften*, ed. Th. Längin (Wiesbaden 1974), 18 (dating after catalogue).

### ANGLO-SAXON

*The Anglo-Saxon Gospels*

#### EDITIONS:

*The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels in Parallel Columns*, edd. J. Bosworth with G. Waring (London 1865); see also *The Gospel according to Saint Matthew and according to Saint Mark . . .*, ed. W. Skeat (Darmstadt 1970 [originally published separately: for Matthew, Cambridge 1887; for Mark, Cambridge 1871]).

#### STUDIES:

C. Peters, "Der Diatessaron-text von Mt. 2,9 und die westsächsische Evangelienversion," *Bib.* 23 (1942), 323–332; Tj. Baarda, "An Unexpected Reading in the West-Saxon Gospel Text of Mark 16:11," forthcoming.

## DUTCH

See "Middle Dutch."

## GERMAN

See "Middle High German" and "Old High German."

## HEBREW

## INFLUENCED

*Shem-Tov*, Evan Bohan

## EDITION:

G. Howard, ed., *The Gospel of Matthew according to a Primitive Hebrew Text* (Macon [Georgia]/Louvain 1987).

## STUDIES:

G. Howard (see above); W.L. Petersen, review of G. Howard's *The Gospel of Matthew according to a Primitive Hebrew Text*, in *JBL* 108 (1989), 722–726.

## ICELANDIC [?]

Stockholm      Kon. Bib.      Perg. 4° nr 15      c. 1200

## CATALOGUE:

*Katalog öfver Kongl. Bibliotekets Fornisländska och Fornnorska Handskrifter*, ed. V. Gödel (Stockholm 1897–1900), 55–56.

## STUDIES:

A. van Arkel-de Leeuw van Weenen and G. Quispel, "The Diatessaron in Iceland and Norway," *VigChr* 32 (1978), 214–5; I.J. Kirby, *Bible Translation in Old Norse*, PFLUL 27 (Genève 1986), 95, 117.

## LATIN

## STUDIES OF THE LATIN TRADITION IN GENERAL:

Th. Zahn, "Zur Geschichte von Tatians Diatessaron im Abendland," *NKZ* 5 (1894), 85–120; D. Plooi, "Traces of Syriac Origin of the Old-Latin Diatessaron," *MNAW.L* 63, series A, no. 4 (1927), 101–126.

## MANUSCRIPTS

Fulda      Landesbibliothek      Bonif. 1      546  
"Codex Fuldensis"

## EDITION (text only):

*Codex Fuldensis*, ed. E. Ranke (Marburg/Lipsiae 1868).

## STUDIES:

D. de Bruyne, "La préface du Diatessaron latin avant Victor de Capoue," *RBen* 39 (1927), 5–11; B. Fischer, "Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters," in *La Bibbia nell'alto Medioevo*, in the series *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo* 10 (Spoleto 1963), 519–600, esp. 545–57.

## REMARKS:

Three photos of the MS are found in *Die Illuinierten Handschriften des Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda. Teil I: Handschriften des 6. bis 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. H. Köllner (Stuttgart 1974), 2–4.

Kassel Landesbibliothek Ms. theol. fol. 31 c. 830  
"Codex Cassellanus"

## EDITION (text only):

C.W.M. Grein, *Die Quellen des Heliand. Nebst einem Anhang: Tatians Evangelienharmonie herausgegeben nach dem Codex Cassellanus* (Cassel 1869).

## STUDIES:

Grein (see above).

Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek No. 56 IX  
"Codex Sangallensis"

## CATALOGUE:

*Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, ed. G. Scherrer (Halle 1875), 25–27.

## EDITIONS (text only):

*Tatian, lateinisch und altdeutsch*, ed. E. Sievers, BADLD 5 (Paderborn 1892<sup>2</sup>).

## STUDIES:

G. Baesecke, *Die Überlieferung des althochdeutschen Tatian*, HM 4 (Halle 1948); A. Baumstark, *Die Vorlage des althochdeutschen Tatian, herausgegeben von Johannes Rathofer*, NdS 12 (Köln 1964); J. Rathofer, "'Tatian' und Fulda. Die St. Galler Handschrift und der Victor-Codex," in *Zeiten und Formen in Sprache und Dichtung. Festschrift für Fritz Tschirch zum 70. Geburtstag*, edd. K.-H. Schirmer and B. Sowinski (Köln/Wien 1972), 337–56; G. Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas: Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaron* (Leiden 1975). The manuscript is bilingual; therefore, see also under "Old High German" (*infra*, 486).

Reims Bibliothèque de Reims MS A.35 IX

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, Vol. 38 (Paris 1904), pp. 41–42 (item No. 46).

## REFERENCE:

Sometimes designated "A.46"; some readings in Vogels, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland*, NTA 8.1 (Münster 1919), 130, who notes that it shares variants with Codex Cassellanus and Munich Clm. 23 346; mentioned by D. Plooij, *A Primitive Text*, 65.

Munich            Staatsbibliothek            Clm. 23 346            IX

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, ed. C. Halm and G. Meyer, tome II, pars 4 (Monachii 1881), p. 65 (item No. 642).

## REFERENCE:

Partial collation by Vogels, *Beiträge*.

Orléans            Bibliothèque de Orléans            MS 62            X

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, Vol. 12 (Paris 1889), p. 33 (item No. 65).

## REFERENCE:

Mentioned by D. Plooij, *A Primitive Text*, 65.

Berlin            Staatsbibliothek            Phillipps 1707            XIII

## CATALOGUE:

*Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, ed. V. Rose, Vol. 12 (Berlin 1893), pp. 13–14 (item No. 13). The harmony is found on ff. 1–56<sup>v</sup>.

## REFERENCE:

Some readings in Vogels, *Beiträge*, 130, who describes the MS as "von Reims A.46 [= A.35] nahe verwandt."

Leipzig            Universitätsbib.            Cod. lat. 192            XIII

## CATALOGUE:

*Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig, IV. Die lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften, I. Die theologischen Handschriften*, ed. R. Helssig, Band 4 (Leipzig 1926), pp. 270–73.

## EDITION:

None, but a partial collation was performed by Vogels, *Beiträge*.

Munich            Staatsbibliothek            Clm. 10 025            XIII

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, ed. C. Halm and G. Meyer, tome II, pars 1 (Monachii 1874), p. 129 (item No. 1018).

## EDITION:

None, but collated by Vogels, *Beiträge*.

Paris            Bib. Mazarin            MS 693            XIII

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, ed. A. Molinier, Vol. I (Paris 1885), p. 104 (item No. 292).

## EDITION:

None.

Leipzig                      Universitätsbib.                      Cod. lat. 193                      XIII

## CATALOGUE:

*Katalog der Handschriften*, ed. Helssig, Band 4, pp. 273–74.

## EDITION:

None, but a partial collation was performed by Vogels, *Beiträge*, 131–32, who noted that although the MS lacks Leipzig Cod. lat. 192's extensive glosses, it is "sehr nahe verwandt mit Leipzig 192"; it also shares variants with Codex Cassellanus and Munich Clm. 23 346.

Munich                      Staatsbibliothek                      Clm. 7 946                      XIV

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, ed. C. Halm, G. Thomas, and G. Meyer, tome I, pars 3 (Monachii 1873), pp. 208–09 (item No. 1712); the harmony is found on ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–48<sup>r</sup>.

## EDITION:

None, but a partial collation was performed by Vogels, *Beiträge*, 132–38. Although generally following Codex Fuldensis, this MS deviates in "etwa 1500 Stellen." "An vielen Stellen," says Vogels, "finden sich in diesem Text Lesarten der Diatessaronform, wie sie in den Münchener Codd. latt. 23 977 und 10 025 vorliegt."

## REMARKS:

This harmony commences with John 1.1.

Munich                      Staatsbibliothek                      Clm. 23 977                      1394

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, ed. C. Halm and G. Meyer, tome II, pars 4 (Monachii 1881), p. 113 (item No. 1097).

## EDITION:

None, but a partial collation was performed by Vogels, *Beiträge*.

Munich                      Staatsbibliothek                      Clm. 721                      c. 1440

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, ed. C. Halm and G. Laubmann, tome I, pars 1 (Monachii 1868), pp. 139–40. The relevant portions of the MS are ff. 96<sup>r</sup>–164<sup>v</sup>.

## EDITION:

None.

## REFERENCES:

Mentioned by Vogels, *Beiträge*, 125–26, who reports it was composed by Hermannus Zoest, a Cistercian monk at Marienfeld. Vogels describes Zoest's harmony as "wertlos," but notes that Zoest used other, older material, which sometimes shows Diatessaronic readings.

Munich                      Staatsbibliothek                      Clm. 5 599                      XV

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, ed. C. Halm and G. Meyer, tome I, pars 3 (Monachii 1873), p. 26 (item No. 199). The harmony is found on ff. 1–65.

## EDITION:

None.

## REFERENCES:

Mentioned by Vogels, *Beiträge*, 126; like Munich Clm. 721, it too contains a copy of Hermannus Zoest's harmony. Vogels' observation about Clm. 721 (that Zoest's harmony is useless, but that the older material he incorporated is valuable) applies to this MS as well.

Berlin                      Staatsbibliothek                      theol. fol. 7                      XV

## CATALOGUE:

*Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Band 13 (*Lateinische Handschriften*, Band 2.1), ed. V. Rose (Berlin 1901), pp. 30–31 (item No. 257). The harmony is found on ff. 192<sup>r</sup>–258<sup>v</sup>.

## EDITION:

None.

## REMARKS:

This harmony begins with John 1.1. Mentioned by Vogels, *Beiträge*, 125, who notes that "Ihre Komposition weicht vielfach von allem anderen mir bekannten ab. Der Text ist Vulgata mit manchen Diatessaronlesarten. Komposition und Text denke ich in der nämlichen Weise zu veröffentlichen wie die Münchener Harmonie nach den Cod. lat. 10 025 und Cod. lat. 23 977."

London                      British Library                      Add. 21,060                      XVI (XII ?)

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts of the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLIV.–MDCCCLX. Additional MSS. 19,720–24,026* (London 1875; reprinted: London 1965), 316.

## EDITION:

None.

## REFERENCES:

Mentioned by Plooij, *A Primitive Text*, 13; he dates the MS to the 12th century (the catalogue, p. 316, dates it to the 16th cent.).

Rome                      Vatican                      Reg. lat. 47                      —

## CATALOGUE:

*Les Manuscrits de la Reine de Suède au Vatican*, StT 238 (Città del Vaticano 1964), p. 81 (item No. 1409 [= Montfaucon]).

## EDITION:

None.

Göttingen                      Universitätsbib.                      Cod. Theol. 74                      XVIII

## CATALOGUE:

*Verzeichniss der Handschriften im Preussischen Staate. I. Hannover. 2. Göttingen* (Berlin 1893), 334 (also contains a description of the MS).

## REMARKS:

A bilingual Latin-Old High German MS; see the fuller description *infra*, 487, under the Old High German witnesses.

## INFLUENCED

*Augustine of Hippo* [?], Gospel Quotations

## REFERENCES:

The presence of Diatessaronic variants in Augustine's gospel citations was first noted by L. Leloir, *Le témoignage d'Ephrem sur le Diatessaron*, CSCO 227 [Subs. 19] (Louvain 1962); see the references *supra*, p. 317. Parallels were also noted by G. Quispel, "St. Augustin et l'Evangile selon Thomas," *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris 1974), 379–392; idem, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas: Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaron* (Leiden 1975), 58–68; idem, "A Diatessaronic Reading in a Latin Manichaean Codex," *VigChr* 47 (1993), 374–378; cf. also Quispel's unpublished work on Augustine's citations (see *supra*, p. 334f.). Tj. Baarda has also noted a parallel: "The Flying Jesus," Luke 4:29–30 in the Syriac Diatessaron," *VigChr* 40 (1986), 313–341.

*Clement of Llanthony*, Concordia Quatuor Evangelistarum

Cambridge	University Library	Dd. i.17
Cambridge	Pembroke College	—
Cambridge	Merton College	MS ccxl.1
Cambridge	Jesus College	MS xlix
London	British Library	Royal MS 3.A.x
Oxford	University College	MS xix.36
Oxford	Trinity College	MS ii.1
Rouen	Bibliothèque de Rouen	MS 137 (A.17)
Rouen	Bibliothèque de Rouen	MS 138 (A.430)

## CATALOGUES:

In addition to the catalogues of the respective libraries, see also the article "Clement of Llanthony" in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 22 ("Supplement") (reprinted: Oxford 1921–22), 458–59, for his biography and a partial list of MSS.

## EDITION:

None.

## STUDIES:

J.R. Harris, "The Gospel Harmony of Clement of Llanthony," *JBL* 43 (1924), 349–62.

*Peter Comestor*, *Historia Scholastica*

## EDITION:

Migne *PL* 198, 1054–1721 (the pertinent part of the *Historia scholastica* is the *Historia evangelica*, occupying cols. 1538–1644).

*Juvenicus* [?], *Evangeliae Historiae Libri IV*

## EDITIONS (Text only):

*Iuuenici Hispani Euangelicae historiae libri IIII* . . ., ed. G. Cassandrum (Basil 1537 [?]). In addition to the edition in Migne, *PL* 19, 54–346, there is also a critical edition: *Gai Vetti Aquilini Iuuenici, Evangeliorum Libri Quattuor*, ed. I. Huemer, CSEL 24 (Pragae/Vindobonae/Lipsiae 1891; reprinted: New York 1968), which gives a list of the many manuscripts on pp. xxvi–xxxix.

## STUDIES:

O. Korn, *Beiträge zur Kritik der Historia euangelica des Juvenicus. I. Die Handschripte der Hist. eu. in Danzig, Rom und Wolfenbüttel* (Danzig/Leipzig 1870); N. Hansson, *Textkritisches zu Juvenicus* (dissertation: Lund; Lund 1950).

## REFERENCES:

M.-É. Boismard, *Le Diatessaron: De Tatien à Justin*, EB N.S. 17 (Paris 1992), 136, notes that this poetic “Life of Jesus,” composed in hexameters in 330 C.E., abandons the gospels when recounting the baptism of Jesus, and appears to use a gospel harmony instead (cols. 111–112 in Migne’s edition). Boismard notes two readings in Juvenicus which are paralleled in Diatessaronic witnesses. The readings, however, are not strong, and could have come from the *Vetus Latina* or Patristic sources. Other writers (e.g., Th. Zahn) have mentioned Juvenicus as the composer of this harmonized poetic “Life of Jesus,” but no one has thoroughly investigated possible links to the Diatessaronic tradition.

*The Latin Versions of the Gospels**Vetus Latina* (All manuscripts)

## EDITION (text only):

*Itala*, ed. A. Jülicher, 4 vols.: *I. Matthäus-evangelium*, (Berlin 1938); *II. Markus-evangelium* (Berlin 1970<sup>2</sup>); *III. Lucas-evangelium* (Berlin 1954); *IV. Johannes-evangelium* (Berlin 1963).

## STUDIES:

F.H. Chase, *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels* (London 1895); F.C. Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, TaS IV.3 (Cambridge 1896); E. Lippelt, *Quae fuerint Iustini Martyris AΠOMNΗΜONEYΜΑΤΑ quaeque ratione cum forma evangeliorum Syro-Latina cohaeserint* (Halle 1901); H.J. Vogels, *Die Harmonistik im Evangelientext des Codex Cantabrigiensis*, TU 36.1a (Leipzig 1910); idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland*, NTA 8.1 (Münster 1919).

## REMARKS:

The entire tradition appears to have been influenced, especially MSS *a* and *r*<sup>1</sup>.

*Vulgate*

## EDITION (text only):

*Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine*, edd. I. Wordsworth and H.I. White, Pars I (Oxonii 1889–1898).



## REMARKS:

Although generally purified of Diatessaronic readings, MS D (not to be confused with Greek MS D [Codex Bezae, 05]) seems to have had contact with certain Diatessaronic traditions (see *supra*, 109, 127); Codex Fuldensis is, of course, a Vulgate manuscript whose gospels are harmonized in the manner of the Diatessaron (see *supra*, 85–86).

*Ludolph of Saxony, Vita Jesu Christi*

## EDITION (text only):

*Ludolphus de Saxonia, Vita Jesu Christi*, ed. L.M. Rigollot, 2 parts, 4 vols. (Paris/Romae 1870).

## STUDIES:

G. Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas: Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaron* (Leiden 1975).

*Novatian, Gospel Quotations*

## STUDIES:

A. Baumstark, "Die Evangelienzitate Novatians und das Diatessaron," *OrChr* 27 [= III.5] (1930), 1–14.

*The Vita Beate Virginis Marie Et Salvatoris Rhythmica*

## EDITION (text only):

*Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica*, ed. A. Vögtlin, BLVS 180 (Tübingen 1888).

## STUDIES:

R. van den Broek, "A Latin Diatessaron in the 'Vita Beate Virginis Marie et Salvatoris Rhythmica'," *NTS* 21 (1974), 109–132.

*Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, Commentary on an In Unum Ex Quatuor*

## EDITION:

Migne, *PL* 186, 11–620. See also the numerous references in the apparatus of D. Plooij's edition of the 'Liège Harmony (*The Liège Diatessaron*, VNAW 31.1–8 [Amsterdam 1929–70]).

## STUDIES:

O. Schmidt, "Zacharias Chrysopolitanus und sein Kommentar zur Evangelienharmonie," *ThQ* 68 (1886), 531–47; idem, 69 (1887) 231–75; and J.R. Harris, "Some Notes on the Gospel-Harmony of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus," *JBL* 43 (1924), 32–45; D. Plooij, "De commentaar van Zacharias Chrysopolitanus op het Diatessaron," *MKA.W.L* 59, serie A, no. 5 (1925), 143–157 (with an English summary on p. 157). C.A. Phillips, "The Winchester Codex of Zachary of Besançon," *BBC* 2 (June 1926), 3–8, presents some collations from the Winchester MS, and mentions other MSS.

London

London

Oxford

Winchester

British Library

British Library

Bodleian Library

Cathedral Library

Harley 1915

Stowe 8

MS 209

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## MIDDLE DUTCH

*Manuscripts*

## REFERENCE:

On the entire Middle Dutch manuscript tradition, see: J.A.A.M. Biemans, *Middelnederlandse Bijbelhandschriften*, CSSN Catalogus (Leiden 1984), 11–44, 57, 62–63, 281–82, 287–89; on the history of the tradition, see C.C. de Bruin, *Middelnederlandse vertalingen van het Nieuwe Testament* (Groningen 1934).

Liège                      Bibliothèque de l'Univ.                      No. 199                      c. 1280  
The "Liège Harmony"

## CATALOGUE:

*Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège. Catalogue des manuscrits*, ed. M. Grandjean (Liège 1875), pp. 127–28 (formerly numbered MS No. 437).

## EDITION (text and English translation):

*The Liège Diatessaron*, ed. D. Plooij, et al., VNAW 31.1–8 (Parts I & II are erroneously labeled VNAW 29) (Amsterdam 1929–70).

## STUDIES:

D. Plooij, *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron* (Leyden 1923); idem, "Eine enkratistische Glosse im Diatessaron; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Askese in der alten Kirche," *ZNW* 22 (1923), 1–16; idem, "Een Oud-Christelijke Evangeliëharmonie in het Middelnederlandsch," *Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede* 62 (1925), 258–274; idem, *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron* (Leiden 1925); F.C. Burkitt, "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Dutch Harmonies," *JThS* 25 (1924), 113–130; A. Jülicher, A., "Der Echte Tatiantext," *JBL* 48 (1924), 132–71; idem, "Ein neu entdecktes Leben Jesu," *Die Christliche Welt* 38 (1924), 162–69; T. Frings, review of D. Plooij, *A primitive text of the Diatessaron*, and of A. Jülicher, "Der echte Tatiantext," *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* 47 (1926), 150–155; R. Murray, "The Gospels in the Medieval Netherlands," *HeyJ* 14 (1973), 307–313.

Cambridge                      Univ. Library                      Dd. xii.25                      XIII/XIV  
The "Cambridge Harmony"

## CATALOGUE:

R. Pribsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in Engeland*, Vol. I (Erlangen 1896), pp. 18–20, 219–23; the harmony occupies ff. 1–59. See also Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 29–30.

## EDITION (text only):

*Diatessaron Cantabrigiense*, ed. C.C. de Bruin, CSSN ser. minor, tome I, vol. III (Leiden 1970).

## STUDIES:

A. Baumstark, "Der Cambridger Text des mittelniederländischen *Leven van Jezus*," *OrChr* 35 [= III.13] (1938), 108–122.

## REMARKS:

Photo in Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 30 (plate 3).

Stuttgart Landesbib. Cod. theo. 8° 140 1332  
The "Stuttgart Harmony"

## EDITION (text only):

*De Levens van Jezus in het Middelnederlandsch*, ed. J. Bergsma, BML 54, 55, 61 (Leiden 1895–98).

Tilburg Theologische Fac. Haaren Hs. 1 c. 1400  
The "Haaren Harmony"

## CATALOGUE:

*Handschriften en Handschriftenfragmenten in het bezit van de Theologische Faculteit Tilburg*, ed. J. van de Ven, PTFT.S 14 (Tilburg 1990), 3–4.

## EDITION (text only):

*Diatessaron Haarense*, ed. C.C. de Bruin, CSSN ser. minor, tome I, vol. II (Leiden 1970).

## STUDIES:

G. Quispel, "Some Remarks on the Diatessaron Haarense," *VigChr* 25 (1971), 131–139.

## REMARKS:

Formerly housed in the Groot-Seminarie at Haaren, hence its name.  
Photo in Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 19 (plate 2).

The Hague Koninklijke Bib. Hs. 73 H 9 1473  
"The Hague Harmony" ("Haagse Harmonie")

## EDITION:

The variant readings of The Hague Harmony, as this MS is known, are found in the apparatus of J. Bergsma's edition of the Stuttgart Harmony (*De Levens van Jezus in het Middelnederlandsch*, BML 54, 55, 61 [Leiden 1895–98]). Since The Hague Harmony is closely related to the Stuttgart Harmony, reconstructing the text of the former is an easy task.

## REMARKS:

Formerly catalogued as Maastricht 421.

[Utrecht Universiteitsbib. Hs. 1009 (2 D 22) XV]  
[The "Utrecht Harmony"]

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae Universitatis rheno-trajectinae*, ed. P.A. Thiele, Vol. I (Trajecti ad Rhenum/Hagae Comitibus 1887), 245.

## EDITION:

None, but H. Van Druten (*Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bijbelvertaling* [Leiden 1896], 300–304) published excerpts from the final folios (199<sup>r</sup>–213<sup>v</sup>), but they contain no Biblical citations. He also presents brief extracts from the temptation (305–06) and the Gethsemane prayer sequence (306–07).

## REMARKS:

This manuscript disappeared at the end of the Second World War, while it was on loan to the Universitätsbibliothek Bonn, for the use of Anton Baumstark. See the description of the manuscript and these events *supra*, 238–246.

Leiden	Universiteitsbib.	Hs. Ltk. 2013	early XIV
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## DESCRIPTION:

Five fragments containing portions of Chap. 133–136. Described by Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 21–22.

Frankfurt	Private collection	—	c. 1340
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“Kossmann’s Fragments”

## EDITION (text only):

E.F. Kossmann, “Fragment eines mittelniederländischen Leven van Jezus,” *Frankfurter Bücherfreund*, Band 13, N.F., 2.1 (1920), 287–290. He describes the manuscript as a “Pergamentblatt” owned by “der Firma J. Baer & Co.” of Frankfurt.

Amsterdam	Univ. v. Ams. Bib.	I.G.41	1348
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“De Vooy’s Fragments,” also known as the “Amsterdam Lectionary”

## CATALOGUE:

*Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam. Catalogus der Handschriften, II. De handschriften der Stedelijke Bibliotheek met de latere aanwinsten*, ed. M.B. Mendes da Costa (Amsterdam 1902), p. 86 (item No. 533). The pertinent sections of the MS are the two fragments found on ff. 275<sup>r</sup>–281<sup>r</sup> (“Dat sermoen up den berch”) and ff. 288<sup>r</sup>–296<sup>r</sup> (“De concordanse der IIII ewangelisten passie”).

## EDITIONS (text only):

C.C. de Bruin, *Het Amsterdamse Lectionarium*, CSSN ser. minor, tome II, vol. I (Leiden 1970); the two fragments were originally edited by C.G.N. de Vooy, “Twee mystieke traktaatjes uit de eerste helft van de veertiende eeuw,” *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 40 (1921) 301–303.

Leiden	Universiteitsbib.	Hs. Ltk. 1897	c. 1350
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## DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 43–44.

London	British Library	Egerton 2,188	1353
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The “London Fragments”

## CATALOGUE:

R. Pribsch, *Deutsche Handschriften*, Vol. II (Erlangen 1901), pp. 79–86 (item No. 101), esp. 82–83; the pertinent part of the MS is ff. 105<sup>r</sup>–178<sup>v</sup> (“Evangelien für Sonn- und Wochentage”) and ff. 179<sup>r</sup>–191<sup>r</sup> (“Evangelien für die Heiligentage”); he offers a description of the MS. See also de Bruin, *Middelnederlandse*, 165, and Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 39–36.

## EDITION:

None, but C.G.N. de Voofs, “Bijdragen tot de Middelnederlandse woord-geographie en woord-chronologie,” *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 43 (1924), 224–27, gives three excerpts from the MS and remarks on its relationship with other Middle Dutch witnesses.

## REMARKS:

Photo in Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 40 (plate 4).

The Hague      Koninklijke Bib.      Hs. Y.401      1360  
The “Bible of 1360”

## REMARKS:

See the summary of manuscripts and the history of this tradition in C.C. de Bruin, *Middelnederlandse*, 177–95. He lists ten additional manuscripts related to the “1360” tradition, including the following: Brussels, Bib. Royale, MS 109 (dated 1461); a MS in a private collection in Zaltbommel (the Netherlands); two MSS, whose whereabouts were unknown in 1934; Gent, Univ. Bib., MS 16 (in de Bruin’s time catalogued as MS 430); and The Hague, Kon. Bib., Hs. 133 B 19. H. van Druten, *Geschiedenis*, lists two others: The Hague, Kon. Bib., Hs. Y 398; Vienna, Österreich. Natbib., MS 2772. Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, describes four more: The Hague, Kon. Bib., Hs. 128 C 2 (pp. 281–82); Liège, Bib. de l’Univ., 2333 (p. 287); Liège, Bib. de l’Univ., Ms. 2635 (pp. 62–63); and London, British Library, Add. 26,663 (pp. 288–89).

Paris      Bib. Mazarin      MS 920      c. 1360–85

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, ed. A. Molinier, (Paris 1885), Vol. I, pp. 430–31 (item No. 1014). Also mentioned by C.C. de Bruin, *Middelnederlandse*, 166–68. The relevant portions of the MS are ff. 137<sup>r</sup>–149<sup>v</sup> (“een concordantie van 4 levens van jesus naar Mattheus, Marcus, Lucas en Johannes”) which covers the Passion account from Gethsemane onwards, and, perhaps, ff. 150<sup>r</sup>–152<sup>v</sup> (“allerlei uittreksels uit den bijbel”).

## DESCRIPTION:

W. de Vreese, *De Handschriften van Jan van Ruusbroec’s Werken*, Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- & Letterkunde, 5<sup>e</sup> reeks, dl. 24 (Gent 1900), Vol. I.1, pp. 413–29, esp. 426.

Hamburg      Staats/Univ’bib.      Cod. 95<sup>b</sup> in scrin.      1390

## CATALOGUE:

*Katalog der Handschriften des Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.* Vol. 7, *Die Codices in scrinio des Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg 1-110*, ed. T. Brandis (Hamburg 1972), 163-64.

## DESCRIPTION:

W. Lüdtke, "Die Uffenbachsche Evangelien-Harmonie," in *Orientalia Hamburgensia* (Festgabe den Teilnehmern am 4. Deutschen Orientalistentag, in Hamburg 28. Sept. bis 2. Okt. 1926) (Hamburg 1926), 76-81.

## EDITION:

None, but Lüdtke prints brief excerpts, and concludes that the MS is related to the "Gospel Book of Matthias of Beheim."

## STUDIES:

F. Maurer, *Studien zur mitteldeutschen Bibelübersetzung vor Luther*, Germanische Bibliothek, 2e Abteilung, Untersuchungen und Texte, Band 26 (Heidelberg 1929), 72-104.

Stuttgart	Landesbib.	Cod. theol. 4° 140	XIV
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## REFERENCES:

Mentioned by C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron*, 142, who cites F.J. Mone, "VI. Leben Jesu. Zum Anzeiger VI., 205," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* 6 (1837), 487. This MS should not be confused with Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Cod. theol. 8° 140 (dated 1332).

Ghent	Universiteitsbib.	No. 1654	XIV
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"Nieuwenhuizen's Fragments"

## CATALOGUE:

*Beknopte Catalogus van de Middeleeuwse Handschriften in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Gent verworven sinds 1852*, ed. A. Derolez (Gent 1971), 28. Dating is after the catalogue; the manuscript consists of four fragments.

## EDITION (text only):

J.J. Nieuwenhuizen, "Fragmenten van een handschrift van 'Het Leven van Jesus'," *DW* 3 (1857) 239-241.

## DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 31-32.

## REMARKS:

Formerly numbered as Hs. 1654.

Munich	Universitätsbib.	8° P. eccl. 473	XIV
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## CATALOGUE:

*Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München I. Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München*, edd. G. Kornrumpf and P.-G. Völker (Wiesbaden 1968), 344-45. Dating after the catalogue.

## DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 34.

Berlin Staatsbib. Ms. Germ. Quart. 1091 XV  
The "Arnswald" MS

## CATALOGUE:

*Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, II. Die Handschriften in Quartformat (Mitteilungen aus der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Vol. 8)*, ed. H. Degering (Leipzig 1926), 184. According to this catalogue, this MS apparently contains *two* Middle Dutch harmonies, the first (ff. 1–120) apparently complete, and the second (ff. 121–271) apparently a passion harmony, for it lists "AMMONIUS EVANGELIENHARMONIE mndd [= middelnederlands]. Bl. 121<sup>r</sup> VAN DEN LEUEN ONS HEREN . . . syn passien ende verrisenisse." Whether the second portion (ff. 121–271) is merely a continuation of the first (ff. 1–120) is not clear from the literature.

## DESCRIPTION:

A. Reifferscheid, "Beschreibung der Handschriftensammlung des Freiherrn August von Arnswald in Hannover," *JVNDSF* 10 (1884), 5–43, esp. 33–34.

## REFERENCES:

C.C. de Bruin, *Middelnederlandse*, 36.

## REMARKS:

The harmony (presumably the one commencing at f. 1) begins with John 1.1. It was numbered 3155 in Arnswald's own library. Reifferscheid mentions that, like The Hague Harmony, it was copied by a woman (p. 33, n. 52: he cites the copyist's prayer "om Gods wille voer die scrijverse").

Brussels Kon. Bibliotheek Hs. 15.054 c. 1400

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, ed. J. van den Gheyn, Vol. I (Bruxelles 1901), 297–98. The MS is a lectionary.

## DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 42–43.

Brussels Kon. Bibliotheek Hs. II 2851 1425–50

## DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 31.

Leipzig Universitätsbib. Hs. 1518 XV

## DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 26–27.

Lübeck Stadtbibliothek Ms. theol. germ. 45 XV

## CATALOGUE:

*Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek der freien und Hansestadt Lübeck*, Vol. I.2, *Die deutschen theologischen Handschriften der Lübeckischen Stadtbibliothek*, ed. P. Hagen (Lübeck 1922), 31–32.

## DESCRIPTION:

W. Lüdtke, "Die Uffenbachsche Evangelien-Harmonie," 71. The pertinent portion of the MS is ff. 10<sup>r</sup>–26<sup>v</sup>, which contains a Passion history. Lüdtke states that it presents a less accurate text than that found in Lübeck Ms. theol. germ. 64.

## EDITION:

None, but Lüdtke prints brief excerpts.

Lübeck                      Stadtbibliothek                      Ms. theol. germ. 64      XV

## CATALOGUE:

*Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek der freien und Hansestadt Lübeck*, Vol. I.2, *Die deutschen theologischen Handschriften der Lübeckischen Stadtbibliothek*, ed. P. Hagen (Lübeck 1922), 51–53.

## DESCRIPTION:

W. Lüdtke, "Die Uffenbachsche Evangelien-Harmonie," 71. The pertinent portion of the MS is ff. 89<sup>v</sup>–106<sup>r</sup>, which contains a Passion history. He notes that "wo Cod. 45 ändert, hat Cod. 64 den Ausdruck der niederländischen Vorlage bewahrt. Die Abweichungen im Ausdruck und in der Komposition zwingen zu der Annahme, dass die nd. Übersetzung nicht aus dem Hochdeutschen geflossen ist, sondern direkt aus einem mnl. Original."

## EDITION:

None, but Lüdtke prints brief excerpts.

Bruges                      Klstr. Hospitaalzus.                      —                      c. 1450

## DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnerlandse*, 41–42. The full location is: Klooster van de Hospitaalzusters van Sint Jan. Because of its location and date, this MS may be identical with one mentioned in passing by C. Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, OrChrA 123 (Roma 1939), 142, who cites F.J. Mone, "XI. Alte Werke in niederländischer Prosa," *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* 6 (1837), 205–07. Incipit: "Hier beghint den bouwe van ons heren levene..." The date is given as 1487. Efforts to locate the manuscript mentioned by Peters and Mone in the available catalogues of libraries in Bruges were unsuccessful.

Utrecht                      Universitätsbib.                      Hs. 1032 (2 D 23)                      c. 1470

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae Universitatis rheno-trajectinae*, ed. P.A. Thiele, Vol. I (Trajecti ad Rhenum/Hagae Comitibus 1887), 252.

## DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnerlandse*, 24.



Berlin Staatsbib. Ms. Germ. Quart. 1097 late XV

CATALOGUE:

*Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, II. Die Handschriften in Quartformat (Mitteilungen aus der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Vol. 8)*, ed. H. Degering (Leipzig 1926), 184. The MS contains a passion harmony.

DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 24.

REMARKS:

Another MS owned by August von Arnswaldt.

The Hague Kon. Bibliotheek Hs. KA XXXVII late XV

DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 25–26.

London British Library Add. 26,663 1488

DESCRIPTION:

Described by R. Pribsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, Vol. 2 (Erlangen 1901), pp. 233–36 (item No. 276); the gospel harmony is on ff. 117<sup>r</sup>–186<sup>v</sup>. He observes that “Der Londener Text scheint für die Kritik von grosser Wichtigkeit” (234).

EDITION:

None, but Pribsch gives over a page of excerpts from the MS.

REFERENCES:

The MS is also mentioned by C.C. de Bruin, *Middelnederlandse vertalingen van het Nieuwe Testament* (Groningen 1934), 38 and, esp., 195–96.

Liège Bib. de l'Univ. Ms. 2328 1507

DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 27.

REMARKS:

Like Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Germ. Quart. 1091 (the “Arnswald” MS), this MS was copied by a woman.

Frankfurt Stadt- und Univbib. Ms. Praed. 12 c. 1510

CATALOGUE:

*Kataloge der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main*, Vol. II.1, *Die Handschriften des Dominikanerklosters und des Leonhardstifts in Frankfurt am Main*, ed. G. Powitz (Frankfurt am Main 1968), 18–23. Although MS is a prayer book, ff. 44<sup>r</sup>–53<sup>v</sup> contain a harmonized passion account.

DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 27.

Brussels Kon. Bibliotheek Hs. II 166 c. 1510

## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, ed. J. van den Gheyn, Vol. I (Bruxelles 1901), 566–67 (item No. 865). Folios 10<sup>v</sup>–26 contain a harmonized passion account.

## DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 28–29.

The Hague	Kon. Bibliotheek	Hs. II 2712	early XVI
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## DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 25.

Weert	Minderbroeders	Hs. 15	early XVI
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## DESCRIPTION:

Biemans, *Middelnederlandse*, 22.

Additionally, I have noted the following entries in the catalogue of the Ghent Universiteitsbibliotheek.<sup>4</sup> Given their title, description, date, and what we know of the influence of the Diatessaron upon Middle Dutch “Lives of Jesus,” the odds are high that their text contains Diatessaronic readings. None of these manuscripts or fragments have been referenced in previous Diatessaronic research; I hope to investigate them in the near future.

MS 663	Leven Ons Heren Jhesu Cristi	manuscript	1474
MS 1017	Leven van Jezus in het Nederlands	manuscript	XV
MS 1171	Leven van Jezus in het Nederlands	manuscript	XVI
MS 1616	Leven van Jezus in het Nederlands	2 fragments	XV
MS 1656	Leven van Jezus met glossen in het Nederland	2 folios	XV
MS 1731	Leven van Jezus in het Nederlands	2 folios	XI/XV

## INFLUENCED

<i>Jacob Van Maerlant, Rijmbijbel</i>	1271
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## EDITIONS (text only):

*J. van Maerlant, Rijmbijbel*, ed. J. David, 3 vols. (Brussel 1858–59).

## STUDIES:

R. van den Broek, “Jacob van Maerlant en het Nederlandse Diatessaron,” *NedThT* 28 (1974), 141–164.

## MIDDLE ENGLISH

## MANUSCRIPTS

Cambridge	Magdalene College	Pepys 2498	c. 1400
The “Pepysian Harmony”			

<sup>4</sup> *Inventaris van de handschriften in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Gent*, ed. A. Derolez (Gent 1977).

## EDITION (text only):

*The Pepysian Harmony*, ed. M. Goates, EETS O.S. 157 (London 1922).

## STUDIES:

D. Plooij, "The Pepysian Harmony," *BBC* 2 (June 1926), 14–16; J.N. Birdsall, "The Sources of the Pepysian Harmony and its Links with the Diatessaron," *NTS* 22 (1975–76), 215–223; M.-É. Boismard, *Le Diatessaron: De Tatien à Justin*, EtB N.S. 15 (Paris 1992).

## MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN

## MANUSCRIPTS

Zürich	Stadtbibliothek	C.170	XIII/XIV
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## CATALOGUE:

*Katalog der Handschriften der zentralbibliothek Zürich, Band I: Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, ed. L.C. Mohlberg (Zürich 1951), p. 74 (item No. 173). This MS was formerly catalogued as App. 56.

## EDITION (text only):

*Das Leben Jhesu*, ed. C. Gerhardt, CSSN series minor, tome I, Vol. 5 (Leiden 1970).

## REMARKS:

This harmony begins with John 1.1.

Munich	Staatsbibliothek	Cgm. 532	1367
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## CATALOGUE:

*Die deutschen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu Muenchen*, ed. J.A. Schmellers (München 1866), p. 86.

## EDITION:

None, but a partial collation was made by Th. Zahn, *Zur Geschichte*, 107–115.

## STUDIES:

M.E.E. Ronneburger, *Untersuchungen über die deutsche Evangelienharmonie der Münicher HS. Cg. 532 aus dem Jahre 1367* (dissertation, Greifswald, 1903); mentioned by Vogels, *Beiträge*, 125.

## REMARKS:

This harmony begins with John 1.1. Vogels (*Beiträge*, 81) notes that this MS is related to the harmony in Leipzig, Cod. ger. 34 (Matthias von Beheim's "Gospel Book"). Th. Zahn (*Zur Geschichte*, 108) observed that its text was closer to Codex Fuldensis than to Munich Clm. 10 025.

Leipzig	Universitätsbib.	Cod. ger. 34	1343
"Matthias von Beheim's Gospel Book"			

## CATALOGUE:

*Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig. IV: Die Lateinischen und Deutschen Handschriften, I*, ed. R. Helssig (Leipzig 1926), pp. 35–36.

## EDITION:

R. Bechstein, *Des Matthias von Beheim Evangelienbuch in mitteldeutscher Sprache, 1343*, Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung vaterländischer Sprache und Altertümer in Leipzig 3 (Leipzig 1867). Although other sections are of interest, the harmonized Passion account is probably of the greatest import for Diatessaronic studies.

## STUDIES:

Examined by M.E.E. Ronneburger, *Untersuchungen*, passim, who discovered it was related to Munich Cgm. 532; mentioned by A. Baumstark, "Die Himmelgartener Bruchstücke eines niederdeutschen 'Diatessaron'-Textes des 13. Jahrhunderts," *OrChr* 33 (= III.11) (1936), 81. See also A.E. Schönbach, "Bruchstücke einer altdeutschen Evangelienharmonie," *ZDA* 36 [N.F. 24] [1892], 233–238, who identified Middle High German fragments in the Graz Universitätsbibliothek which seem to be related to Beheim's work, but may reflect an older layer of the harmonized traditions from which he worked.

Nordhausen      Städtisches Museum  
The "Himmelgarten Fragments"

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XIII

## EDITION (text only):

E. Sievers, "Himmelgartner Bruchstücke. 1. Bruchstücke einer mittelniederdeutschen evangelienharmonie," *ZDP* 21 (1889), 385–90.

## STUDIES:

A. Baumstark, "Die Himmelgartener Bruchstücke eines niederdeutschen 'Diatessaron'-Textes des 13. Jahrhunderts," *OrChr* 33 [= III.11] (1936), 80–96.

Graz                      Universitätsbib.  
The "Schönbach Fragments"

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XIV

## EDITIONS (text only):

A.E. Schönbach, "10. Bruchstücke einer altdeutschen Evangelienharmonie," in his *Miscellen aus Grazer Handschriften*, Vierte Reihe, which was published as a *Sonder-Abdruck aus den Mittheilungen des historischen Vereins für Steiermark*, Heft 50 (Graz 1903), 7–99.

## STUDIES:

A. Baumstark, "Die Schönbach'schen Bruchstücke einer Evangelienharmonie in bayrisch-österreichischer Mundart des 14. Jahrhunderts," *OrChr* 34 [= III.12] (1937), 103–126.

Graz                      Universitätsbib.

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XIV

## EDITIONS (text only):

A.E. Schönbach, "Bruchstücke einer altdeutschen Evangelienharmonie," *ZDA* 36 [N.F. 24] (1892), 233–38.

## REMARKS:

This single folio has been ignored in all previous studies of the Diatessaron. Schönbach noted that it has textual links with Leipzig, Universitätsbib. Cod. germ. 34 (the "Gospel Book" of Matthias von

Beheim), which, in turn, has links with Munich, Staatsbib. Cgm. 532. Schönbach opined that these fragments might represent an older layer of the tradition from which Beheim worked.

Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms. Germ. Quart. 503 XIV

## CATALOGUE:

*Mitteilungen aus der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, VIII: Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, dl. II*, ed. H. Degering (Leipzig 1926), p. 90.

## REFERENCE:

M.E.E. Ronneburger, *Untersuchungen über die deutsche Evangelienharmonie der Münicher HS. Cg. 532 aus dem Jahre 1367* (dissertation, Greifswald, 1903), passim.

Nürnberg Stadtbib. Cent VI, 51 1393

## CATALOGUE:

*Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, I. Die deutschen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, ed. K. Schneider (Wiesbaden 1965), p. 163, who notes "parallelhss" in Zürich C 170, and Berlin Ms. Germ. Quart. 503. See also the description by C. Gerhardt, *Das Leben Jhesu*, CSSN ser. minor, tome I, Vol. IV (Leiden 1970), p. xiv.

Berlin Staatsbib. Ms. Germ. Quart. 987 1409

## CATALOGUE:

*Mitteilungen aus der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, VIII: Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, dl. II*, ed. H. Degering (Leipzig 1926), 165. See also the description by Gerhardt, *Das Leben Jhesu*, p. xv.

Lemburg Dominikanerkloster — XIV/XV

## DESCRIPTION:

Gerhardt, pp. xvi–xvii.

## EDITION:

R.M. Werner, "Altdeutsche Bruchstücke aus polnischen Bibliotheken II.; 4. Eine md. Evangelienharmonie?" *ZDA* 35 (N.F. 23) (1891), 351–355.

Lübeck Stadtbibliothek Ms. theol. 50 germ. XV

## CATALOGUE:

*Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek der freien und Hansestadt Lübeck*, Vol. I.2, *Die deutschen theologischen Handschriften der Lübeckischen Stadtbibliothek*, ed. P. Hagen (Lübeck 1922), 38.

## DESCRIPTION:

W. Lüdtke, "Die Uffenbachsche Evangelien-Harmonie," 71. The pertinent section of the MS is ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–38<sup>r</sup>, which contains a passion harmony. Lüdtke describes it as having a text which "steht zwischen B [= the Gospel Book of Matthias von Beheim] und U [= the Uffenbach Harmony]."

## INFLUENCED

Basel                      Oeff. Bib. Univ. B.                      A.IV.44                      late XV

## CATALOGUE:

*Die Handschriften der Oeffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel, I.1: Die deutschen Handschriften*, ed. G. Binz (Basel 1907), pp. 24–25; the pertinent section of the MS is ff. 187<sup>r</sup>–309<sup>v</sup>.

## REFERENCE:

This MS is not a gospel harmony, but a MS of the separated gospels in German, whose agreements with two other MSS (Berlin, Staatsbib., Ms. Germ. Fol. 67 [a Middle High German NT] and Zürich, Stadtbibliothek, C 55 [a German “Evangelientext”]) were noted by Baumstark, *Die Vorlage*, 47.

Berlin                      Staatsbib.                      Ms. Germ. Fol. 67                      XV

## CATALOGUE:

*Kurzes Verzeichnis der Germanischen Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, I. Die Handschriften in Folioformat (Mitteilungen aus der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Vol. 7)* (Leipzig 1925), 8.

## REFERENCE:

Mentioned by A. Baumstark, *Die Vorlage des althochdeutschen Tatian, herausgegeben von Johannes Rathofer*, NdS 12 (Köln 1964), 47, and described by him as a “deutsche[n] Evangelienharmonie.” According to Baumstark (47), this MS has agreements with the “deutschen Evangelientext” found in two other MSS: Zürich, Stadtbibliothek, C 55, and Basel, Oeffentliche Bib. der Univ., A.IV.44. These links suggest that, despite Baumstark’s description, this MS is not a harmony, but a separate gospel text with Diatessaronic readings.

Zürich                      Stadtbibliothek                      C 55                      XIV

## CATALOGUE:

*Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Band I: Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, ed. L.C. Mohlberg (Zürich 1951), p. 29 (item No. 85). This MS was formerly catalogued as number 713.

## REFERENCE:

Baumstark, *Die Vorlage*, 47, noted that this MS is not a gospel harmony, but a text of the separated gospels, which has agreements with two other MSS (Berlin, Staatsbib., Ms. Germ. Fol. 67 [a Middle High German NT] and Basel, Oeffentliche Bib. der Univ., A.IV.44 [a German “Evangelientext”]).

## MIDDLE ITALIAN

## MANUSCRIPTS

## CATALOGUES:

Cf. the appropriate volumes of the *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, Vols. 1- (various locations 1890- ).

## EDITIONS (text only):

Both the Venetian and Tuscan Harmonies appear in the same volume: *Il Diatessaron in Volgare Italiano*, edd. V. Todesco, A. Vaccari, and M. Vattasso, StT 81 (Città del Vaticano 1938), with Part I being "Il Diatessaron Veneto," ed. V. Todesco, and Part II being "Il Diatessaron Toscano," ed. M. Vattasso and A. Vaccari.

## STUDIES:

A. Merk, "Tatian in italienischem Gewand," *Bib.* 20 (1939), 294–305; A. Baumstark, "Zwei italienische 'Diatessaron'-Texte," *OrChr* 36 [= III.14] (1941), 225–242; C. Peters, "Die Bedeutung der altitalienischen Evangelienharmonien im venezianischen und toskanischen Dialekt," *Romanische Forschungen* 61 (1942), 181–192.

*The Venetian Harmony*

Venice	Marciano	It., I.69	XIII/XIV
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## CATALOGUE:

*Catalogo dei codici Marciani Italiani*, Vol. I, edd. C. Frati and A. Segarizzi (Modena 1909), 168; formerly numbered as No. 4975.

## EDITION:

By Todesco (see above).

*The Tuscan Harmony*

## EDITION:

The text in the edition of Vattasso and Vaccari (see above) is based on the Siena MS (Bib. Comunale I. V. 9). The apparatus contains variants recovered from complete collations of the next seven MSS listed (*i.e.*, Vatican, Palatini lat. 56 through Florence, Riccardiana 2335), and from partial collations of the next nine MSS listed Florence, Riccardiana 1304 through Florence, Lautentiana 27, cod. 14). The remaining nine MSS listed (Grosseto, Chelliana 5 through Modena, Estense X. 6. 29) are not included in the apparatus.

Siena	Bib. Comunale	I.V.9	XIV
Rome	Vatican	Palatini lat. 56	XIV
Rome	Vatican	Barberini lat. 3971	XIV
Rome	Vatican	7654	XIV

## STUDIES:

M. Vattasso, *Aneddoti in Dialecto Romanesco del sec. XIV, Trattati dal Cod. Vat. 7654*, StT 4 (Roma 1901; reprinted: Roma 1961), 5–8, describes this MS, and offers a photograph of f. 64<sup>r</sup> (endpiece [p. 117]).

Florence	Nazion. Centrale	II.VIII.50	XIV/XV
Florence	Nazion. Centrale	II.X.39	XIV
Florence	Riccardiana	1334	XV
Florence	Riccardiana	2335	XIV
Florence	Riccardiana	1304	XV
Florence	Riccardiana	1334	XV
Florence	Riccardiana	1356	1372
Florence	Riccardiana	1749	XIV
Modena	Estense	O.3.22	XIV
Florence	Nazion. Centrale	Palatino 73	XIV/XV

Florence	Nazion. Centrale	II.X.39	XIV
Florence	Bib. Laurent.	Pluteo 27, cod. 12	XIV
Florence	Bib. Laurent.	Pluteo 27, cod. 14	1427
Grosseto	Chelliana	5	XV
Firenze	Riccardiana	1354	XIV
Venezia	Museo Correr	F. Cicogna 954	XV
Oxford	Bodleian	Canonici ital. 63	XV
Florence	Nazion. Centrale	Conventi sopp. I.IV.9	XV
Florence	Nazion. Centrale	F. princ. II.I.202	XV
Florence	Bib. Laurent.	Pluteo 27, cod. 8	XIV
Florence	Nazion. Centrale	II.II.506, f. 7	XIV
Modena	Estense	X.6.29	XV

## OLD HIGH GERMAN

## MANUSCRIPTS

Sankt Gallen      Stiftsbibliothek      No. 56      c. 830  
 "Codex Sangallensis"

A bilingual manuscript; see the entry under "Latin" (*supra*, 465).

Hamburg      Staats/Univ'bib.      Theol. 1066      1411  
 The "Uffenbach Harmony"

## CATALOGUE:

*Katalog der Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg. Band II. Die theologischen Handschriften. Teil 1. Die Foliohandschriften*, ed. P.J. Becker (Hamburg 1975), 42-43.

## DESCRIPTION:

Gerhardt, pp. xv-xvi.

## STUDIES:

W. Lüdtke, "Die Uffenbachsche Evangelien-Harmonie," in *Orientalia Hamburgensia* (Festgabe den Teilnehmern am 4. Deutschen Orientalistentag, in Hamburg 28. Sept. bis 2. Okt. 1926) (Hamburg 1926), 59-83. The gospel harmony occupies ff. 121<sup>r</sup>-223<sup>v</sup>.

## REMARKS:

Once in the library of the jurist and bibliophile Konrad von Uffenbach (1683-1734).

Oxford      Bodleian      MS 5125 (MS Junius 13)      XVII

## CATALOGUE:

*A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, edd. F. Madam, et al., Vol. 2, Pt. 2 (Oxford 1937), 966.

## EDITIONS:

J.P. Palthenius [Palthen], *Tatiani Alexandrini. Harmoniæ Evangelicæ antiquissima versio Theotisca* (Gryphiswaldiae 1706; reprinted with an introduction by P. Ganz [ESGP 2]: Amsterdam/Atlanta [Georgia] 1993); J. Schilter, *Thesaurus antiquitatum teutonicarum ecclesiasticarum*,



*civilium, litterariorum*, 3 vols., in tome 2: *Accedit loco appendicis ad t. 1. Tatiani Harmonia IV. evangeliorum theotisce ab anonymo vetere translata.* (Ulm 1727–1728).

## STUDIES:

P. Ganz, "Ms. Junius 13 und die althochdeutsche Tatianübersetzung," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 91 (1969), 28–76; J. Rathofer, "MS Junius 13 und die verschollene Tatian HS-B," *BGDS(T)* 95 (1973), 13–125.

Göttingen                      Universitätsbib.                      Cod. Theol. 74                      XVIII

## CATALOGUE:

*Verzeichniss der Handschriften im Preussischen Staate. I. Hannover. 2. Göttingen* (Berlin 1893), 334.

## DESCRIPTION:

Gerhardt, pp. xv–xvi. This is probably the "Göttingen" MS cited by J.C. Zahn in 1816 ("Erläuterung," 16). P. de Lagarde, in his review of Th. Zahn's *Tatian's Diatessaron*, in *GGA sans num.* (1882), 322–23, refers to this MS as a bequest from the estate of Conrad von Uffenbach, but this appears to be a mistake, however, for the catalogue description reads: "Tatian's Evangelienharmonie lateinisch und althochdeutsch, Cap. 76–153 (der in der Oxforder Hs. und in Palthen's und Schilter's Texte fehlende Theil). Abschrift aus Cod. Sangallensis 56...1772 von (C.W.) Büttner geschenkt" (*Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, 334). Perhaps de Lagarde confused it with the Hamburg MS 1066. Although Gerhardt places the MS among the *Middle High German* witnesses, it is given here, as a witness to the *Old High German* Tatian, because of the catalogue description.

Paris                      Bib. Nationale                      Ms. lat. 7641                      X

## EDITIONS (text only):

This Latin manuscript contains glosses in Old High German; these are reproduced in E. Sievers, *Tatian. Lateinisch und altdeutsch mit ausführlichem Glossar* (Paderborn 1892<sup>2</sup>), 290–92.

[Rome                      Vatican                      Cod. Pal. 55                      —]

The manuscript disappeared in 1798.

## CATALOGUE:

*Bibliothecae Vaticanae, Codices Palatini Latini*, ed. J.B. Pitra, tome I (Romae 1886), 10.

## DESCRIPTION:

E. Sievers, *Tatian*, pp. xvi–xvii. Note that the missing MS is *not* Cod. Pal. 54, as incorrectly reported by K.J. Greith, *Spicilegium Vaticanum* (Frauenfeld 1838), 72, but Cod. Pal. 55. See the letter of K. Zangemeister, quoted by P. de Lagarde, in the supplement to his review of Th. Zahn's *Tatians Diatessaron*, in *GGA sans num.* (1883), 1436–38.

[Langres                      Cathedral Lib.                      —                      —]

## DESCRIPTION:

J. du Tillet, *Recueil des roys de France* (Paris 1580), 3; see also E. Sievers, *Tatian*, p. xv, and G. Baesecke, *Die Überlieferung des althochdeutschen Tatian*, 9.

[Faremoutier	Abbey Library	—	c. 850]
[“Codex Heccardus”]			

## REFERENCE:

Mentioned by Baesecke, *Die Überlieferung*, 12.

## OLD NORWEGIAN [?]

Oslo	Cod. A.M. 619 4°	c. 1200
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## STUDIES:

A. van Arkel-de Leeuw van Weenen and G. Quispel, “The Diatessaron in Iceland and Norway,” *VigChr* 32 (1978), 214–5; I.J. Kirby, *Bible Translation in Old Norse*, PFLUL 27 (Genève 1986), 95, 117.

## OLD SAXON

## INFLUENCED

*The Heliand*

## CATALOGUES:

For MS descriptions, see the edition of Behaghel, *Heliand und Genesis*, pp. xv–xviii.

## EDITIONS:

(text only) O. Behaghel, *Heliand und Genesis*, ADTB 4 (Tübingen 1984<sup>9</sup>). A non-literal English translation exists: M. Scott, *The Heliand*, Univ. of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literature 52 (Chapel Hill [North Carolina] 1966).

## STUDIES:

J. fon Weringha (also spelt: van Weringh), *Heliand and Diatessaron*, *Studia Germanica* 5 (Assen 1965); also many others: see in the bibliography under Grein, Windisch, Sievers, Krogmann, Quispel, Drögereit, Henss, Rathofer.

Munich	Bayerische Staatsbib.	Cgm. 25, III, 4, a	c. 850
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## STUDIES:

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## REMARKS:

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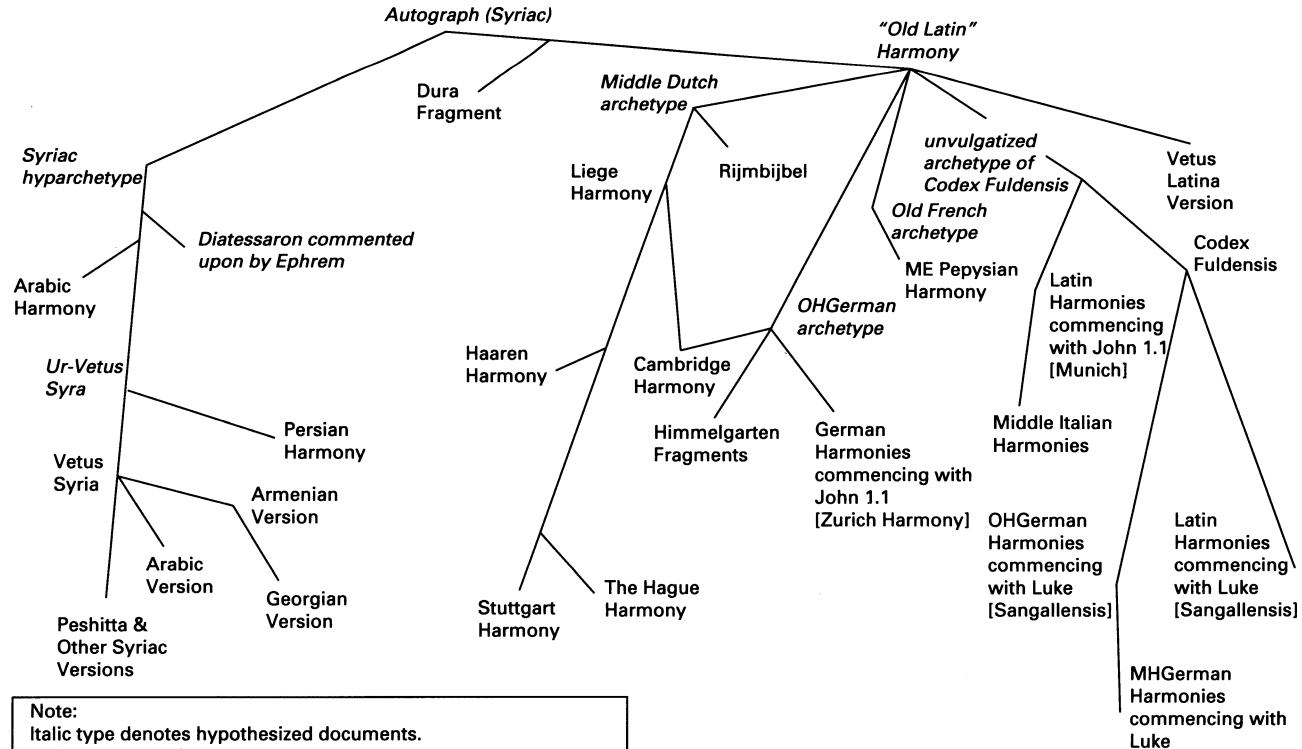
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## APPENDIX II

### A STEMMA OF THE DIATESSARONIC TRADITION



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